

Korean *tul* and English *all*

Korean plural marker *tul* has two distinct usages. It can occur as typical plural morpheme, immediately following a (pro)noun (underlined in examples). Or it can be optionally attached to other categories including adverbial, verbal, or prepositional phrases (boldfaced in examples). The former is called “intrinsic *tul*” and the latter “extrinsic *tul*.”

Extrinsic *tul* has some peculiar properties. First, it carries a distributive sense. (2a) can mean either that each of the two students submitted his/her own paper, or that the two submitted one coauthored paper. By contrast, (2b) can only mean the former. Furthermore, extrinsic *tul* appears to violate compositionality: although it attaches to any category, regardless of semantic type (as in (1)), it never indicates the plurality on its adjacent element. Lastly, extrinsic *tul* must be placed in a position c-commanded by a plural argument, as in (3), and the plural argument must be within the same clause as in (4).

I argue that the function and meaning of extrinsic *tul* is not precisely explained by only these three properties, and its semantic and syntactic contribution should be captured by analogy with English *all*. English *all* is proposed to have “maximizing effect” as in (5), and to be compatible with both distributive and collective reading (Brisson 2003), both of which correctly correspond to the behavior of *tul* that I found in extensive data, including (6). Furthermore, English *all* is also attested to have multiple occurrences (7) as is the case with extrinsic *tul*.

I propose an analysis of extrinsic *tul* in parallel with English *all*, employing the idea of feature sharing version of Agree and Vehicle Requirement on Merge (Pesetsky and Torrego 2004, 2006), according to which the interpretable unvalued feature on intrinsic *tul* serves as a probe for the uninterpretable valued feature on extrinsic *tul* via Agree (8). The suggested analysis should present a more accurate account of the semantics and syntax of extrinsic *tul*, while capturing the correspondence between Korean *tul* and English *all*.

Data

- (1) haksayng-tul.i sensayngnim-kkey(.**tul**) yelsimhi(-**tul**) cilmwun-ul(.**tul**)
student-TUL.NOM teacher-DAT(.TUL) intently(-TUL) question-ACC(.TUL)
kyosil-eyse(.**tul**) ha-ko(.**tul**) issta.
classroom-in(.TUL) do-COMP(.TUL) be
'The students are asking a question to the teacher intently in the classroom.'
- (2) a. twu-myeng.uy haksayng-tul.i peyipe-lul ceychwulhayssta.
two-CL.GEN student-TUL.NOM paper-ACC submitted
'Two students submitted a paper.'
- b. twu-myeng.uy haksayng-tul.i peyipe-lul.**tul** ceychwulhayssta.
two-CL.GEN student-TUL.NOM paper-ACC.TUL submitted
'Two students submitted a paper (each).'
- (3) wuli sensayngnim-un yenkusil-ey(***tul**) kyesita.
our teacher-TOP office-in(.TUL) be
'Our teacher is in the office.'
- (4) yecaay-tul.i [nay-ka pan-eyse.***tul** ceil-***tul** calsayngkyessta-ko] malhanta.
girl-TUL.NOM I-NOM class-in.TUL most-TUL handsome-COMP say
'The girls say that I am the most handsome in the class.'
- (5) a. The girls built a raft. (but Sue and Mary did not)
b. **All** the girls built a raft. (and no girl was allowed not to)
- (6) yecaay-tul.i.**tul** tteysmok-ul mantulessta.
girl-TUL.NOM.TUL raft-ACC built
'Each of the girls built her own raft.' (distributive)
'All the girls built a raft together.' (collective)
- (7) a. **All** the gentlemen **all** like my father.
b. **All** the important issues were **all** resolved.
- (8) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \text{ Agree } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$
... Inttul ... [v Exttul] ... \Rightarrow ... Inttul ... [v Exttul]
iDist [] uDist iDist[3] uDist[3]

Selected references

- Brisson, Christine. 2003. Plurals, *all*, and the nonuniformity of collective predication. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26: 129-184.
- Pesetsky, David and Esther Torrego. 2004. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. To appear in *Clever and Right: A Festschrift for Joe Emonds*. S. Karimi, V. Samiian and W. Wilkins (eds.).