

(In)definites, Case Markers, Classifiers
and Quantifiers in Korean

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0. Introduction. This paper treats 'Definiteness Effect' constructions including existential sentences and predicate nominals, together with quantificational expressions showing scope phenomena as well as Numeral Classifier constructions in connection with case markers in Korean.¹

The paper notes how closely indefiniteness is associated with the Nom(inative) marker *-ka* in subject position, while definiteness is associated with the Topic marker *-n-in* in general in Korean. The choice of the Nom/Acc(usative) and Topic markers is related to the nature of predicates on one hand and to the topicality/focus of Ss and definiteness/specificity of an NP on the other.

The paper claims that classifier NP expressions have the unmarked order of N + Numeral + Classifier followed by a case marker and that even in an NP some propositional concept of subject + predicate must be represented. It also examines indefinite expressions coming from Wh-words and finds that the Wh-word + Cop + Q End indefinites are [-Specific]. It bears on existential, ECM and small clause constructions, and presumably on Focus in general.

There are interesting scope interactions among quantifiers, numerals, and distributives and they have to do with case markers showing (in)definiteness frequently.

I. Existential Sentences. The first generalization we make is that existential or presentational sentences involve indefinite NPs and they are characterized by the undeletable nominative marker *-ka*, which has existential assertion force. Let us see how a person is introduced for the first time at the beginning of an old story. Consider (1).

- (1) yet-nal cak-in ma-il -e { han sənpi-ka,
old day small village-Loc a certain scholar-Nom
?*kɨ sənpi -ka, ?*han sənpi -n-in, ?*han sənpi -ø }
the scholar-Nom a scholar Top a scholar
sal -ko is' -əs' -ta
live Prog Past Dec
'Once upon a time there lived a scholar in a small
village.'

A spatio-temporal setting is given in a PP at the head of the sentence. Note that *sənpi* 'scholar' is preceded by *han*, which is originally the prenominal form of *hana* 'one' but came to get the meaning of 'a certain,' with a slight pause right after it, when it has existential force, differently from its pure use for counting. The definite (demonstrative) element *kɨ* cannot come before *sənpi* 'scholar' because it presupposes the hearer also already knows what it refers to. *kɨ* originally comes from the

demonstrative *kɨ*, which points to something near the hearer. Now it can also be used to refer to something the speaker assumes the hearer also has in mind. On the other hand, even *han sanpi* 'a certain scholar' cannot be followed by the Topic marker *-nɨn* because *-nɨn* forces the preceding Noun to get a 'definite' or 'familiar' interpretation but it is contradicted by the indefinite *han*. Because of *han*, *-nɨn* can at most have a contrastive meaning but that meaning is irrelevant here. One of the most remarkable features of existential sentences is the obligatory presence of the Nom marker *-ka*, which exhibits existential force, in the Indefinite NP in subject position after a PP. Without *-ka* here, the sentence is ungrammatical.

To an existential question, a reply is given in an existential statement without definitizing (or being bound by) the previous indefinite NP. Observe (2).

- (2) Q: *kɨ muindo -e saram -i is' -ni?*
 the uninhabited island in people Nom be Q
 'Are there people in the uninhabited island?'
 A: *ani, kəkɨ -nɨn acik saram -i əps -ə*
 no there Top yet people Nom not be End
 'No, there are no people there.'
- (3) *kɨ səm -e saram-tɨl-ø (acik) is' -ni?*
 the island in people Pl still be Q
 'Are they (still) in the island?'

Note that the Nom marker *-i* (after Consonant) must be present in both Q and A of (2) because they are existential sentences that show existential assertion force. The noun *saram* 'people' in the Answer of (2) is indefinite because it is a novel introduction again, not coreferential with or bound by the noun in the same form in the previous Question. As shown in (3), if the speaker assumes that the hearer is familiar (simply by seeing) with the referent of the noun from the linguistic or nonlinguistic context (typically definite), then the noun can occur without the nominative marker. Thus, with the definite determiner *kɨ* 'the' before the nominal without the Nom marker, sentence (3) sounds perfect. This dependence of existential force/assumed familiarity on the presence/nonpresence of the Nom marker is in parallel with the dependence of the same content on the presence/nonpresence of the Acc marker, as will be discussed later. The possibility of the definite NP in (3) implies that there is no syntactic construction corresponding to the English *there* or French *il y a* construction in Korean in the sense that Korean does not have any definite form dummy subject like 'there' or 'il' in Topic position. The indefinite NP in an existential or presentational construction in Korean must take the Nom marker but the presence of the Nom marker does not necessarily imply an existential sentence. All the facts regarding the existential construction in Korean also hold in Japanese. For instance, the Nom marker *-ga* is also obligatory in existential sentences corresponding to (2) in Japanese.

2. Predicate Nominals. Let us now turn to the preradicate nominal or predicative NP construction, which has an <e,t> type interpretation, rather than a referential <e> type interpretation à la Partee (1987). Consider (4).

- (4) cə-nɪn {*kɪ/(hana-iy)/(il-kæ)} pisə -e pulkwaha-pni-ta
 I Top the/one of/a piece secretary nothing but Hon Dec
 'I am nothing but a secretary.'

Here the predicate shows some property or qualification of the Topic cə, and the NP in it is indefinite. On the other hand, sentence (5) has a Nominative ka-marked subject with the definite NP kɪ pisə, which has a referential interpretation this time, as <e> type NP. Sentence (4) is not marked but sentence (5) is, and therefore, the subject NP is focused, getting the meaning of excluding other alternative nouns as a possible subject.

- (5) cə-ka paro kɪ pisə -i-pni-ta
 I-Nom very the secretary be Hon Dec
 'I am the very secretary.'

Without the definite determiner kɪ, (5) comes to have the meaning of 'Exactly I(stressed) am a secretary,' getting an indefinite predicate nominal interpretation. Observe further examples.

- (6) Miss Kim-ɪn kɪ sacang -iy { pisə -ka,
 Top the president-of secretary Nom
 ?*kɪ pisə -ka} toə -æʻ -ta
 the secretary-Nom become Past Dec
 'Miss Kim became a secretary of the president.'
- (7) ?*Miss Kim-i toə -n kɪ sacang -iy pisə
 Nom become-Rel the president-of secretary
 'A secretary of the president which Miss Kim became.'
- (8) Chəlsu-nɪn kɪ chənyə-rɪl (*kɪ) anæ-ro maca -s' -ta
 Top the girl -Acc the wife-as accept Past Dec
 'Cholsoo received the girl as wife.'

The predicative nature of all the predicate nominals in sentences (6) and (8) blocks them from becoming a relative head as exemplified in (7). In (8), anæ cannot be a relative head, whereas an Instrumental NP, with the same marker -ro, can.² At the same time, relativization involves definitization in the relative clause and the inherent indefiniteness of the NPs concerned seems to contribute to the impossibility of relativization with such NPs as head. Those nominals cannot take kɪ in Korean because they are indefinite (even in the case of the only person in the context, the apparent definiteness in English seems to be suppressed). Indefinite predicate NPs do not act freely as antecedents of the following definite NPs, as can be seen in ?Sentence(6). kɪ pisə-nɪn...; ?Sentence(8). kɪ anæ-nɪn... or ?Felix is a cat. The cat is a tabby. (Stenning 1978) The predicate nominal has no existential force or referring function and cannot bind or definitize the

reading being 'The particular dog barks (or less preferably, is barking).' The kind-reference has a defined whole set and such adverbial quantifiers as *motu* 'all,' *taepupun* 'mostly' can follow the Topic NP in (8), making the Topic mean 'all dogs,' 'most dogs,' respectively.

Sentence (9), on the other hand, shows a different picture. The noun is marked with the Nom marker *-ka*. And its predominant reading is what has been given above. It is an expression or simple description of perception, whereas a Topic S results from some cognitive judgment. In this case, its predicate has a 'stage-level' interpretation and the whole S is uttered as a single information unit in the sense that the *-ka*-marked subject is not separated from the predicate. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to try to represent the subject of a stage-level predicate VP-internally as done recently. Another reading is the focused subject reading: 'It is *kae*(dog) that is barking' [Dog(x) & Barking(x)], with x as a variable, free or bound (cf. Heim 1982). 'Barking(x)' is already assumed or presupposed here. The subject of (5) above is also focused. The focused subject should be at least specific, even if it happens to be indefinite. Wh-Q-words are also focused. Syntactically, the Focus position should be Spec of IP (or its equivalent in Korean), whereas the Topic takes Spec of CP.

Very rarely, the subject of (9) can be focused with its predicate showing the individual-level meaning, as a reply to the question 'What animal barks?', for instance. Then, would this particular focused subject come via a Topic or simply from the neutral subject position just like the position of an embedded subject? We tentatively assume the latter. Thus, we argue that even though prototypically an individual-level predicate is associated with a Topic, and a stage-level predicate with a Nom-marked subject, the former can be associated with a Focus subject, whereas the latter can be associated with a Contrast or Topic. The former can also take a neutralized subject in an embedded S. If a predicate typically used as individual-level such as *chongmyang-ha* 'intelligent' takes a Nom subject it must get a Focus reading (if not an unusual expression of sudden perception) and if a predicate typically used as stage-level such as *po-i-* 'be visible' takes *-n#n* it must get a Contrast reading. Many verbs like 'bark' can be used either way. What other animals can bark? As noted earlier, however, a generic kind-reference (with a simple common noun) can hardly be associated with an explicit stage-level predicate (aspect) like the progressive form of the verb, i.e., *cic-ko is'-ta* 'is barking.' The S *sikan-#n hir#-ko is'-ta* 'Time is flowing' tends to be contrastive. Aspect is relevant to the level distinction. With mass nouns like 'snow,' we have similar distinctions. The Topic S '*nun-#n hi-ta*' 'Snow is white' has the prototypical generic (individual) Topic reading with a generic Contrast/ stage (existential) Contrast reading, whereas the Nom S '*nun-i hi-ta*' has the predominant Neutral stage reading, with a possible stage Focus/ generic Focus reading.

Consider a puzzle of kind-stage combination. Suppose you unexpectedly saw a dog laughing. Then you would say, with Nom, *kae-ka*

ta wut-ne! 'Even a dog is laughing (laughs).' You perceived the stage with an instance of dog but commented on dog-kind. The subject gets an Inclusive Focus rather than an Exclusive one ('I know all other cases of laughing'); it is an instantiation that represents its kind and the set of individuals that laugh includes even dog-kind. Thus *kae-chongnyu* 'dog-kind' in place of *kae* sounds better than *kae han mari(CI)* 'one dog' in place of it in the S. The Nom marker can never be replaced by *n+n*, and never be deleted; it draws attention. Similarly, the Acc marker cannot be deleted from the S *kae-r+i ta mak-ne!* '(People) are eating even a dog.' Again an instance of dog represents dog-kind, and it cannot be replaced by 'one/some dog,' though it is indefinite. It is focused and draws attention. An indefinite existential NP object also has the undeletable Acc marker; e.g. *kil-esə sənpi han pun-i manna-as'-ta* '(I) met a scholar in the street.' The object reference is a novel introduction and 'meeting scholars' is not assumed by the hearer. Another puzzle: indefinite-habitual combination. Consider the S: *yəp-cip-esamaeil {kae han mari-ka, kae-t+i-i} cit-n+n-ta* 'In the next house, {a dog, dogs} bark(s) every day' (cf. Carlson 1989). The S does not talk about any definite or generic dog(s) from common ground but about an accumulation of stages of barking in which some contingently introduced dog(s) happen(s) to be involved. In this case, the subject cannot be a Topic. Because the entiti(es) appear(s) in the discourse domain in a novel way, it draws due attention and the Nom marker cannot delete. This is also the case with existential S subjects. If 'every day' precedes 'dog(s),' then the N tends to be [-Specific] due to scope and the dogs can be different dogs on different days. The distinction between Topic and non-Topic is crucially involved in the issue. Even an indefinite NP can become a Topic if it gets anchored to speech act situation by modification, e.g. *nae-ka a-n+n kae han mari-n+n na-man po-myən cit-n+n-ta* 'A dog that I know barks whenever he sees me.'

Stage-level predicates can take definite NP subjects freely. The subjects of the following Ss are definite in the sense that they are assumed to be familiar to the hearer from the non-linguistic context, though they lack a definite determiner and occur for the first time. Observe:

- (10) a. *hae-ka t' -əs' -ta*
 sun-Nom arise Past Dec
 'The sun arose.'
 b. *cha-ka kocangna -s' -ta*
 car-Nom out of order Past Dec
 'The car broke.'

If the sentences in (10) take the marker *-n+n* instead of the Nom marker, the *-n+n*-marked NPs can hardly become a Topic but a Contrast, presumably taking the Focus slot. This is the case also with embedded S subjects. Any *-n+n*-marking in the middle of a sentence shows a contrastive or conditional meaning as we claimed in Lee (1973). And even a Topic at the head position tends to get

a slightly contrastive meaning, if its original position is distant from the subject position, the lower in the hierarchy of SUBJ<DO<IO<OBL, the more contrastive; or if it occurs repeatedly in a conjunctive sentence or, though weaker, in a discourse as Topic change. A *-nʌn*-marked subject in an interrogative S is relatively contrastive and one in a propositive/imperative S is a Contrast, being mood-sensitive. In connection with (10b) if there are more than one car in the house and you want to pinpoint a particular car the hearer is assumed to be familiar with from the previous discourse, then you typically use *kʌ cha*, with no marker following, in place of *cha-ka*; it is not newly introduced.

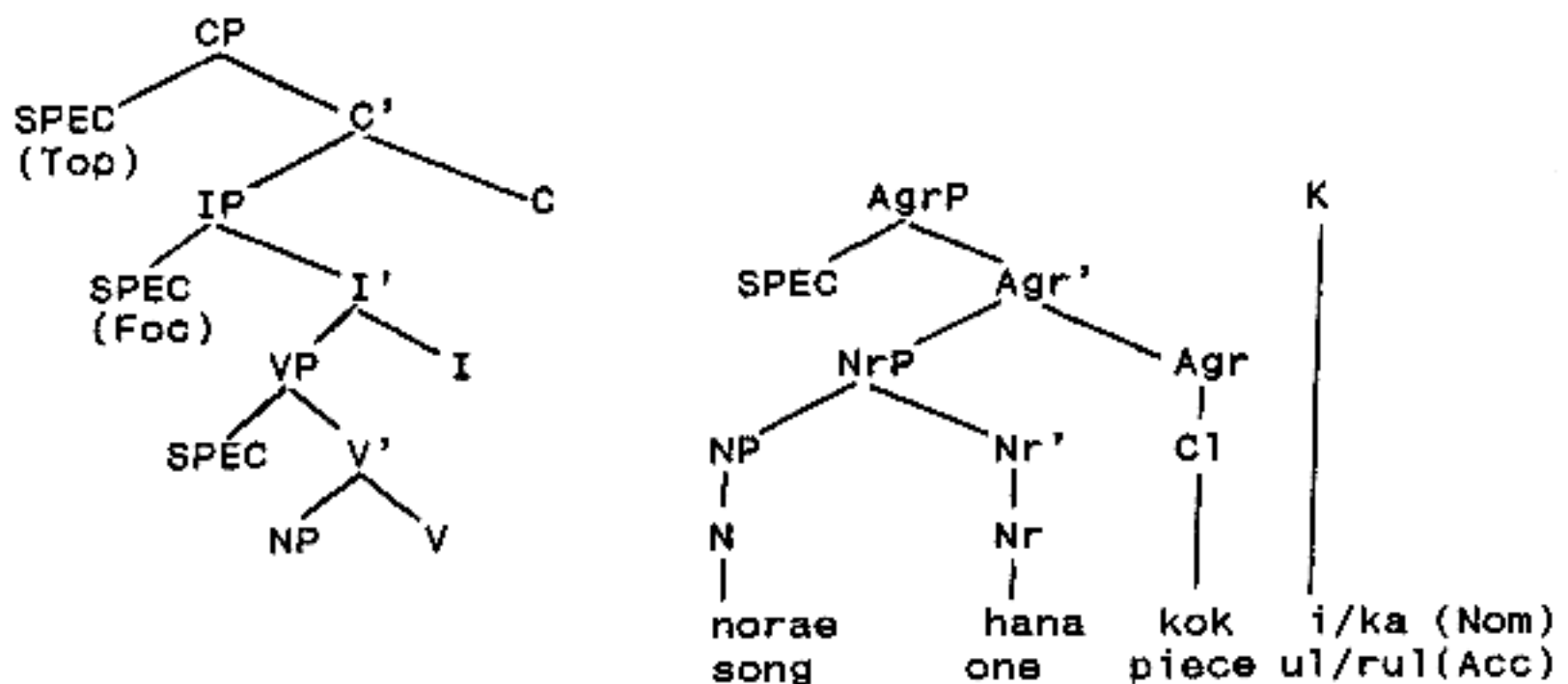
4. Numeral Classifiers. Now, let us turn to NP constructions with Numeral Classifiers (Nr-Cl hereafter), in connection with (in)definiteness. We claim that the order Noun + Numeral + Classifier is unmarked in Korean, differently from Chinese and Japanese. Observe:

- (9) a. *sənpɪ han pun*
 scholar one Classifier: person (Honored)
 b. *noræ tu kok*
 song two Classifier: music piece

Entities are perceived in masses in Korean and simple common nouns without Nr-Cl can refer to generics or (in)definites. They are chopped down into countable units when necessary and most countable nouns have classifiers associated with them, and even mass nouns can be expressed with Numeral + Measure Unit (e.g. *sʌl* 'rice' *tu* 'two' *mal* '18-litter unit': two 18-litter units of rice). The order Nr-Cl + genitive + Noun is rather marked in Korean (e.g. *han kok-ɨ noræ*), though not totally unused. Particularly, sentences such as in (10) below are frequently used. Therefore, we can conceptualize the classifier NP as a clause with Noun as Subject and Numeral Classifier as Predicate (cf. Generative Semantics and Abney 1987 about propositional concept). Then the structure will roughly look like (11).

- (10) a. *yəca-ka se myəng -i -ta*
 woman-Nom three Classif: person Cop Dec
 'Women are three persons.' (The number of women who are
 b. *yəca -ka manh-ta are there is three.*
 women-Nom much Dec
 'Women are much.' (There are many women.)
 c. *noræ-ka han kok -i -ta*
 song-Nom one piece Cop Dec
 'Song is one piece.' (The number of songs is one.)
 d. *noræ-ka kok -i hana -i -ta*
 song-Nom piece-Nom one Cop Dec
 'Song its piece is one.'

(11) (tentative)



The tree for the Nr-Cl construction (right) well matches the S structure and well reflects the head-final nature of Korean sentences even in an NP.² There is some property congruence between the noun and the classifier and there is also a subset relation between the noun and the Nr-Cl. The Nr-Cl is a subset. Most of the so-called double subject constructions have one of the two relations. If we see an entity as a complex of properties, then the first is another subset relation. In a transitive sentence, the lexical government of the verb blocks an object NP remaining in object position in from going up to Spec of CP. The object NP can go up to the Focus position only. For some justification of the structure, observe the following ungrammaticalities:

- (12) a. *noraē-iy han kok; ?*han kok noraē
 song-Gen one Cl on Cl song
- b. *han kok-i noraē-i -ta
 one Cl-Nom song Cop Dec

In the schematic tree of (11), the Nr *hana* becomes the prenominal form *han* when associated with the Classifier under Agr. Because of the underlying predicate nature of the Nr, it can be modified by adverbs such as *t'ak* 'sharply' and *k'ok* 'precisely.' The NP *noraē* 'song' can be missing with the Nr-Cl *han kok* left, or the Classifier *kok* can be missing with the NrP *noraē hana* remaining. You can commonly hear children saying, *pyəl hana na hana, pyəl tul na tul* 'star one me one, star two me two.' Then, the Nr + N form is possible like *han pyəl* 'one star' with a limited class of nouns. Another possibility is not having the Nr-Cl *han kok* with the common N 'song' remaining. Adjectives can only modify a noun as in (13a), below. *p'algan* 'red' and the (Nr-)Cl do not constitute a constituent, as in (13b). The Adj is a constituent of the lower NP. The 'floating' Nr-Cl *sək chan* would remain like an adverb without a case assignment in (13c).

- (13) a. p'alka-n photocu sək can
 red wine 3 glass
 b. ?*p'alka-n (sək) can
 red 3 glass
 c. p'alka-n photocu-r̄ɿl sək can masi -əs' -ta
 red wine-Acc 3 glass drink Past Dec
 'I drank three glasses of wine.'

Let us consider 'quantifier floating' possibilities. Observe (14b), below. The moved Noun *chaek* c-commands its trace from an A'-(Focus) position, and they are co-indexed, therefore, the former binds the Nr-C1 *se kwon*; thus the sentence is OK. This is not the case with (14a) and it is out (likewise in Japanese, differently from Miyagawa's observation). The Nr-C1 *se kwon* cannot move out because it is not a maximal projection, being blocked by the Agr'.

- (14) a. ?* se kwon Chəlsu-ka chaek-ɿl ilk -os' -ta
 3 volume Nom book-Acc read Past Dec
 'Cholsoo read three books.'
 b. chaek-ul Chəlsu-ka se kwon ilk -os' -ta
 book-Acc Nom 3 volume read Past Dec
 'Cholsoo read three volumes of books.'
 c. ?*se myəng(-i) haksəng-i o -as' -ta
 3 Cl Nom student-Nom come Past Dec
 'Three students came.'
 d. ?*Chəlsu-ka se kwon (-ɿl) chaek-ɿl ilk -əs' -ta
 3 volume-Acc book-Acc read Past Dec
 'Cholsoo read three volumes of books.'

Let us now turn to the problem of NP intervention between an NP and a Nr-C1. Let us see if one or more NPs can intervene. Observe:

- (16) a. namhaksəng-i yəhaksəng -eke chaek-ɿl set
 boy student-Nom girl student to book-Acc 3
 cu -əs' -ta
 give Past Dec
 'Boy students gave girl students 3 books.'
 b. *namhaksəng-i y haksəng -eke chaek-ɿl se myəng
 boy student-Nom girl student to book-Acc 3 Cl
 cu -əs' -ta
 give Past Dec
 c. namhaksəng-i yəhaksəng -ɿl {se myəng-i -(so),
 boy student-Nom girl student-Acc 3 Cl -Nom Agt
 ses-i-(so)} mil -os' -ta
 3 Agt push Past Dec

In (16a) *set* '3' can apply only to the adjacent DO, not to the subject or IO *eke* 'to' phrase. Its scope remains in its binding domain. This point is proved by (16b). With the person classifier associated with *se* 'three', the string becomes completely ungrammatical. This contradicts Gerdt's claim that the Numeral can

ambiguously be associated with subject or object. Only when the Numeral node has the Nominative marker attached, it can barely be associated with a subject across other NPs.

However, this crossing possibility is closely related to the *unaccusative* (or 'ergative') phenomenon. Observe the following interesting contrasts. Unaccusative verbs allow marker-less floating, as in (17), but not (agentive) transitive verbs.

- (17) *haksaeng-i se myǽng(-i) tochakha-yǽs'-ta*
 student-Nom 3 Cl Nom arrive Past Dec
 'Three students arrived.'
- (18) a. *?*namhaksaeng-i se myǽng yǽhaksaeng-ǝl mil-ǽs'-ta*
 boy student Nom 3 Cl girl student-Acc push Past Dec
 b. *(?)namhaksaeng-i se myǽng-i yǽhaksaeng -il*
 boy student-Nom 3 Cl -Nom girl student-Acc
mil -ǽs' -ta
 push Past Dec
 (a,b) 'Three boy students pushed girls.'
 c. *namhaksaeng se myǽng-i yǽhaksaeng -ǝl mil -ǽs' -ta*
 boy student 3 Cl-Nom girl student-Acc push Past Dec

As in (18a), a Nr-Cl cannot 'float' even adjacently without the Nominative marker in subject position, with a Vt. With the marker, it can (b). After this separation, other NPs can move to intervene, resulting in (18c). The basic construction, N + NrCl + Case Marker, is most natural for a transitive S. Further, compare the following Agentive intransitive Ss with the unaccusative (17).

- (19) a. *?haksaeng-i se myǽng wus -ǽs' -ta*
 student-Nom 3 Cl laugh Past Dec
 b. *haksaeng-i se myǽng-i wus -ǽs' -ta*
 student-Nom 3 Cl -Nom laugh Past Dec
 (a,b) 'Three students laughed.'

Agentive intransitives can take a cognate object or can become a nominal + *ha* 'do' construction (e.g. *wus-im-ǝl wus-ta* 'laugh a laugh,' *tali-ki-rǝl ha-ta* 'do running,' *kongpu-rǝl ha-ta* 'do a study') but unaccusatives normally can't (e.g. *?*tochak-ǝl ha-ta* 'do an arrival'). The unaccusative hypothesis (Perlmutter, Burzio) can be a syntactic solution, having a non-Agentive 'subject' in object position as a VP-internal argument at D-structure. Most existential and presentational S verbs happen to coincide with unaccusatives and they can take a Nom-less Nr-Cl for their 'subject.' Then, the indefinite existential function is done by the Nominative marker attached to the noun before it. A crossing 'float' is more flexible for object NPs but even here underlying ergativity subtly works (e.g. *Jay-nǝn chaek-ǝl Sue-eke se kwon ponǽ-ǽs'-ta* 'Jay sent Sue 3 books' vs. *?Jay-nǝn chaek-ǝl Sue-eke se kwon mil-ǽs'-ta* 'Jay pushed 3 books to Sue,' the latter getting better if the Acc marker is attached to the Nr-Cl). An additional phenomenon: Adjs, Copula (and the verb *toe* 'become') cannot take a Nom-less Nr-Cl.

Nr-CI float is possible only with standard cases (subject and DO) but not with Obl-marked nominals in Korean. But observe:

- (20) a. nae-ka sonnim- \dot{t} l wihaesə *set/ses- \dot{t} l wihaesə
 I -Nom guest-Acc for 3 3-Acc for
 yorihaes'-ta (Gerds 1985)
 cooked Dec
- b. ?nae-ka sonnim- \dot{t} l se pun- \dot{t} l wihaesə yorihaes'-ta
 I-Nom guest-Acc 3 CI-Acc for cooked Dec
 (a,b) 'I cooked for three guests.'

Gerds' example (20a) treats $-\dot{t}$ l wihaesə as a single postposition and sees the Obl-marked Nm-CI as good but then it constitutes a counterexample to float prohibition. Actually it is as bad as ?*haksaeng-əke ne myəng-əke 'to 4 students.' Our (20b) is far better because the Acc marker still retains its function a bit and wihaesə retains some verbal behavior.

Turning to ECM construction, let us consider various case-marking possibilities. In (20a), the N has Acc and the Nr-CI Nom.

- (20) a. na-n \dot{t} n haksəng- \dot{t} l se myəng-i chəncəe-ra-ko
 I-Top student-Acc 3 CI-Nom genius Dec Comp
 mit -əs' -ta
 believe Past Dec
- b. *na-n \dot{t} n haksəng-i se myəng- \dot{t} l chəncəe-ra -ko
 I-Top student-Nom 3 CI -Acc genius Dec Comp
 mit -əs' -ta
 believe Past Dec
- (a,b) 'I believed 3 students to be geniuses.'
- c. na-n \dot{t} n haksəng- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dot{t}l \\ \text{Acc} \\ i \\ \text{Nom} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} se \\ 3 \\ CI \\ \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} myəng \\ -\dot{t}l \\ \text{Acc} \\ i \\ \text{Nom} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} chəncəe-ra-ko \\ \text{genius Dec Comp} \end{array} \right.$
- mit -əs' -ta (believed)
 'I believed 3 students { to be, are} geniuses.'

In (20b) for the Nr-CI se myəng to get the Acc case marker, the whole NP must be raised so that the Nr-CI can get the Acc case, but haksəng 'student', which is presumably [+Specific] to be raised into Focus(?), cannot move down to get the Nom marker. The Acc-Acc and Nom-Nom agreement combinations are all right; the Acc version should be [+Specific]. A definite NP with $k\dot{t}$ does not allow floating; * $k\dot{t}$ haksəng- \dot{t} l- \dot{t} l se myəng- \dot{t} l, * $k\dot{t}$ haksəng- \dot{t} l-i se myəng-i, only $k\dot{t}$ haksəng- \dot{t} l se myəng- \dot{t} l/-i 'the three students.'

All common N + Nr-CI expressions are indefinite, whether or not they are Specific, if not explicitly preceded by a demonstrative or possessive. Nr-CI expressions are not quantificational in the sense that their denotations are not proportional (so absolute) to a defined set denoted by the noun. Note that mot \dot{t} n 'all' and taepupun- \dot{t} y 'most' are quantificational and they cannot occur with a CI (e.g. *(haksəng) mot \dot{t} n myəng [(student) all CI]). Numerals that can co-occur include such fuzzy

(opaque) numerals as *han-tu* '1 or 2,' *tu-sa-nə* '2, 3 or 4,' *yə-namu* 'a few more than 10,' and *yəra* 'several.'

How about in subject position? Consider the following combinations. How do they differ in meaning?

- (21) a. *nae chinchək-in se myəng(-i) cuk -əs' -ta*
 my relative Top 3 Cl Nom die Past Dec
 'As for my relatives, three (persons) died.'
- b. *nae chinchək-i se myəng(-i) cuk -əs' -ta*
 my relative-Nom 3 Cl Nom die Past Dec
 'My relatives, three, died.'
- c. *nae chinchək-i se myəng-in cuk -əs' -ta*
 my relative-Nom 3 Cl Contrast die Past Dec
 'Of my relatives, at least three died.'
- d. *nae chinchək-in namca-ka se myəng(-i) cuk -əs' -ta*
 my relative-Top man-Nom 3 Cl Nom die Past Dec
 'As for my relatives, three men died.'

In (21a), with the definite Topic NP, the Nr-Cl gets a partitive meaning, whereas in (21b), with the Nom marker 'my relatives' and 'three persons' are predominantly in an appositive relation. The Topic reference in (a) is presupposed and it normally exceeds 3. In (b), the Nom marker draws attention to the existence of 'my relatives', going up to a salient position possibly, and presents the set of my relatives immediately relevant to the predicate as three. Because of the presentational nature of the Nom marker, the appositive sense is in order. As in (c), if the Classifier part gets the *nin* marker, it has to have a contrastive meaning as in the middle of a sentence. Furthermore, we can have a sentence like (d) forming a 'double subject' construction. 'My relatives' is a definite NP Topic, and 'man' gets a spotlight as a specific set when associated with the Nom marker. There must be a subset relation between the first nominal and the second consecutively in turn and the order cannot be reversed in such a double subject construction.

5. Nonspecific Indefinites. Now turning to the problem of indefinites coming from Wh-words, let us consider them in terms of specificity. One thing about the intuitively plausible 'interrogative first' hypothesis is that *wae* 'why' itself never functions as an indefinite, whereas *amu* functions only as an indefinite (cf. Suh 1989). All of the Indefinites coming directly from Wh-words (e.g., *nuku* 'who') can be used with either the feature [+Specific] or [-Specific], whereas [Wh-word + *i*(Cop) + *n*(Ind) + *ka*(Q End)] (e.g., *nuku-i-n-ka* 'someone,' *muəs-i-n-ka* 'something') can only be used with the feature [-Specific]. This is striking in the sense that inherent non-specific indefinites are possible in Korean (cf. Enc's Turkish example of the accusative marker, exhibiting the feature [+Specific]). We view something is Specific if it is registered in the speaker's mind so that it can be identified by the speaker, not necessarily scope-dependent. Consider the sentences in (22) to see the distinction between

[+Specific] and [-Specific].

- (22) a. na-n+n nuku [ØSpecific]-r+1 manna-ki-ro toe-ø is'-ta
 I-Top someone Acc meet to scheduled be Dec
 b. na-n+n nuku-i-n-ka [-Specific]-r+1 manna-ki-ro
 I-Top someone Acc meet to
 toe-ø is'-ta
 schedule be Dec
 (a,b) 'I am scheduled to meet someone (a. [ØSpecific],
 b. [-Specific]).'

In (22a) *nuku* is probably someone registered in the speaker's knowledge, though possibly not, whereas in (22b) *nuku-i-n-ka* is not registered at speech time. The latter type of indefinites should come from indirect questions originally. But in such a context as (22b), the form cannot function as an interrogative expression. The form must be followed by a predicate such as *mori-ta* 'not know,' *a7-ta* 'know' to function as an indirect Q.

In the case of (23a,b), both [+Specific] and [-Specific] indefinites are shown to occur freely in an ECM construction if the embedded predicate is individual-level. However, if it has a stage-level predicate a [-Specific] indefinite cannot occur as sentences (23c,e) show.

- (23) a. John-+n nuku[+Specific]-r+1 chānceae-ra-ko
 Top someone genius Dec Comp
 mit -ko is' -s' -ta <Individual-level>
 believe Prog Past Dec
 b. John-+n nuku-i-n-ka[-Specific]-r+1 chānceae-ra
 Top someone Acc genius Dec
 mit -ko is' -əs' -ta <Individual-level>
 believe Prog Past Dec
 (a,b) 'John believed someone (a. [+Specific],
 b. [-Specific]) to be a genius.'
 c. John-+n nuku-in-ka[-Specific]-{*r+1/-ka} tachət -ta
 Top someone Acc Nom injured Dec
 -ko mit -ko is'-ta <Stage-level>
 Comp believe Prog Dec
 'John believes someone {to be, is} injured.'
 d. John-+n muəs-i-n-ka[-Specific]-{*r+1/-ka} k+ sok-e is'
 Top something Acc Nom the in be
 ta-ko mit -ko is' -ta <Stage-level>
 Dec Comp believe Prog Dec
 'John believes something {to be, is} in it.'

From (23) we can conclude that a non-specific indefinite cannot be raised to the Focus position to get the Acc marker in the so-called ECM construction if the embedded predicate is a stage-level predicate. Tense might be argued to be an alternative criterion for determining whether a non-specific subject is raisable or not. But the semantic distinction between individual- and stage-level turns out to be a correct criterion.

In (24) below, (a) is all right because the whole NP gets a [-Specific] interpretation with the non-specific indefinite plus (or without) the indefinite Nr-Cl, but (b) is out because the -ka-marked noun gets existential force with the feature [+Specific] when it goes up to a salient position, by having a floated Nr-Cl, but it contradicts the inherently nonspecific noun as follows:

- (24) a. *nuku-i-n-ka*[-Specific] *se myəng* -i o -as'-ta
 someone 3 Cl (person)-Nom come Past Dec
 b. ?**nuku-i-n-ka*[-Specific]-ka *se myəng* o-as'-ta⁴
 someone Nom 3 Cl come Past Dec
 (a,b) 'Some three persons came.'

The indefinite (pro)noun *nuku* or *ət'an saram* + *-i/ka* (Nom) with a floated Nr-Cl still creates unhappiness. These facts show that there is some parallelism between Nom- and Acc-marking.

Let us turn to the deletability of the Acc marker. Previously we saw that neither the Nom marker nor the Acc marker with existential force can be deleted. In (25a) below, the object NP is not assumed, is focused and draws attention, conveying novel information. Therefore, the Acc marker cannot drop here, whereas sentence (b), with the irrealis interpretation by abstraction of nominalization, can drop the Acc marker. In Japanese, however, the Acc marker cannot drop from a corresponding sentence. Observe:

- (26) a. *ɨysa-nin* *huanca hana-hana-* {*/rɨ/} *cinchalhae-s'-ta*
 doctor-Top patient one one Acc examine Past Dec
 'The doctor examined each patient.'
 b. *ɨysa-ka* *huanca hana-hana-∅* *cinchalha-*
 doctor-Nom patient one one examine
nin te -e myət sikan kəlli-pni-k'a?
 PreN [Nominalizer] in how many hour take Honorif Q
 'How many hours does it take in examining each patient?'

6. Quantifiers/Distributives. In (27a) below, the negative polarity item *amu* comes to have a focus meaning together with the Concessive marker *-to*. It takes the focus position, unambiguously meaning a total negation in association with negation. It has to do with scalar implicature. In (27b), if *motu* 'all' takes the focus position with wide scope and existential force, the sentence gets a total negation; but if the universal quantifier does not take focus on it, it will have narrow scope and the sentence comes to mean a partial negation, with *modu-ka o-ta* as the target of Neg.

- (27) a. *amu-to* o -ci *ani-ha-yəs'-ta*
 anyone Concessive ('even') come Comp not do Past Dec
 'No one (=not any particular person whatsoever) came.'
 b. *motu-ka* o-ci *ani-ha-yəs'-ta* [scope ambiguity]
 all-Nom come-Comp Neg do Past Dec
 'All did not come.'

From both Ss of (27) above, a Topic NP such as *sonnim-tɨl-n* 'as for guests' has been deleted (or assumed). That is why *motu-ka o-as'-ta* 'all came,' with Nom, is all right but *?*motu-nɨn o-as'-ta*, with *nɨn* the Topic marker, is terrible. The negated S with *nɨn*, *motu-nɨn o-ci-an-h-as'-ta*, only means a partial negation; the marker only has the meaning of Contrast. And the range of contrast set by the marker is limited to an item or list of items that is assumed by the speaker to be immediately available to the hearer. In this case of universal quantifier expression the only candidate for contrast is part of the set, hence partial negation. Even (27b) comes to mean only a partial negation if the Contrast marker is attached after *motu-ka o-ci*. Most quantifiers such as *motu* 'all,' *taepupun* 'mostly' function adverbially in an unmarked way in Korean, freely modifying a generic Topic or any preceding common N+Nom, as an operator. After a generic/ definite set Topic those adverbial quantifiers can occur with (like Nr-C1) or without Nom, but *cɔlpan* 'half,' *ilpupun* 'part' or an expression 1/3 needs Nom. The prenominal modifying form of *motu*, i.e. *motɨn* followed by a common N + Topic/Nom is rather marked. Note also that common N+'all'+Topic is not allowed: *?*kae motu-nɨn (cic-nɨn-ta)*. But the Nom/Acc marker instead of Topic is all right depending on context like common N + Nr-C1. Note further that common N + Nom/Acc + *motu* as in *kae-ka motu cic-nɨn-ta* 'All dogs are barking' cannot have a generic (Focus) reading but only a reading of a defined subset assumed familiar to the hearer. Therefore, it forces its predicate to have a stage-level reading. Even when the 'dog' is stressed and focused it still gets a subset and stage-level predicate reading.

Sentence (28) below shows that there is an interaction between accomplishment verbs and Nr-C1 expressions. In (28a) the objective N + Nr-C1 expression plus an accomplishment verb co-occurs with the temporal expression *tongan-e* 'in' which implies the completion of drawing the given quantity in a given period of time; whereas the same construction cannot co-occur with the temporal expression *tongan* 'for,' which does not imply completion but duration only (cf. Lee 1982). The latter temporal expression can occur only with a simple noun with no Nr-C1 whatsoever. A simple noun is perceived as a mass, and even the Noun + *han* 'one' + C1 construction is not easily permitted. The Numeral specifier defines the Goal of the accomplishment action. Similarly, (28c) is ungrammatical because it has the duration expression "for ten hours."

- (28) a. *Mary-nɨn yəl sikan tongan -e kɨrim {han, pan}*
 Top 10 hour duration in picture one half
 phok -ɨl kɨri-əs'-ta
 C1: piece-Acc draw Past Dec
 'Mary drew {a, a half} piece of picture in one hour.'
- b. *Mary-nɨn yəl sikan tongan { kɨrim, ??kɨrim han phok,*
 Top 10 hour duration picture one C1
 *?*kɨrim se phok}-ɨl -kɨri-əs' -ta ['kɨrim': mass]*
 3 C1 Acc draw Past Dec
 'Mary drew pictures for ten hours.'

- Cf. c. *yəl sikan tongan *(ə) il mail-ɨl kəl -əs' -ta*
 10 hour duration one mile-Acc walk Past Dec
 '(I) walked one mile in (*for) ten hours.'

Let us turn to the issue of distributivity. Consider (29). With 'each', 'most' or 'in turn' in sentence (a), the subject NP has wide scope over the object NP and the object is distributed over the subject without *s'ik*, the marker of distributivity. But if the object 'one song' is fronted, then it gets Focus and it predominantly has wide scope over the following subject.

- (29) a.

{	<i>chulyanca hana-hana-ka</i> performers one one-Nom <i>chulyanca-tɨl-i taepupun (or, charyero)</i> performers Pl-Nom mostly (or, in turn)	}	<i>norae</i> song
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han kok-ɨl pul -əs'-ta [Subject wide scope]
 one Cl-Acc sing Past Dec
 '{Each performer/most performers (or, the performers in turn)} sang a song.'
- b. *norae han kok-ɨl [chulyanca hana-hana-ka/chulyanca-*
 song one Cl-Acc performer one one-Nom performer-
tɨl-i taepupun] pul-əs'-ta
 PL-Nom mostly sing Past Dec
 'One song, {each performer/most performers} sang.'
 [Object[+Specific] wide scope] (preferred)

Sentence (30) shows that a nonspecific indefinite object cannot take the Topic position with the Topic marker as in (a), but that the object can become a Focus by fronting it as in (b).

- (30) a. *?*norae yərə kok (s'ik)-ɨn haksaeng-tɨl-i*
 song several Cl Distr-Top student -PL -Nom
pul-əs' -ta
 sing Past Dec
 'As for several pieces of songs, students sang.'
- b. *norae yərə kok (s'ik)-ɨl haksaeng-tɨl-i*
 song several Cl Distr-Acc student -Pl -Nom
pul -əs'-ta
 sing Past Dec
 'Several pieces of songs students sang.'
- c. *haksaeng-tɨl-i norae yərə kok s'ik -ɨn*
 student-Pl-Nom song several Cl Distr-Contr
pul-əs'-ta
 sing Past Dec
 'Students sang several songs each, but....'

When the distributive *-s'ik* and the reciprocal *səro* interact with each other, some interesting interpretations come out. Observe the following:

- (31) a. yəca tu myəng s'ik-i səro s'au-əs' -ta [ambig.]
 woman 2 Cl Distr-Nom each other fight Past Dec
 <1> 'Groups of two women fought each other.'
 <2> 'Two women fought each other in groups of two.'
- b. yəca -ka tu myəng s'ik səro s'au -əs'-ta
 woman-Nom 2 Cl Distr each other fight Past Dec
 'The women, in groups of two, fought each other.'

In a context where the relativized subject can be interpreted as 'any...' (arbitrary choice) or a conditional, the pronominal element in the main clause functions as a bound variable to refer to an indefinite NP in the preceding relative clause. The Topic noun here initially might be an indefinite but because of the modal sense given in the construction, the whole NP can be said to constitute a defined set, approximating a Definite.

- (32) tangnakui-rɨl<i> kaci-n saram-in (nuku-na)
 donkey -Acc have Rel man -Top anyone
 kɨ kəs -ɨl<i> (ɨyrehɨ) t'aeri-n -ta
 the thing-Acc usually hit Pres Dec
 'A man who has a donkey<i> (anyone who has a donkey)
 beats it<i> usually.'

If the Topic marker is replaced by the Nom marker of Neutral, then the binding relation disappears; the conditional modal of the set-related common noun Topic disappears. We need an extraordinarily strong stress on the new Nom marker of Focus to get a barely possible binding between the Indefinite and the pronominal. Then the predicate is assumed given. Such a Topic and a generic Topic can be related to a conditional, but a Topic has a stronger presupposition than a conditional (Lee 1982). All the related facts can be explained by the notions we have been discussing.

7. Epilogue. So far we tried to characterize the relationship between the notion of (in)definiteness/(non)specificity of NPs with the notion of Topic/Focus of sentences. We also tried to see some related quantificational problems. The focus was on how those notions are expressed in such an article-less language as Korean. Naturally Topic/case markers are in order. But this is just a starting point.

ENDNOTES

1. We adopt phonetic symbols, not the Yale romanization system in transcription for convenience. We would like to express our thanks to those who helped or encouraged us on various occasions to improve our ideas: among others, Barbara Partee acted as a strong stimulus at the U. of Arizona-LSA quantification festivals, we had lively discussions with Heedon Ahn, Hyunkwon Yang, Sungho Ahn, Kwangsup Kim, Hyunwoo Lee, David Gil, Sookhwan Cho, Seungho Nahm, Hyosang Lee, Sejung Kim and Kyungja Jun, and Ikhwan Lee showed an unusual editorial patience. Errors, however, are mine.

2. We owe the term AgrP to Hyunkwon Yang.
3. Sejung Kim (p.c.) also tries to unify predicate nominals with Themes in psych predicates by applying the relativization failure to the latter. But the latter can be referential (and definite) and there must be some different reason involved.

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