Korean Linguistics Workshop

University at Buffalo, October 15, 2021

Anaphoric Definiteness in Korean and Situation-Internal/-External Reference

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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:
 - 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 articles in German and Fering
 - Bare vs. demonstrative (DEM) marked nominals 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 product-producer/part-whole bridging cases (e.g., Kang 2021).
 - And 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.

Illustration

Unique definites in Korean

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(1) a. 문 열어. (Immediate situation) b. 달이 떴다. (Larger situation) c. 대통령이 오늘 기자 회견을 한다. (Larger situation)
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- (2) a. 나는 오늘 **소설**을 한권 샀다. <u>저자</u>가 프랑스인이다. (Product-producer) b. 미나가 **집**을 새로 샀다. <u>부엌</u>이 아주 크다. (Part-whole)
- Anaphoric definites in Korean
 - (3) a. 가게 안으로 **어떤 소녀**가 들어 왔다. <u>소녀</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다.
 - b. 어제 **학생 한 명**이 나를 찾아왔다. <u>그 학생</u>은 지금 언어학을 전공하고 있다.
 - c. 어제 엄마가 **과자**를 구워 주셨다. **과자**가 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 an output filter (compare Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019).

Key claims

- The surface form of an anaphoric definite is determined by several factors: e.g.,
 - 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 described by the sentence at hand (compare Kang 2021).

Roadmap

- Need to treat anaphoric topics differently from non-topic anaphoric definites
- Anaphoric definiteness marking on continuing topics
- Anaphoric definiteness marking on non-topic nominals
- How to explain the facts
- 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. <u>학생이</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다. (NOM-marked)
 - b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?<u>그 학생이</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.
- (6) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. *<u>학생은</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다. (Topic-marked)
 - b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?<u>그 학생은</u> 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 whereas (purely) contrastive topics do not; in fact, the latter may resist a DEM-marking.
- (7) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. <u>?/??(그) 남자는</u> 가방을 들고 있었다. (continuing topic)
- (8) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. <u>(?/??그) 남자는</u> 가방을 들고 있었고 <u>(?/??그) 여자는</u> 우산을 들고 있었다. (contrastive topic)
- (9) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. <u>??(그) 남자와 ??(그) 여자는</u> 가방을 들고 있었다. (continuing topic)

Variability in grammaticality judgments

- Grammaticality judgments on data involving anaphoric definites in Korean are not categorical:
 - The seven Korean speakers I consulted with gave **rather varied ratings** for (11) though they all judged (10) to be perfectly grammatical.
 - On the scale of 5, one speaker rated it as a 2; two as a 3; two as a 4; and two as a 5, where 5 means 'perfectly grammatical/acceptable' and 1 means 'absolutely ungrammatical/unacceptable'.

(10) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. <u>그 남자</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다.

(11) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. <u>남자</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다.

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.

• In total, 71 tokens of phonologically overt continuing topics were obtained.

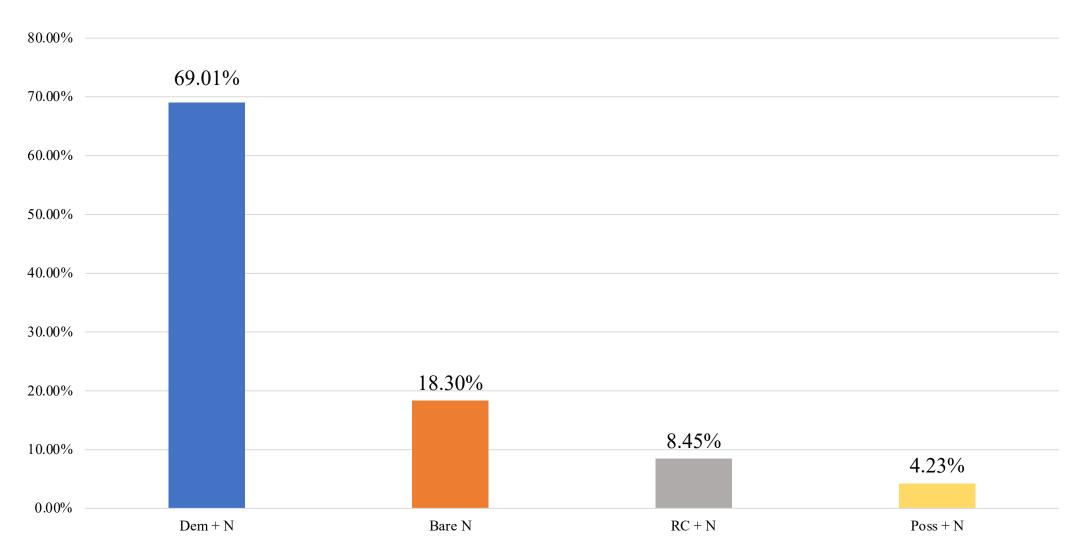
Of these:

- **49** were modified by a **DEM** (e.g., <u>그</u> 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);
- and **13** were in the form of a **purely bare** nominal (e.g., <u>고양이</u>는).

Table 1. Anaphoric definiteness marking on continuing topics

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

Figure 1. Percentage of each type of continuing topic form



Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics

• 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. <u>그 소녀</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다.
- (14) a. 가게 안으로 어떤 여자애가 들어 왔다. */??<u>여자애</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다. b. 가게 안으로 어떤 여자애가 들어 왔다. <u>그 여자애</u>는 가방을 들고 있었다.

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

Genre or text type:

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

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

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

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

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(51) 백만 년이나 죽지 않은 <u>고양이가</u> 있었습니다. (S1) 그 고양이는 백만 번이나 죽고 백만 번이나 살았습니다. (S2) 백만 명의 사람의 고양이였으며, 백만 명의 사람이 귀여워했습니다. (S3) 백만 명의 사람이 <u>그 고양이가</u> 죽을 때 울었습니다. (S4) 하지만 <u>그 고양이는</u> 단 한 번도 울지 않았습니다. (S5) 그러던 한때 <u>고양이는</u> 누구의 고양이도 아닌 자기만의 고양이가 되었습니다. (S6) (https://market.bookshopmap.com/100만-번-산-고양이/, accessed May 24, 2021)
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Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics cont'd

- Spatiotemporal overlap and no POV shift between the sentences involved:
- (18) 어제 학생 한명이 나를 찾아왔다. */??(<u>그) 학생</u>은 언어학을 전공하고 있다.
- (19) 어제 학생 한명이 나를 찾아왔다. (<u>그) 학생</u>은 언어학을 전공하고 있다<mark>고</mark> 했다.

Interim summary 1

- 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 작년에 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 <u>*/??(그) 사과</u>를 오늘 점심으로 먹었다.
 - d. 당나귀가 있는 모든 농부는 <u>*/??(그) 당나귀</u>를 때린다.
 - e. 간식을 가지고 온 모든 아이는 <u>*(그) 간식</u>을 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 작년에 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 <u>??/?(그)</u> 친구에게 전화를 걸었다.

Anaphoric definiteness 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 작년에 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. <u>(??/?그) 과자</u>가 정말 맛있었다.
 - d. 어제 학생 한 명과 상담을 했다. (??/?그) 학생이 참 똑똑했다.
 - e. 어떤 작가나 재미있는 소설을 쓰면 <u>*/??(그) 소설</u>이 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 suggestive evidence for a correlation between DEM-marking and focus-marking.

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,	6	0	2	0
Comitative) (n = 8)				
Total # of tokens (n = 76)	46 (60.52%)	21 (27.63%)	5 (6.57%)	4 (5.26%)

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

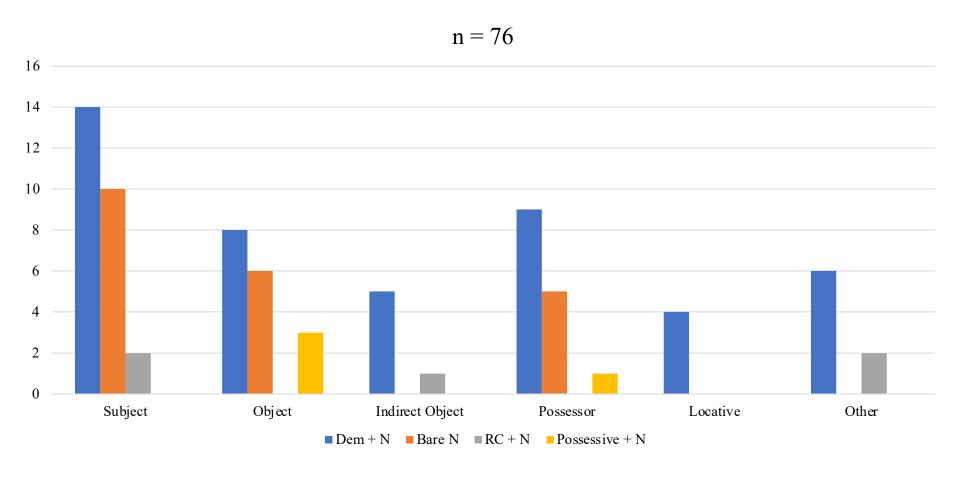
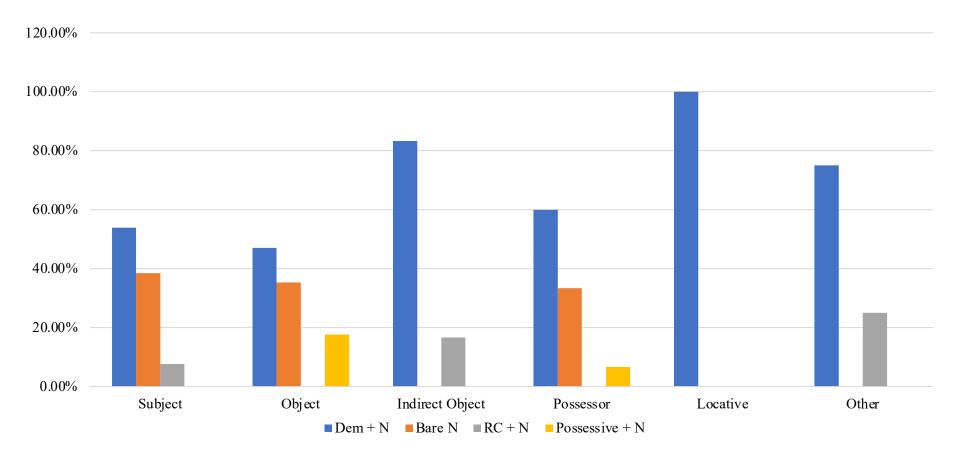


Figure 2-B. Distribution of each type of anaphoric non-topic nominal form



• Of the 76 tokens, **eight** contained **focus particles** (e.g., $-\frac{1}{2}$ 'only', $-\frac{1}{2}$ '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	6	1	0	1
(n = 8)				

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN anaphoric definite arguments

- Spatiotemporal overlap and no POV shift between the sentences involved:
- (20) b. 나는 공원에서 집 없는 고양이 한 마리를 보았다. 그리고 나는 <u>(그) 고양이</u>를 집으로 데리고 왔다. (spatiotemporal overlap)
- (20) a. 나는 작년에 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 지난 주에 나는 */??(그) 청년을 세 번 더 만났다. (no spatiotemporal overlap)
- (23) Variant of (20a)
 나는 작년에 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 **그 자리에서 바로**(그) 청년을 남편에게 소개했다. (spatiotemporal overlap)

Cont'd

(20) c. 엄마가 어제 내게 사과 한 개를 주셨다. 나는 <u>*/??(그) 사과</u>를 오늘 점심으로 먹었다. (no spatiotemporal overlap)

(24) Variant of (20c)

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

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

- 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. <u>학생</u>, 여기 앉아. b. 할머니, 여기 앉으세요.

Cont'd

- Nominals like 군인 and 의사 can**not** occur as **anaphoric BNs** as readily as nominals like 학생 and 할머니, and they can**not** 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 <u>*(그) 의사</u>를 경찰서에 데려다 주었다/드렸다.
- (29) a. */??<u>군인</u>, 여기 앉아/앉으세요. b. *<u>의사</u>, 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 <mark>군인 아저씨</mark> 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. <u>군인 아저씨</u>, 여기 앉으세요/여기 앉아. b. <u>의사 선생님</u>, 여기 앉으세요/#여기 앉아.

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

- 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 which bear the **same index** have already occurred in the same discourse.

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(33) 말 그대로입니다. (S1) <u>강아지를</u> 집에 혼자 몇날 몇일 방치하는 친구가 있어요. (S2) <u>그 강아지는</u> 예전에 어느 누군가가 파양해서 임시 보호하다가... (S3) ... 이박 삼일 동안 <mark>강아지가</mark> 혼자 있는 경우도 많아요. (S8) (https://pann.nate.com/talk/346167386, accessed May 24, 2021)
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Interim summary 2

- 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 sentential predicate is adjectival.
 - 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 claim: 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).
- 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).

Explaining the facts

- Contrast between (22c, d) and (34):
- (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.
- (34) **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 the property denoted by an adjective phrase (AP).
 - In (34), the speaker is **comparing** a discourse-familiar individual with another individual w.r.t. an AP meaning.

Explaining the facts

- Contrast between (7) and (8):
- (7) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. <u>?/??(그) 남자는</u> 가방을 들고 있었다. (continuing topic)
- (8) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. <u>(?/??그) 남자는</u> 가방을 들고 있었고 <u>(?/??그) 여자는</u> 우산을 들고 있었다. (contrastive topic)
 - In (7), the anaphoric definite is a **continuing topic**, so, 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 for them.

Explaining the facts

- Contrast between (5) and (6):
- (5) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. <u>학생이</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.
 - b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?<u>그 학생이</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.
- (6) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. *<u>학생은</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.
 - b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?<u>그 학생은</u> 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.
- In both (5) and (6), given the way the discourse is structured, **situation-internal reference** must be taken, so the BN form is called for. And this also makes the **Topic-marking not** so **felicitous**.

Conclusion

- Korean uses both BNs and DEM-marked forms to encode anaphoric definiteness, but the choice between the two forms is not randomly made, and DEM-marking is not always "optional", contra the prevailing view in recent literature (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, contra 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.
 - Implication: When it comes to anaphoric definiteness marking, Korean may have more than one grammar.

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

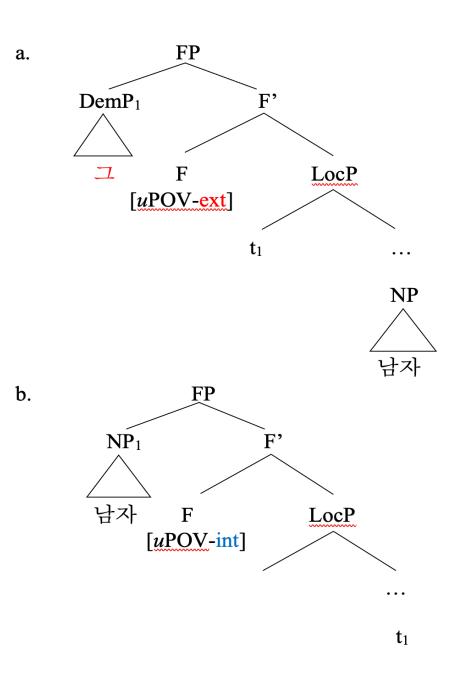
	Types of definite use	Examples from English
U	Immediate situation use	Open the door!
U	Larger situation use	The moon has risen.
Α	Anaphoric use	John bought a book and a magazine today. The book was
		expensive.
А	Bridging: Product-producer	John bought a book today. The author is French.
Α	Bridging: Part-whole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

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	Α	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.
Bridging: Producer-product	Α	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.
Bridging: Part-whole		weak	bare	bare	bare
Donkey anaphora	Α	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.

(Moroney 2021: Table 4)

Appendix: How the POV features are formally licensed



Appendix: Violable constraints comprising the output filter

(i) Index!

Represent and bind all possible indices.

(Jenks 2018: 524, (50))

(ii) Don't Overdeterminate!

Block β if $\exists \alpha$: $\alpha \in ALT(\beta) \land \forall P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda w P_w([[\beta]]^{D,g}) \subseteq \lambda w P_w([[\alpha]]^{D,g})$ (Ahn 2019: 73, (90))

(iii) Index Continuing Topics! (INDEXCNTTOP)

Represent and bind all possible indices on a continuing topic.

Appendix: 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.

Appendix: Ranking among the violable constraints for Korean

Grammar I

```
{INDEXCNTTOP, USETXTINTUNQDFTS, USEEXTPOV, USEINTPOV} >> INDEX! >> DON'T OVERDETERMINATE!
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Grammar II

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