

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

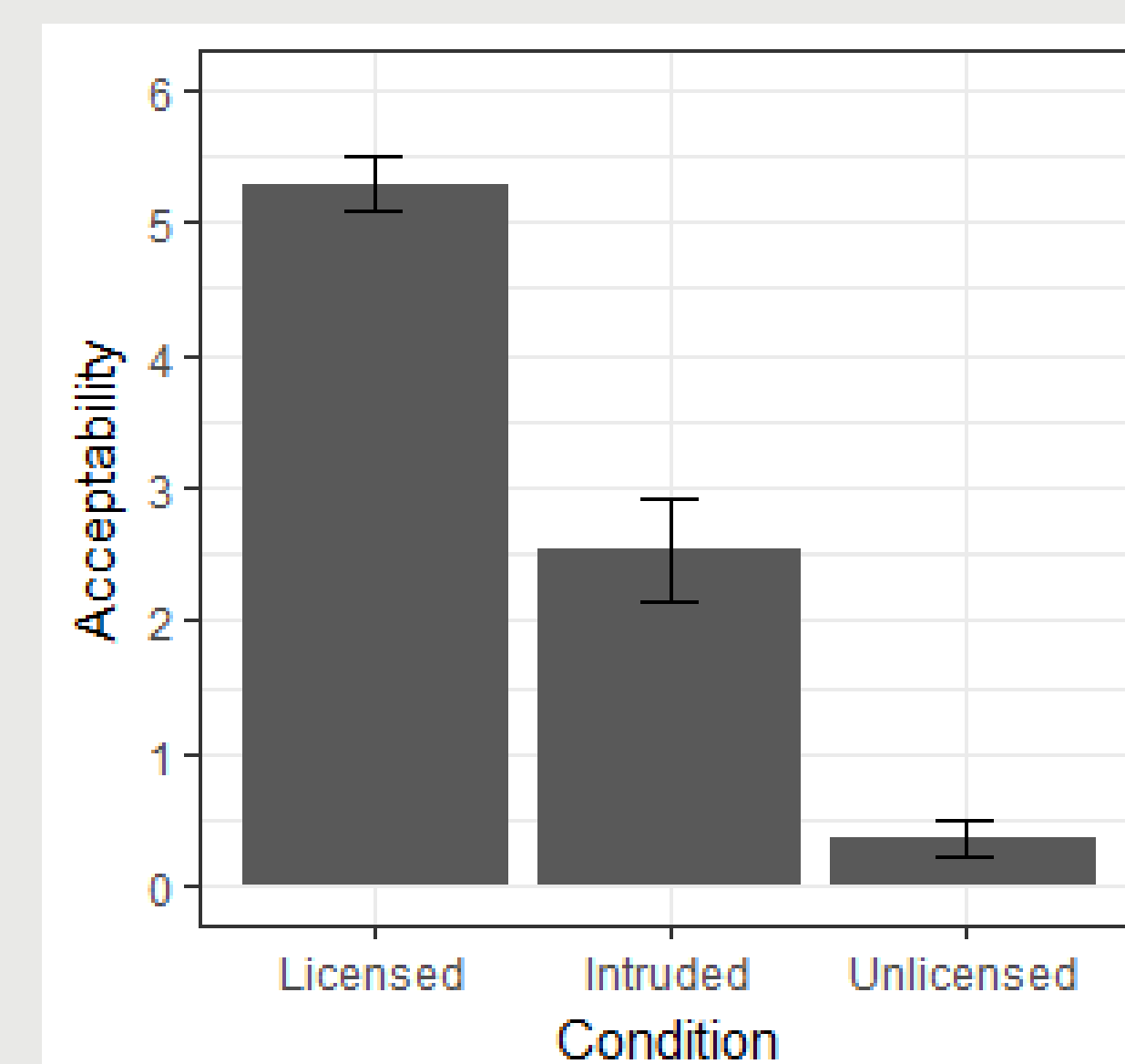
1. Does NPI licensing intrusion occur in Korean?
 - ▶ Korean is another language in which an NPI precedes its licenser in the linear order.
2. Can prosody modulate NPI intrusion?
 - ▶ In Korean, an NPI and its licenser should be in the same clause (Sohn 1995).
 - ▶ The prosodic boundaries of the embedded 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

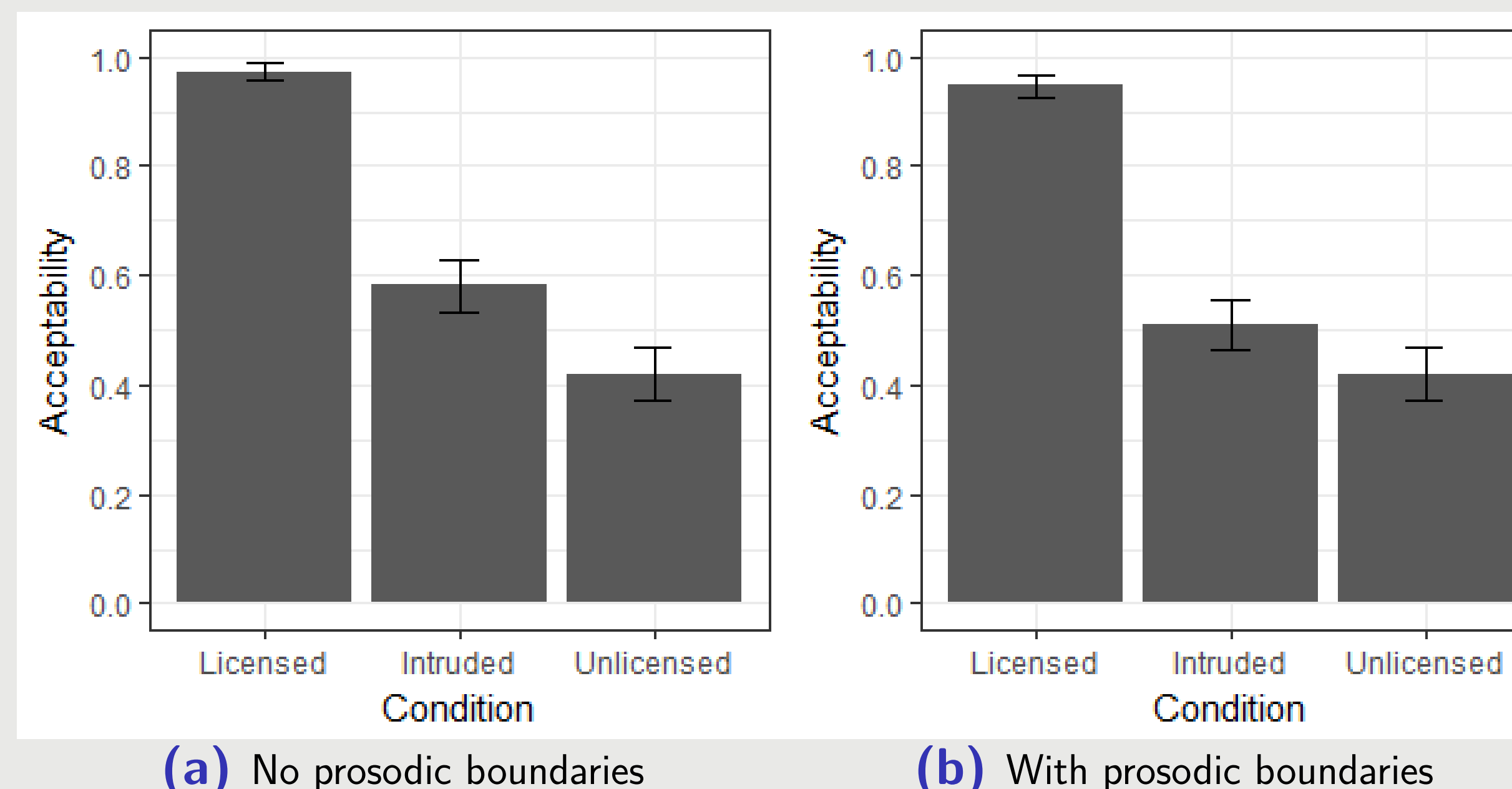
- ▶ Offline acceptability judgment after reading the whole sentence
- ▶ No time restriction to respond
- ▶ 12 target stimuli (distributed into 4 sets in a Latin Square design)
- ▶ 36 filler stimuli



- ▶ 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.

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