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 licensor (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 licensor is not in the proper licensing position as in (2) (e.g., Drenhaus et al. 2005, Vasisht et al. 2008, Xiang et al. 2009, Parker and Phillips 2016).

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

- Time/distance between the NPI and its potential licensor 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 licensor in the linear order.

2. Can prosody modulate NPI intrusion?
   - In Korean, an NPI and its licensor 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 different clauses.

Data

1. Negation in the matrix clause (Grammatical licensor)
   - ‘(Lit.) Anyone didn’t say that Tayen beat Swukyeng.’

2. Negation in the embedded clause (Ungrammatical licensor)
   - ‘(Lit.) Anyone said that Tayen didn’t beat Swukyeng.’

3. No negation (No licensor)
   - ‘(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 lower OBJj Verbj verbal)j
  - Marked: (SBj lower OBJj Verbj verbal)j
- 24 target + 42 filler stimuli

Results (N=112)

- No prosodic boundaries: Intruded > Unlicensed (p < .01)
- Prosodic boundaries: Not significant (p = .07)

References


Yanilmaz, A. and Drury, J. (Manuscript under review). Prospective npi licensing and intrusion in turkish.