

# Intrusion effects on Korean NPI licensing and the influence of prosody

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## Introduction

▶ Negative polarity items (**NPIs**) (e.g. *ever* or *any* in English) must occur within the scope of an appropriate licenser (e.g. **negation**) as in (1)-(3).

- (1) **No boy** that the girl likes **ever** arrived late.
- (2) \*The boy that **no girl** likes **ever** arrived late.
- (3) \*Some boy that the girl likes **ever** arrived late.

▶ However, online studies have shown **intrusive licensing effects**: speakers may accept ungrammatical NPIs when a potential licenser is not in the proper licensing position as in (2) (e.g., Drenhaus et al. 2005, Vasishth et al. 2008, Xiang et al. 2009, Parker and Phillips 2016).

▶ NPI intrusion also appears in Turkish, where NPIs precede their licensers (Yanilmaz and Drury 2014).

▶ Time/distance between the NPI and its potential licenser can modulate intrusive licensing (Parker and Phillips 2016, Yanilmaz and Drury under review).

## Research Questions

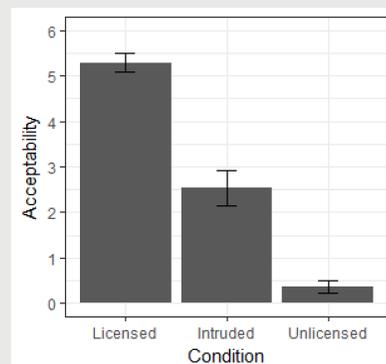
1. Does NPI licensing intrusion occur in Korean?
  - ▶ Korean is another language in which an NPI precedes its licenser in the linear order.
2. Can prosody modulate NPI intrusion?
  - ▶ In Korean, an NPI and its licenser should be in the same clause (Sohn 1995).
  - ▶ The prosodic boundaries of the embedded clause can be optionally marked (cf. Jun 2005, Yim and Dobashi 2016).
  - ▶ The marked prosody might help speakers avoid being attracted to the interfering negation by providing an additional cue that the NPI and the negation are in the different clauses.

## Data

1. Negation in the matrix clause (*Grammatical licenser*)  
*Amwuto [Tayeni-ka Swukyengi-lul ttayly-ess-ta-ko] malha-ci.anh-ass-ta.*  
**anyone** [Tayen-NOM Swukyeng-ACC beat-PST-DCL-CMP] say-NEG-PST-DCL  
'(Lit.) Anyone didn't say that Tayen beat Swukyeng.' = 'Nobody said that Tayen beat Swukyeng.'
2. Negation in the embedded clause (*Ungrammatical licenser*)  
*\*Amwuto [Tayeni-ka Swukyengi-lul ttayly-ci.anh-ass-ta-ko] malhay-ss-ta.*  
**anyone** [Tayen-NOM Swukyeng-ACC beat-NEG-PST-DCL-CMP] say-PST-DCL  
'(Lit.) Anyone said that Tayen didn't beat Swukyeng.'
3. No negation (*No licenser*)  
*\*Amwuto [Tayeni-ka Swukyengi-lul ttayly-ess-ta-ko] malhay-ss-ta.*  
**anyone** [Tayen-NOM Swukyeng-ACC beat-PST-DCL-CMP] say-PST-DCL  
'(Lit.) Anyone said that Tayen beat Swukyeng.'

## Experiment 1: Text Processing

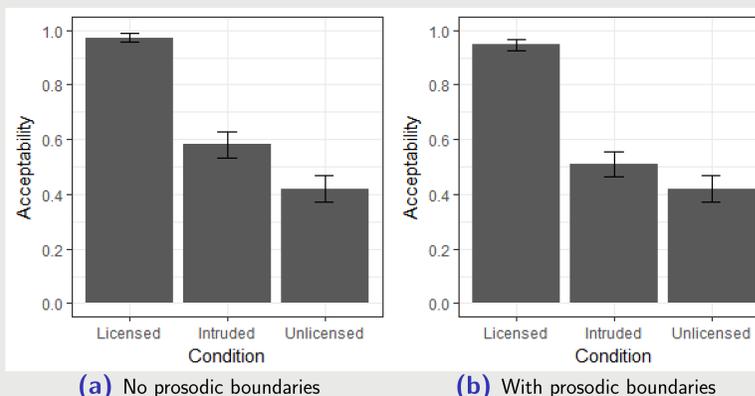
- ▶ Offline acceptability judgment after reading the whole sentence
- ▶ No time restriction to respond
- ▶ 12 target stimuli (distributed into 4 sets in a Latin Square design)
- ▶ 36 filler stimuli



- ▶ Results ( $N=48$ )
  - ▶ Intruded > Unlicensed ( $p < .001$ )

## Experiment 2: Audio processing

- ▶ Audio stimuli were recorded by a Korean native speaker, manipulating the presence/absence of the prosodic boundary tones of the embedded clause:
  - ▶ Unmarked:  $(SBJ_M SBJ_E OBJ_E Verb_E Verb_M)_{IP}^{L\%}$
  - ▶ Marked:  $(SBJ_M)_{IP}^{LH\%} (SBJ_E OBJ_E Verb_E)_{IP}^{LH\%} (Verb_M)_{IP}^{L\%}$
- ▶ 24 target + 42 filler stimuli



- ▶ Results ( $N = 112$ )
  - ▶ No prosodic boundaries: Intruded > Unlicensed ( $p < .01$ )
  - ▶ Prosodic boundaries: Not significant ( $p = .07$ )

## Conclusion

- ▶ Intrusive NPI licensing does occur in Korean.
- ▶ These effects can manifest in offline judgments.
- ▶ These effects could be modulated by prosody.

## References

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