Anaphoric Definiteness Marking in Korean: Focusing on Subject Definites

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Abstract: This article takes a close look at subject anaphoric definites in Korean, with the goal to identify (i) the distribution of anaphoric bare nouns and demonstrative-NPs and (ii) their form-meaning correlation. I show that the choice between an anaphoric bare noun and a demonstrative-NP is not as free as has been held in the literature (e.g., Ahn 2019; Simpson and Wu 2022; Park 2022). I capture their distributional and interpretive properties by proposing different semantics and syntax for them. I claim that demonstratives encode a locative relation between the speaker and the definite individual at issue and that demonstrative-NPs have a different distribution than anaphoric bare nouns because they carry what I call *exophoric index* as opposed to what I call *endophoric index* (compare Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019; Dayal and Jiang 2023). I further argue that demonstrative-NPs come with a presupposition, but their presupposition is not about *anti-uniqueness* (compare Simonenko 2014; Dayal and Jiang 2023). Moreover, I classify anaphoric bare nouns into two kinds, what I call *situation-internally licensed definites*, and what I call *text-internally licensed quasi-names*, additionally suggesting a new classification of anaphoric definites as well as other types of definites in Korean. This paper has implications for the syntax/semantics of indices, the semantics/syntax/pragmatics of *weak definites* and *strong definites*, and crosslinguistic variation in definiteness marking. It also provides evidence for the existence of a functional layer above NP in bare noun languages (compare Fukui 1988; Bošković 2008).

Keywords: Anaphoric definiteness, Bare noun, Demonstrative, Index, Locative

1 Introduction

How human language encodes different types of definiteness has been at the center stage in recent linguistics literature. Due largely to Schwarz (2009),[1] and much subsequent work (e.g., Arkoh and Matthewson 2013; Schwarz 2013; Ingason 2016), we now know that languages tend to differentiate between so-called *unique* or *weak definites* and *anaphoric*, *familiar*, or *strong definites*.[2] Yet the facts in each language are rather complex and the formal distinctions between different types of definites are often *not* clear-cut (see, e.g., Bombi 2018; Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2019). Given this, to account for relevant cross- and intra-linguistic variations, both uniqueness- and familiarity-based theories of definite descriptions are needed—as has been suggested by authors like Kadmon (1990), Lyons (1999), Farkas (2002), and Roberts (2003) also[3]—and insights from other existing theories of definiteness such as Hawkins' (1978) locatability-based theory and Lyons' (1999) identifiability-based theory need to be incorporated as well.

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[1] Schwarz (2009) builds on extensive literature before him, and this extensive literature includes but is by no means limited to works like Frege 1892, Russell 1905, Christophersen 1939, Strawson 1950, Hawkins 1978, 1991, Kamp 1981, Heim 1982, 1991, Kadmon 1990, Neale 1990, Kamp and Reyle 1993, Chierchia 1995, Lyons 1999, Roberts 2003, Elbourne 2005, and Wolter 2006.

[2] There are additional uses of definite descriptions than these, such as what are known as *bridging* (Clark 1975) or *associative uses* of definites (Hawkins 1978) and what Hawkins (1978) calls *unfamiliar uses*. For a fuller classification of definite descriptions and illustrative data, see Hawkins 1978, Lyons 1999, and Schwarz 2009, 2013.

[3] Classic examples of uniqueness-based analyses of definite descriptions are Frege 1892, Russell 1905, and Strawson 1950; and classic examples of familiarity-based analyses are Christophersen 1939 and Heim 1982.

To briefly illustrate how languages may differentiate between unique/weak definites and anaphoric/familiar/strong definites,[4] while English uses the same article *the* to mark both types of definites, as shown in (1)-(2), Fering (dialect of Northern Frisian) uses what Schwarz (2009) calls *weak articles* and what he calls *strong articles* to mark them distinctively (see Ebert 1971a, b).[5] Standard German makes a similar distinction, though it is only visible in certain environments where a definite article can contract with a preposition (Schwarz 2009). For example, a weak definite expression occurs in (3a), but not in (3b). This is because, while there can be just one chancellor in a cabinet meeting, there are usually several ministers in such meetings, so to salvage (3b), one must use a strong definite expression *von dem* 'by the$_{strong}$', thereby indicating that they are referring to a contextually salient but not necessarily unique minister who has been introduced into the discourse.

(1) Unique/Weak definites in English

    a. Please open **the door**.   (*Immediate situation use* in the sense of Hawkins 1978)

    b. **The moon** has risen.   (*Larger situation us*e in the sense of Hawkins 1978)

(2) Anaphoric/Familiar/Strong definites in English (Schwarz 2009: 3, (3); 132, (95a))

    a. John bought a book and a magazine. **The book** was expensive.

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[4] In this paper, I do not make terminological differentiations between *unique* versus *weak* definites and *anaphoric* versus *familiar* or *strong* definites until section 4, since doing so will not be directly relevant for our immediate purposes.

[5] But even in English, competition between *the* and demonstratives has been reported for some anaphoric/familiar/strong definite environments (see, e.g., Roberts 2002, 2003; Wolter 2006; Ahn 2019, 2022).

b. Every farmer that has a donkey beats **the donkey**.

(3) Unique vs. Non-unique definites in German (adapted from Schwarz 2009: 41, (46))

   a. In der Kabinettssitzung heute   wird   ein neuer   Vorschlag   **vom**

     in the cabinet.meeting   today   is   a   new   proposal   by-the$_{weak}$

     Kanzler   erwartet.

     Chancellor   expected

     'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the chancellor is expected.'

   b. #In   der Kabinettssitzung heute   wird   ein neuer   Vorschlag   **vom**

     in   the cabinet.meeting   today   is   a   new   proposal   by-the$_{weak}$

     Minister   erwartet.

     minister   expected

     Intended: 'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the minister is expected.'

  Since both Fering and German have overt articles, a natural question that arises is how languages lacking them may differentiate between the two types of definites *if* they do.

  In the literature, it is now firmly established that article-less, numeral classifier languages like Mandarin Chinese (Mandarin), Korean, and Japanese use bare nouns to mark unique/weak definites, as illustrated in (4)-(5)[6] (see Jenks 2018; Kang 2021; Nemoto 2015; and references

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[6] In this paper, in presenting linguistic data taken from existing works, the original transcription and glossing method are retained unless otherwise indicated. In presenting new Korean data, Yale Romanization (Martin 1992) and the following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; AUX: auxiliary; CLF: classifier; CONN: connective; COP: copula;

there). But, as to how they mark anaphoric/familiar/strong definites, consensus has not been reached.

Jenks (2018) claims that Mandarin/Japanese/Korean use bare nouns to encode unique definiteness, as exemplified in (4)-(5), and demonstratives to mark anaphoric definiteness, as exemplified in (6), *except* that, being "continuing topics",[7] anaphoric definites occurring in subject positions do *not* need a demonstrative, i.e., an overt index.

(4) Unique definites in Mandarin

    a. **Gou**   yao   guo   malu.   (Immediate situation use)

       dog   want   cross   road

       'The dog(s) want to cross the road' (Cheng and Sybesma 1999: 510)

    b. **Yueliang**   sheng   shang   lai   le.   (Larger situation use)

       moon   rise   up   come   LE

       'The moon has risen.' (Chen 2004: 1165, as cited in Jenks 2018: 507, (10a))

    c. **(#Na/#Zhe ge) Taiwan**   **(de)**   **zongton**   hen   shengqi.

       that/this   CLF   Taiwan   MOD   president   very   angry

       'The president of Taiwan is very angry.' (Jenks 2018: 507, (10b))

(5) Unique definites in Korean

    a. **Mwun**   yel-e!   (Immediate situation use)

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[7] That is, they are "salient members of the question under discussion (QUD)" (Jenks 2018: 525).

door   open-IMP.INFML

'Open the door!'

b. **Tal-i**   ttu-ess-ta.   (Larger situation use)

moon-NOM   rise-PRF-DECL

'The moon has risen.'

c. Onul   (#**ku/i**)[8]   **taythonglyeng-i**   kicahoykyen-ul   ha-n-ta.

today   that/this   president-NOM   press.conference-ACC   do-IMPRF-DECL

Intended: 'The incumbent President is having a press conference today.'

(6) Anaphoric definite in Mandarin (Jenks 2018: (15a, b))

a. Jiaoshi   li   zuo   zhe   yi   ge   nansheng   yi   ge   nüsheng.

classroom   inside   sit   PROG   one   CLF   boy   one   CLF   girl

'There are a boy and a girl sitting in the classroom.'

b. Wo   zuotian   yudao   **#(na   ge) nansheng**.

I   yesterday   meet   that   CLF   boy

'I met the boy yesterday.'

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[8] Korean has three demonstratives, *i* (proximal), *ku* (neutral), and *ce* (distal). All three of them can be used deictically, but only *i* and *ku* can be used anaphorically. And when used anaphorically, *i* functions as a proximal demonstrative, and *ku* functions as a neutral or distal demonstrative (Sohn 1999: 210), so it can be glossed either as 'the' or 'that' (Cho 2022; cf. Ionin et al. 2012). Because *ku* is more commonly attested in anaphoric contexts, this paper presents data containing *ku* but essentially the same analysis can be applied to data containing *i*.

However, authors like Simpson and Wu (2022) and Dayal and Jiang (2023) have shown that anaphoric bare nouns in Mandarin are attested not only in subject but also in other syntactic positions, regardless of their animacy, and similar facts have been reported about Korean as well (e.g., Ahn 2019; Kang and Park 2020; Park 2022; Simpson and Wu 2022[9]). Moreover, Moroney (2021) has shown that, in Shan (Tai-Kadai, Myanmar), bare nouns can occur in all types of definite environments including donkey sentences, although, when occurring in anaphoric environments, they may be modified by demonstratives, in ways similar to how Mandarin and Korean facts have been described in recent literature (e.g., Simpson and Wu 2022; Park 2022; Dayal and Jian 2023).

In addition to such disagreements, different authors have made different claims as to why demonstratives may be needed for marking anaphoric definites. For instance, Dayal and Jiang (2023) argue that demonstratives are employed to encode anti-uniqueness. And Kang (2021) and Park (2022) claim that demonstratives mark discourse salience including contrastiveness. In addition, Moroney (2021: 10) notes that, in Shan, the occurrence of 'only' before a donkey object necessitates a demonstrative modifier, even though Shan routinely permits bare nominal anaphoric donkey definites, as mentioned above. On the other hand, Simpson and Wu (2022) suggest that discourse coherence may play a role in having demonstratives occur on anaphoric definites, e.g., when there is a perspective-shift between sentences instantiating discourse anaphora or the situations they describe involve different spatio-temporal locations (compare Kim 2021a, b).

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[9] Simpson and Wu (2022) also look at Hindi and Cantonese and show that Hindi behaves like Mandarin and Korean whereas Cantonese makes a formal distinction between unique definites and anaphoric/familiar definites, as has been well documented in the literature (e.g., Cheng and Sybesma 1999, 2005).

Against this backdrop, this article takes a close look at subject anaphoric definites in Korean, with the goal to identify (i) the distribution of anaphoric bare nouns and demonstrative-NPs and (ii) their form-meaning correlation.[10] This paper focuses on subject definites because, as stated above, Jenks (2018) suggests that, due to their continuing topic status, subject anaphoric definites are exempt from overt anaphoric marking and this has engendered much controversy in the literature, but more importantly, subject positions are deemed most suitable to look at in examining the role that discourse- and informational-structural factors play in marking anaphoric definiteness in any given language.

I show that in Korean, bare noun anaphoric definites and demonstrative-NPs do not occur in free variation, unlike what has been claimed by authors like Ahn (2019) and Park and Kang (2020): in some environments, a demonstrative is grammatically required, rather than simply pragmatically preferred, yet in others, it is strongly dispreferred or even banned, so a bare noun must be used instead (compare Simpson and Wu 2022; Park 2022). I further show that not only the discourse status of an anaphoric definite (e.g., topic vs. focus) but also the purpose of the discourse at hand (e.g., to express surprise, to identify, to compare and contrast) plays a role in encoding anaphoric definiteness in Korean, and therefore, whether an anaphoric definite bears a topic-marker or a nominative-case (NOM) marker may appear to play a role as well (compare Simpson et al. 2011; Ahn 2019; Lee 2021; Park 2022).

I propose that demonstrative-NPs have a different distribution than bare noun anaphoric definites because they carry what I call *exophoric index* as opposed to what I call *endophoric*

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[10] I assume that anaphoric definites containing adjective phrases (APs) and relative clauses (RCs) form subcategories of anaphoric bare nouns, but in the interest of space, I do not include such data in this paper. For a similar categorization, see Sio 2006.

index (compare Jenks 2018). In addition, I propose new semantics for anaphoric bare nouns and demonstrative-NPs in Korean, drawing on but departing from existing analyses (e.g., Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019; Moroney 2021; Dayal and Jiang 2023). I also suggest that both types of anaphoric definites contain Locative Phrase (LocP), a functional phrase inside a referential nominal where determiners and demonstratives originate from (Kim 2019), yet they have different internal structures (compare, a.o., Sybesma and Sio 2008; Jenks 2018).

By treating demonstratives as originating under LocP, this paper will provide an argument for the existence of a functional layer above NP in bare noun languages (compare, a.o., Fukui 1988; Bošković 2008). And by establishing that demonstrative-NPs are subject to different licensing conditions than anaphoric bare nouns which are built into their presuppositions, it will lend support to both locatability-based (Hawkins 1978) and identifiability-based (Lyons 1999) theories of definiteness (compare Schwarz 2009, 2013; Jenks 2018; Bombi 2018; Ahn 2019, 2022; Cho 2022). Furthermore, it will show that demonstratives themselves do not presuppose or implicate contrast (compare, a.o., Roberts 2002; Kang 2021; Cho 2022) and what licenses demonstrative-NPs in Korean is not the presupposed existence of another individual with the same NP meaning and therefore the prevailing assumptions about their anti-uniqueness property merit revision (compare, a.o., Simonenko 2014; Dayal and Jiang 2023).

This article is organized as follows. Section 2 shows that, in Korean, bare noun anaphoric definites and demonstrative-NPs do not occur interchangeably, pointing out the problems they present to the existing analyses. Section 3 accounts for the problems introduced in section 2 by proposing a new analysis of anaphoric definiteness marking in Korean. Section 4 concludes the paper, discussing consequences and implications of the proposed analysis.

2 Anaphoric definiteness marking on Korean subjects and the problems it presents

In this section, I present some of the key data this paper seeks to account for, and discuss how the existing analyses fare with them. In so doing, I motivate a new analysis. I end the section by identifying a set of questions that need to be answered by a new analysis.

2.1 Apparent optionality

As mentioned in the introduction, the widely-held view is that, in Korean, bare noun anaphoric definites can freely occur in any syntactic position, replacing demonstrative-NPs, modulo some pragmatic constraints that may call for a demonstrative-marking on them. To illustrate, (7)—a constructed narrative sequence presented in Simpson and Wu 2022—shows that an anaphoric definite bare noun can occur in subject position, though it bears a topic marker here,[11] and it can be substituted for by a demonstrative-NP, as remarked by the authors (Simpson and Wu 2022: 320).[12] In addition, (8)—a naturally occurring discourse reported in Park 2022—shows that a demonstrative is optional on a subject anaphoric definite which occurs bearing a NOM-marker, as noted by the author (Park 2022: 43, footnote 13).

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[11] Following standard practice in Korean linguistics, I treat the particle *-nun* and its allomorph *-un* as topic markers; however, exactly what 'topic' is and how it is formally marked is much debated in recent literature, not only for Korean but also for other languages (see, e.g., López 2009; Constant 2014; Kim 2015; Lee 2021; Park 2022; and references there). Given this, this paper will not define what 'topic' is. But it will nevertheless treat anaphoric definites marked by *-nun/un* in Korean as topics of some kind, and show that they behave differently from those bearing a NOM-marker.

[12] Simpson and Wu (2022) show that the same pattern obtains for other syntactic positions such as direct object, indirect object, and adjunct positions; the interested reader is referred to the original source for such data.

(7) Anaphoric definite in topic-marked subject position

    a. Kyosil-ey   nam-haksayng-kwa   ye-haksayng-i   anc-a-issta.

       classroom-LOC   male-student-and   female-student-NOM sit-CONN-are

       'In the classroom are sitting a male student and a female student.'

    b. **(Ku)** **nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto toye-pointa.

       that   male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

       'The male student looks about 20 years old.'

                           (adapted from Simpson and Wu 2022: 320–1, ex. (30)[13])

(8) Anaphoric definite in NOM-marked subject position

    a. Chinchekcip-eyse   kay han mali-lul   cip-ulo   teylye-wa   khiw-ess-ta.

       relative.house-from dog one CL-ACC   home-to   bring-CONN raise-PST-DECL

       'I brought a dog home from a relative's house and raised it.'

    b. **(Ku)** **kay-ka**   yeysang-kwa   talli   mwuchek   sanaw-ess-ta.

       that   dog-NOM   expectation-from different   very   ferocious-PST-DECL

       'The dog was more ferocious than expected.'

                           (adapted from Park 2022: 43, ex. (27)[14])

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[13] In (7), I have added the parentheses around the demonstrative *ku*, reflecting the authors' remarks in the text. In addition, to control for any role that tense shift between the sentences may play, I have changed the first sentence's tense to present and have taken the liberty to slightly modify the glosses.

[14] In the original source, the two sentences that appear in (8) are not given the (a) and the (b) labels; I have given them the alphabetic numbering for ease of reference. Additionally, I have put parentheses around the demonstrative *ku* in (8b), reflecting the author's comment in the footnote. Finally, for accuracy, I have glossed *mwuchek* in (8b) as 'very', rather than 'more', which is what Park (2022) glosses it as.

I would like to point out, however, that in data like (9)-(10), using anaphoric bare nouns yields unacceptability or ungrammaticality, even though, in (9), the anaphoric definite occurs in topic position, functioning as subject, as in (7); and in (10), it occurs in subject position, bearing a NOM-marker, similar to (8); and, in both discourses, there is no change of tense between the sentences forming the narrative sequences, so a perspective-shift does not occur.[15]

(9) Need for a demonstrative on an anaphoric definite in topic-marked subject position

    a. Kyosil   an-ulo   nam-haksayng   han myeng-i   tulleo-n-ta.

       classroom   inside-to   male-student   one CLF-NOM   enter-IMPRF-DECL

       'Into the classroom enters a male student.'

    b. **?/??(Ku)** **nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto toye-pointa.

          that   male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

       Intended: 'That male student looks about 20 years old.'

(10) Obligatory demonstrative on an anaphoric definite in NOM-marked subject position

    a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse   kay han mali-lul   po-ass-ta.

       animal-hospital-LOC   dog one CLF-ACC   see-PST-DECL

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[15] The grammaticality judgments on the Korean data presented in this paper are based on 5-point Likert scale surveys conducted with eight native speakers of Korean, four male and four female whose ages range from 40 to 65. On the scale, 5 meant 'perfectly grammatical or acceptable'; 4 meant 'not perfect but acceptable'; 3 meant 'not so good but not exactly outright ungrammatical either'; 2 meant 'pretty bad or only marginally acceptable'; and 1 meant 'absolutely ungrammatical or unacceptable'. The surveys were done in Korean using a survey form.

‘I saw a dog at a/the veterinary hospital.’

b.***(Ku) kay-ka** kacang kwiyewu-ess-ta.

that dog-NOM most be.cute-PST-DECL

Intended: ‘The/that dog was the cutest.’

Note also that, in some cases, what appears to be the opposite pattern of (9)-(10) obtains. To see this, consider (11)-(12) and (13)-(14). In these discourses, modifying an anaphoric definite with a demonstrative yields unacceptability or infelicity, regardless of the animacy feature of the anaphoric definite at issue.

Unacceptable demonstrative on a topic-marked anaphoric definite subject

(11) a. Kakey an-ulo namca han myeng-kwa yeca han myeng-i

store inside-to man one CLF-and woman one CLF-NOM

tulleo-ass-ta.

enter-PST-DECL

‘Into the store entered a man and a woman.’

b. **(??/#Ku) namca-nun** kapang-ul tul-ko iss-ess-ko

that man-TOP bag-ACC carry-CONN AUX-PST-CONN

(??/#ku) yeca-nun wusan-ul tul-ko iss-ess-ta.

that woman-TOP umbrella-ACC carry-CONN AUX-PST-DECL

Intended: ‘The man was carrying a bag and the woman was carrying an umbrella.’

(12) a. Thakcawi-ey sakwa han kay-wa kywul han kay-ka iss-ess-ta.

table.top-LOC	apple	one CLF-and	orange	one CLF-NOM	exist-PST-DECL

'On the table, there were an apple and an orange.'

b. **(??/#Ku)** **sakwa-nun** singsinghay-ss-ko **(??/#ku)** **kywul-un**

that apple-TOP be.fresh-PST-CONN that orange-TOP

singsingha-ci ahn-ass-ta.

be.fresh-CONN NEG.AUX-PST-DECL

Intended: 'The apple was fresh and the orange was not fresh.'

Unacceptable demonstrative on a NOM-marked anaphoric definite subject

(13) a. Ecey haksayng han myeng-kwa sangtam-ul hay-ess-ta.

yesterday student one CLF-with conference-ACC do-PST-DECL

'Yesterday I had a meeting with a student.'

b. **(??/#Ku)** **haksayng-i** cham ttokttokhay-ess-ta.

that student-NOM very be.smart-PST-DECL

Intended: 'The student was very smart.'

(14) a. Emma-ka ecey kwaca-lul kwu-e cwu-si-ess-ta.

mom-NOM yesterday cookie-ACC bake-CONN give-HON-PST-DECL

'Yesterday Mom baked me/us some cookies.'

b. **(??/#Ku)** **kwaca-ka** cengmal masiss-ess-ta.

that cookie-NOM really be.delicious-PST-DECL

Intended: 'The cookies were really delicious.'

This set of facts show that while bare nouns in Korean do indeed frequently occur as anaphoric definites, and they may also be replaced by demonstrative-NPs, the two types of anaphoric definites are not always interchangeably used: sometimes, demonstrative-marking on an anaphoric definite is grammatically required, rather than just preferred. Other times, it is simply ill-suited.

2.2 Challenges to the existing analyses

The data presented above show that the topic-marker and the NOM-marker in Korean are in principle compatible with either type of anaphoric definite subject, but sometimes they require a demonstrative-NP though other times they resist it. Given this, applying Jenks' (2018) idea that anaphoric bare nouns occurring in subject positions in Mandarin/Korean/Japanese are "exceptional" with regard to demonstrative marking will not work: The data in (9)-(10) show that some anaphoric definite subjects functioning as what Jenks (2018) would call *continuing topics* require a demonstrative. The data in (13)-(14) show that some continuing topics are incompatible with demonstrative marking. Given this, it cannot be the case that anaphoric subjects in Korean are exempt from "strong" definite marking solely because they are continuing topics.

The data we just looked at suggest that pragmatic factors like discourse salience and contrastiveness also play a role in marking anaphoric definites in Korean. However, following authors like Kang (2021) and Park (2022) and thus treating demonstratives as directly encoding such notions will fall short of capturing the facts. Such an analysis would work for accounting for the occurrence of a demonstrative in contexts like (9)-(10), but it will have self-contradictory

results for contexts like (11)-(14), where the anaphoric bare nouns are undoubtedly discourse-salient, even carrying a strong contrastive meaning, in the case of (11)-(12).

Related to this, let me also point out that, in Korean, adding the focus particle *-man* 'only' to an anaphoric demonstrative-NP may yield infelicity, as shown in (15) (unlike what is reported about Shan in Moroney 2021, although the environment she looked at is of a different kind, namely, a donkey anaphora sentence). Similarly, in (16), using a demonstrative-NP as the subject of the second sentence yields infelicity, even though this sentence is also about focusing the subject, just like in (10). Given this, making a one-to-one mapping between focus-marking and demonstrative-marking on anaphoric definites will not work for Korean.

(15) a. Kyosil-ey   nam-haksayng-kwa   ye-haksayng-i   anc-a-issta.

    classroom-LOC   male-student-and   female-student-NOM   sit-CONN-are

    'In the classroom are sitting a male student and a female student.'

 b. **(#Ku) nam-haksayng-man(-i)**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

    that male-student-only-NOM   20-year   or.so   become-look

    Intended: 'Only the male student looks about 20 years old.'

(16) a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse kay han mali-wa,   koyangi han mali,

    animal-hospital-LOC   dog one CLF-and   cat   one CLF

    kuliko   haymsutha   han mali-lul   po-ass-ta.

    and   hamster   one CLF-ACC   see-PST-DECL

    'I saw a dog, a cat, and a hamster at a/the veterinary hospital.'

 b. **(#Ku) kay-ka**   kacang   kwiyewu-ess-ta.

that dog-NOM   most   be.cute-PST-DECL

Intended: 'The dog was the cutest.'

The Korean facts surveyed above prove problematic to Dayal and Jiang's (2023) analysis as well. Dayal and Jiang assume that demonstratives come with an anti-uniqueness presupposition, and they propose (17a) as the semantics of demonstratives in all languages (here, s' indicates a larger situation of a minimal situation s). However, adopting (17a) makes incorrect predictions about data like (10), although it may capture data like (16).[16] In (10b), using the demonstrative-NP does not presuppose that there is more than one dog in s'. In fact, given the discourse context, what the speaker conveys is that the dog was the cutest of all the animals they saw at the vet's office. And this sentence can be true even if there was no other dog at the vet's office or in s'. Therefore, the anti-uniqueness presupposition that appears after the colon in (17a) is not met. Even so, a demonstrative is not merely licensed but also grammatically required. Additionally, Dayal and Jiang's analysis cannot account for why anaphoric bare nouns in Korean are banned in certain positions. According to them, anaphoric bare nouns can have the semantics of strong definites given in (17b), or the semantics of weak definites given in (17c), which they obtain via *null iota type shifting* (Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004). Hence, they should be able to occur freely in any anaphoric contexts, but that is not the case, as we have observed in (9)-(10).

(17) Dayal and Jiang 2023: (19a, b, c)

a. $[\![\text{Dem}]\!] = \lambda s\, \lambda P: \exists s'\, s \leq s'\, |P_{s'}| > 1.\ \iota x[P_s(x)\ \&\ x = y]$

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[16] Under Dayal and Jiang's (2023) analysis, a demonstrative-NP may be *un*suitable as the subject of (16b) because there may *not* be more than one dog in s', i.e., a larger situation of s described by the sentence.

b. *Strong definite*

$$[\![\text{the}_{\text{STRONG}}]\!] = \lambda s\ \lambda P: |P_s \cap \lambda x[x = y]| = 1.\ \iota x[P_s(x)\ \&\ x = y]$$

c. *Weak definite*

$$[\![\text{the}_{\text{WEAK}}]\!] = \lambda s\ \lambda P: |P_s| = 1.\ \iota x[P_s(x)]$$

Moroney (2021) argues for essentially the same treatment of anaphoric bare nouns as Dayal and Jiang (2023), so her analysis is subject to the same criticisms applied to them.

Ahn's (2019) analysis is similar but slightly different: She proposes (18a) and (18b) as the lexical entries for anaphoric bare nouns and demonstrative-NPs in Korean (here, φ indicates *phi-features*, *P* and *R* indicate properties, and *ku* is the neutral/distal anaphoric demonstrative in Korean). And she claims that, in Korean-type languages, an economy principle that she calls *Don't Overdeterminate!* given in (19) is at work, and consequently, in such languages, bare nouns function as the default anaphoric/familiar definites, for they achieve the same results as demonstrative-NPs while using less.[17]

(18) Ahn 2019: (83a, b)

a. $[\![\text{N}]\!] = \iota x: \text{entity}(x) \wedge \varphi(x) \wedge P(x)$

b. $[\![ku_R\ \text{P}]\!] = \iota x: \text{entity}(x) \wedge \varphi(x) \wedge P(x) \wedge R(x)$

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[17] According to Ahn (2019: 73), this principle "blocks an anaphoric expression β if there is α which is an anaphoric expression that is alternative to β for which the intension of the predicate applied to α (given the domain *D* and the assignment function *g*) entails the intension of the predicate applied to β."

(19) *Don't Overdeterminate!* (Ahn 2019: (90))

Block β if

$\exists \alpha : \alpha \in \text{ALT}(\beta) \wedge \forall P_{<e,t>} \lambda w P_w(\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{D,g}) \subseteq \lambda w P_w(\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{D,g})$

Ahn's analysis makes an interesting prediction that demonstrative-NPs will occur as the last resort in Korean. But it does not specify under what circumstances they will occur. Therefore, it does not provide a principled account for why a demonstrative-NP may be infelicitous in contexts like (11)-(14) but it would be strongly preferred in contexts like (9), and even required in contexts like (10).

Finally, Simpson and Wu's (2022) suggestion that demonstratives indicate a perspective-shift in narrating a story works well in explaining why a demonstrative may be needed in contexts like (20), but it cannot explain why even (10) would require a demonstrative: In (20), there is a clear spatio-temporal change between the two sentences but in (10) there is not, because the speaker is reporting what they observed at the vet's office at some past time without changing the location or time of the situations described by the two sentences.

(20) a. Ecey   kay   han mali-lul   pwassta.

      yesterday   dog   one CLF-ACC   saw

      'Yesterday I saw a dog.'

b. Onul   **#(ku) kay-ka**   cip-ey   wassta.

    today   that   dog-NOM   house-to   came

    'Today the dog came to my house.'

In sum, then, while each of the existing analyses can account for some of the Korean data presented above, they cannot account for all of them. Given this, there is a need for a new analysis that better captures the facts while integrating their insights.

2.3 Questions to be answered

In light of the foregoing, I suggest that a successful analysis of anaphoric definiteness marking in Korean must be able to answer the following questions.

First, why is it that there is apparent optionality in marking anaphoric definite subjects in contexts like (7)-(8) but not in contexts like (9)-(14)?

Second, why is it that using a demonstrative-NP is sometimes strongly preferred (e.g., (9)) but other times grammatically required (e.g., (10))?

Third, why is it that using demonstrative-NPs gives rise to infelicity in contexts like (11)-(14)?

Fourth, does the choice between a topic-marker and a NOM-marker play a role in marking anaphoric definite subjects in Korean? If so, why?

Finally, if the choice between a topic-marker and a NOM-marker plays a role in marking anaphoric definite subjects in Korean, why is it that not all topic-marked anaphoric subjects behave alike and not all NOM-marked anaphoric subjects behave alike?

3 A new analysis

In this section, I first propose the licensing conditions for anaphoric bare noun definites and demonstrative-NPs in Korean, followed by their semantics and syntax. I then demonstrate how the proposed analysis captures their distribution and form-meaning correlation when they occur

in two-sentence narrative sequences. In this context, I also discuss the role that discourse and pragmatic factors play in the way anaphoric definiteness is formally marked on Korean subjects.

Before we begin, a few terminological remarks are in order. For referential convenience, I will from now on call the sentence in which an anaphoric definite occurs *sentence with a definite* (S_D) and the sentence in which its antecedent occurs *sentence with the antecedent* (S_A). In addition, adopting Schwarz's (2009) and Jenks's (2018) terminology, I will call the situation described by S_D *resource situation* (s_r) since that is the situation where the uniqueness presupposition of an anaphoric definite must be met. And I will call the situation described by S_A *source situation* (s_s), since that is the situation where the discourse referent denoted by an anaphoric definite is introduced.

3.1 The proposal

I suggest that anaphoric bare nouns in Korean can be licensed when the following conditions are met.

(21) Licensing conditions for anaphoric bare nouns in Korean

    a.   when s_s and s_r share the spatio-temporal location, and there is some individual y overtly introduced in s_s such that y differs from individual x denoted by the anaphoric definite at issue, and x and y have different properties P and Q; *or*

    b.   when the speaker uses an anaphoric bare noun as a quasi-name at the text level

And, to more formally implement this idea, I propose that Korean has two different null anaphoric iota type shifters, one for *situation-internally licensed* definites, t^xS, and one for *quasi-*

names licensed at the *text* (T) level, $t^x{}_T$, as given in (22a, b) (compare Moroney 2021; Dayal and Jiang 2023). (Here and below, $\propto$ indicates spatiotemporal overlap, T indicates a set of situations that constitute a text, and the values for s_s and s_r are assumed to be contextually determined.)

(22) Semantics of anaphoric bare nouns in Korean

a. $[\![t^x{}_S]\!]^g = \lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[P(x)(s_s) \ \& \ s_s \propto s_r \ \& \ \exists y[y \neq x \ \& \ Q(y)(s_s) \ \& \ Q \neq P]].$

$\iota x[P(x)(s_r) \ \& \ \exists y[y \neq x \ \& \ Q(y)(s_r) \ \& \ Q \neq P] \ \& \ G(x)]$

b. $[\![t^x{}_T]\!]^g = \lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[\text{known-as-}P(x)(T)].\iota x[\text{known-as-}P(x)(T) \ \& \ G(x)]$

The basis for these ideas comes from the fact that in Korean, anaphoric bare nouns can occur whenever (21a) or (21b) is met. To illustrate, anaphoric bare noun subjects occur in (7), (9), (11), (12), (15), and (16), and these narrative contexts satisfy (21a). That is, in these contexts, there is no spatio-temporal location change between s_s and s_r, and there is some individual y overtly introduced in s_s such that y differs from the individual x denoted by the anaphoric definite at issue, and x and y have different properties (e.g., being a male student vs. being a female student; being an apple vs. being an orange; being a dog vs. being a cat or a hamster).

In the case of (8), (13) and (14), they do not satisfy (21a). Yet they satisfy (21b). That is, in these environments, the speaker can be understood as using an anaphoric bare noun as a text-internally licensed quasi-name due to its referent's familiarity to them. I should also point out that anaphoric bare nouns can occur in contexts like (23)-(24) too, even though, in these narrative sequences, s_s and s_r do not share the spatio-temporal location. Given this, we are led to conclude that, in Korean, anaphoric bare nouns can be licensed when their referent is familiar to

the speaker or if it functions as a main character of a story, so the speaker is using the bare noun

form as a quasi-name at the text level.

(23) a. Cinanswu-ey   kangaci   han mali-lul   ipyanghayssta.

     last.week-LOC   puppy   one CLF-ACC   adopted

     'Last week I adopted a puppy.'

   b. Onul   **kangaci-ka**   salaciessta.

     today   puppy-NOM   disappeared

     'Today the puppy disappeared.'

(24) a. Kyosil   an-ey   sonyen-kwa sonye-ka   ancaissta.

     classroom   inside-LOC boy-and   girl-NOM   sitting

     'A boy and a girl are sitting in a classroom.'

   b. Ecey   **sonyen-i** **sonye-lul**   mannassta.

     yesterday   boy-NOM   girl-ACC   met

     'The boy met the girl yesterday.'

Turning now to demonstrative-NPs, I suggest that, in Korean, they are licensed when one of

the following conditions is met.

(25) Licensing conditions for demonstrative-NPs in Korean

    a.   when conditions (21a) and (21b) are not met; *or*

b. when there is a need for the speaker to indicate a locative relation between them and the individual denoted by the definite at issue in s_r

And I propose (26) as their semantics, which can be used not only for anaphoric contexts but also for exophoric contexts, since s_s can refer to the physical context in which the discourse occurs (more on this in section 4). According to this lexical entry, demonstratives encode a locative relation (LR) between an individual x and another individual y, where x would be the referent of the definite at issue and y would be the speaker (compare Ahn 2019, 2022[18]). This lexical entry also shows that demonstratives come with a presupposition but their presupposition is not about anti-uniqueness (compare Simonenko 2014; Dayal and Jiang 2023).

(26) Semantics of demonstratives in Korean

$$[\![\text{Dem}]\!]^g = \lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[P(x)(s_r) \;\&\; LR(x)(y)(s_s)].\iota x[P(x)(s_r) \;\&\; LR(x)(y)(s_r) \;\&\; G(x)]$$

---

[18] Updating the semantic treatment she gave in Ahn 2019, Ahn (2022: 1386) argues that when the Korean demonstrative *ku* occurs modifying an anaphoric definite, it has the semantics of either (i) or (ii), where *sup* abbreviates the supremum operator, *bi-sup* abbreviates the binary supremum operator, and the value for x is partly determined by an anaphoric index. However, unlike the present analysis, these lexical entries do not encode a locative relation between speaker and x. As we will see in sections 3.2 and 4, postulating the LR variable in the semantics of demonstratives given in (26) will be crucial in capturing the semantics and pragmatics of demonstrative-NPs, not only in Korean but also in other languages.

(i) $[\![\text{ku}_7]\!] = \lambda F.\text{sup}[\lambda x.\text{entity}(x) \wedge F(x)]$

          presupposition: $\text{sup}[\lambda x.\text{entity}(x) \wedge F(x)] = g(7)$

(ii) $[\![\text{ku}]\!] = \lambda F.\lambda n.\text{bi-sup}[(\lambda x.\text{entity}(x) \wedge F(x))(\lambda x.x = g(n))]$

24

The basis for the proposed treatment of demonstrative-NPs comes from two sources. First, a demonstrative-NP may occur in contexts like (7), even though such narrative sequences satisfy (21a). Hence, using a bare noun would be strongly preferred (if not necessary) if text-internal identifiability and economy-based constraints (e.g., *Don't Overdeterminate!*) were the only factors that govern the choice between an anaphoric bare noun and a demonstrative-NP in bare noun languages like Korean (compare Ahn 2019).

Second, using a demonstrative-NP in (7) has a semantic/pragmatic consequence. When (7b) has an anaphoric bare noun subject, the sentence is construed as meaning that the male student looks about 20 years old, but the female student does not. The second part of this meaning is an implicature, but this implicature cannot be canceled, as illustrated in (27). On the other hand, when the sentence has a demonstrative-NP subject, the implicature does not arise, as exemplified in (28). This shows that, when a bare noun is used in (7b), comparison is being made between the male student and the female student, but when a demonstrative-NP is used, comparison is being made between the male student and someone else who has not been introduced into the discourse. And that someone else need not be another male student, unlike what authors like Dayal and Jiang (2023) would predict.

(27) a. Kyosil-ey   nam-haksayng-kwa   ye-haksayng-i   anc-a-issta.

     classroom-LOC   male-student-and   female-student-NOM   sit-CONN-are

     'In the classroom are sitting a male student and a female student.'

b. **Nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

     male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

‘The male student looks about 20 years old.’

c. #Kuliko   **ye-haksayng-to**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

and   female-student-also   20-year   or.so   become-look

‘And the female student looks about 20 years old, too.’

(28) a. Kyosil-ey   nam-haksayng-kwa   ye-haksayng-i   anc-a-issta.

classroom-LOC   male-student-and   female-student-NOM   sit-CONN-are

‘In the classroom are sitting a male student and a female student.’

b. **Ku   nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

that   male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

‘The male student looks about 20 years old.’

c. Kuliko   **ye-haksayng-to**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

and   female-student-also   20-year   or.so   become-look

‘And the female student looks about 20 years old also.’

In addition to putting forward these ideas, to derive the semantics of anaphoric bare nouns and demonstrative-NPs compositionally, and to capture their distribution in more precise terms, I propose the following syntax for them.

I posit that anaphoric definites in Korean have a nominal structure where at least two functional phrases (FPs) merge above NP: (i) LocP in the sense of Kim (2019) and (ii) what is called Index Phrase (idxP) in the recent generative literature (e.g., Simonenko 2014; Hanink

2018, 2021; Jenks and Konate 2022) (compare, a.o., Fukui 1988; Bošković 2008).[19] In the case

of a demonstrative-NP, LocP hosts what I call *exophoric feature* ([+exo]) and a Demonstrative

Phrase (DemP) merges at its specifier (Spec) position, and idxP merges above LocP, hosting an

index. As a result, the nominal carries what I call an *exophoric index* and interpreting a

demonstrative-NP involves locating a set of individuals that exists *outside S_A* and then picking

out a unique individual that has the property denoted by the NP from that set (compare, a.o.,

Hawkins 1978; Simonenko 2014; Bombi 2018; Ahn 2019, 2022; Jenks and Konate 2022; Dayal

and Jiang 2023).

As to anaphoric bare nouns, depending on whether they have the semantics of a situation-

internally licensed definite or that of a text-internally licensed quasi-name, they carry what I call

endophoric feature ([+end]) or the combination of [-exo] and [-end] under their LocPs; and the

null anaphoric type shifters given in (22a, b) are structurally introduced by merging at

Spec,LocP. Consequently, they bear either what I call an *endophoric index* or what I call a *non-*

exophoric and non-endophoric index; and accordingly, they make either *endophoric* reference or

non-exophoric and non-endophoric reference.[20] This means that, under the present analysis,

anaphoric iota type shifting is syntactically constrained: it occurs only when LocP hosts certain

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[19] Depending on the theoretical assumptions one makes, there may be additional FPs above NP where adnominal

modifiers (e.g., numerals, APs, RCs) merge, such as Sortal Phrase (SortP) and Unit Phrase (UnitP) (see, e.g.,

Svenonius 2008; Cinque 2010; Kim 2019).

[20] Löbner (1985: 298) also uses the term *endophoric* in a sense that is similar to the way I use it here, i.e., bearing a

relation to the immediate minimal situation, or what I call s_r. But he treats it as synonymous with *cataphoric*.

Moreover, he explicitly differentiates it from *anaphoric* and *deictic*, whereas I use it as a subcategory of *anaphoric*

which can also be a subcategory of *deictic* if one uses a weak definite situationally in the sense of Hawkins (1978).

More on the relation between anaphoric definites and weak definites in section 4.

formal features, e.g., [+end] or [-exo; -end] (compare, a.o., Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019; Moroney 2021; Dayal and Jiang 2023).

These ideas are depicted in (29)-(31), where I also provide sample semantic derivations using the framework couched in Heim and Kratzer 1998 but by treating syntactic indices as denoting functions from individuals to truth values, i.e., of type <e,t>, which equate the result of applying the assignment function g to their argument with the natural number that occurs in their head position (compare Heim and Kratzer 1998; Elbourne 2005, 2008; Schwarz 2009; Jenks 2018; Hanink 2018, 2021; Ahn 2022; Jenks and Konate 2022). For simplicity, I do not represent all relevant formal features or their feature-checking processes in the syntactic trees here.

(29) Syntax and semantics of a demonstrative-NP

   a. Internal structure
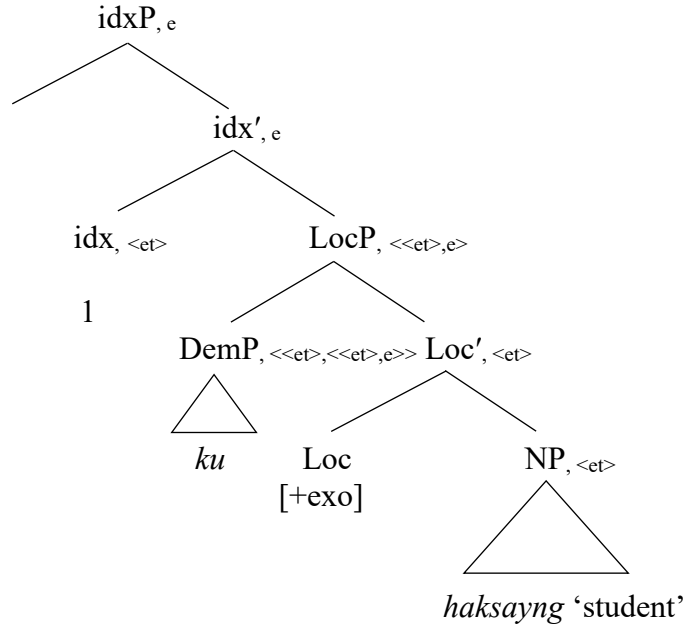
   b. Semantic derivation

   $[\![idxP]\!]^g = [\![\textbf{ku}_1 \textbf{ haksayng}]\!]^g =$ via Functional Application (FA)

$= [\![\mathbf{ku}]\!]^g([\![\mathbf{haksayng}]\!]^g)([\![\mathbf{1}]\!]^g) = $ via lexical entries

$= [\lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[P(x)(s_r) \, \& \, LR(x)(y)(s_s)].\iota x[P(x)(s_r) \, \& \, LR(x)(y)(s_r) \, \& \, G(x)]]$

$\quad ([\lambda z.\mathrm{student}(z)])([\lambda k.g(k) = 1])$

$=$ via λ-reduction (assuming the presupposition is met)

$= \iota x[\mathrm{student}(x)(s_r) \, \& \, LR(x)(y)(s_r) \, \& \, g(x) = 1]$

(30) Syntax and semantics of a situation-internally licensed definite

   a. Internal structure

   b. Semantic derivation

   $[\![\mathrm{idxP}]\!]^g = [\![\mathbf{haksayng_1}]\!]^g = $ via FA

   $= [\![\iota^x{}_S]\!]^g([\![\mathbf{haksayng}]\!]^g)([\![\mathbf{1}]\!]^g) = $ via lexical entries

   $= \lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[P(x)(s_s) \, \& \, s_s \propto s_r \, \& \, \exists y[y \neq x \, \& \, Q(y)(s_s) \, \& \, Q \neq P]].\iota x[P(x)(s_r) \, \&$

   $\quad \exists y[y \neq x \, \& \, Q(y)(s_r) \, \& \, Q \neq P] \, \& \, G(x)]([\lambda z.\mathrm{student}(z)])([\lambda k.g(k) = 1])$

   $=$ via λ-reduction (assuming the presupposition is met)

   $= \iota x[\mathrm{student}(x)(s_r) \, \& \, \exists y[y \neq x \, \& \, Q(y)(s_r) \, \& \, Q \neq \text{being a student}] \, \& \, g(x) = 1]$

(31) Syntax and semantics of a text-internally licensed quasi-name

    a. Internal structure
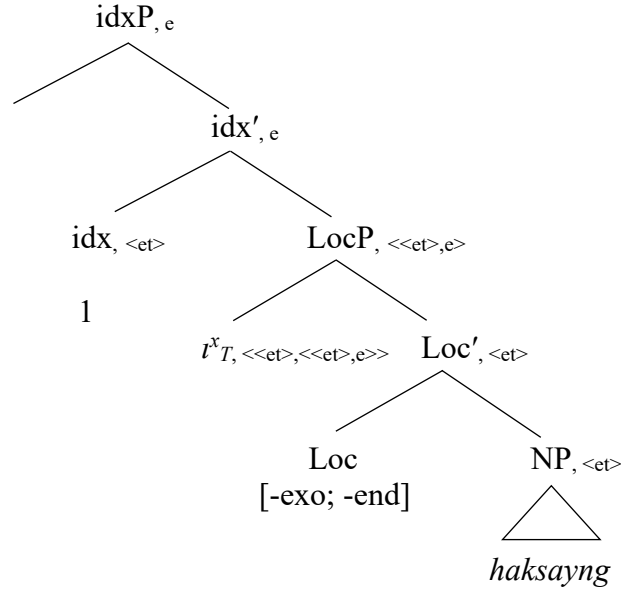
    b. Semantic derivation

$[\![\text{idxP}]\!]^g = [\![\mathbf{haksayng_1}]\!]^g = $ via FA

$= [\![\iota^x{}_T]\!]^g([\![\mathbf{haksayng}]\!]^g)([\![\mathbf{1}]\!]^g) = $ via lexical entries

$= \lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda G_{<et>}: \exists!x[\text{known-as-}P(x)(T)].\iota x[\text{known-as-}P(x)(T)\ \&\ G(x)]$

    $([\lambda z.\text{student}(z)])([\lambda k.g(k) = 1])$

$= $ via λ-reduction (assuming the presupposition is met)

$= \iota x[\text{known-as-student}(x)(T)\ \&\ g(x) = 1]$

3.2 Capturing the facts

The proposal I just outlined provides us with a systematic way to account for the data presented

in section 2 as well as other related facts.

First, it lets us account for why an anaphoric bare noun can occur in contexts like (7) but not in contexts like (9) even though in both cases, the anaphoric bare nouns occur bearing a topic-marker. For the reader's convenience, I repeat the data in (7) and (9) below.

(7) a. Kyosil-ey   nam-haksayng-kwa   ye-haksayng-i   anc-a-issta.

    classroom-LOC   male-student-and   female-student-NOM   sit-CONN-are

    'In the classroom are sitting a male student and a female student.'

   b. **(Ku)   nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

     that   male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

     'The male student looks about 20 years old.'

(9) a. Kyosil   an-ulo   nam-haksayng   han myeng-i   tulleo-n-ta.

    classroom   inside-to   male-student   one CLF-NOM   enter-IMPRF-DECL

    'Into the classroom enters a male student.'

   b. **?/??(Ku)   nam-haksayng-un**   sumu-sal   cengto   toye-pointa.

       that   male-student-TOP   20-year   or.so   become-look

     Intended: 'That male student looks about 20 years old.'

Under the current analysis, the bare noun is licensed in (7) because, given the discourse context, we can analyze it as a situation-internally licensed anaphoric definite which has the semantics similar to what is given in (30b). As for the bare noun in (9), we cannot analyze it as a situation-internally licensed definite because, in this context, the presupposition of (22a) is not

satisfied; that is, it is not the case that there is another individual y in s_s that has a property different from x in s_s.

That said, some Korean speakers may find (9) marginally acceptable when (9b) has the bare noun subject *nam-haksayng-un* 'male student-TOP', as I have indicated by using "?" in front of the datum. Under the present analysis, this is possible because the anaphoric bare noun can be construed as having the semantics of a text-internally licensed quasi-name similar to what is given in (31b) *if* the presupposition of (22b) is met—that is, if it is contextually clear that the speaker is well acquainted with its referent, or the male student it refers to is a main character of the story being told. Based solely on the two-sentence text, however, one cannot readily decide whether this presupposition is met or not, so speakers do not judge the sentence to be perfectly acceptable when it occurs with a bare noun.

For these reasons, contexts like (9b) call for using a demonstrative-NP to refer to the individual the subject nominal denotes. But this does not mean that demonstrative-NPs are used as *substitutes* for anaphoric bare nouns. As I have already exemplified in (27)-(28), using the demonstrative-NP in (7) has a semantic consequence. And the fact that (7b) would mean different things depending on whether it has a bare noun or a demonstrative-NP shows that Korean speakers do not choose one form over the other to achieve the same results while using less, unlike what Ahn (2019) claims.

Second, the present analysis lets us account for why a bare noun and a demonstrative-NP may occur in apparent free variation in contexts like (8) but not in contexts like (13), even though in both cases, the anaphoric definites occur bearing a NOM-marker. Again, I repeat the data in (8) and (13) below for the reader's convenience.

(8) a. Chinchekcip-eyse   kay han mali-lul   cip-ulo   teylye-wa   khiw-ess-ta.

      relative.house-from   dog one CL-ACC   home-to   bring-CONN   raise-PST-DECL

      'I brought a dog home from a relative's house and raised it.'

     b. **(Ku)**   **kay-ka**   yeysang-kwa   talli   mwuchek   sanaw-ess-ta.

       that   dog-NOM   expectation-from   different   very   ferocious-PST-DECL

       'The dog was more ferocious than expected.'

(13) a. Ecey   haksayng   han myeng-kwa   sangtam-ul   hay-ess-ta.

      yesterday   student   one CLF-with   conference-ACC   do-PST-DECL

      'Yesterday I had a meeting with a student.'

     b. **(??/#Ku**)   **haksayng-i**   cham   ttokttokhay-ess-ta.

        that   student-NOM   very   be.smart-PST-DECL

       Intended: 'The student was very smart.'

    In both (8) and (13), bare nouns can occur because they satisfy the presupposition of (22b).
That is, these bare nouns are text-internally licensed quasi-names. However, while (8) can also
permit a demonstrative-NP, (13) does not because, in (8), due to the presence of the adverbial
yeysang-kwa talli 'different from what was expected' and the adverb *mwuchek* 'very', the
speaker is overtly expressing surprise, but that is not the case with (13). Surprise may be
conversationally implicated in (13) too, but it can be canceled, as illustrated in (32).

(32) a. Ecey   haksayng   han myeng-kwa   sangtam-ul   hay-ess-ta.

      yesterday   student   one CLF-with   conference-ACC   do-PST-DECL

'Yesterday I had a meeting with a student.'

b. **(??/#Ku)** **haksayng-i**   cham   ttokttokhay-ess-ta.

      that   student-NOM   very   be.smart-PST-DECL

   Intended: 'The student was very smart.'

c. Yeysanghaysstentaylo-i-ess-ta.

   As.expected-COP-PST-DECL

   'It was as expected.'

Moreover, (8) does not readily permit a demonstrative-NP if the adverbial *yeysang-kwa talli* is absent in the second sentence. And the acceptability becomes even lower if the degree adverb *mwuchek* 'very' is also absent from the sentence. These facts are illustrated in (33).

(33) a. Chinchekcip-eyse   kay han mali-lul   cip-ulo teylye-wa   khiw-ess-ta.

        relative.house-from dog one CLF-ACC   home-to bring-CONN raise-PST-DECL

        'I brought a dog home from a relative's house and raised it.'

   b. ?/#**Ku** kay-ka   mwuchek   sanaw-ess-ta.

        that dog-NOM   very   ferocious-PST-DECL

      Intended: 'The dog was very ferocious.'

   b'. ??/#**Ku**   kay-ka   sanaw-ess-ta.

        that   dog-NOM   ferocious-PST-DECL

      Intended: 'The dog was ferocious.'

Why should there be such a connection between *mirativity* (i.e., expressing surprise or unexpectedness; DeLancey 1997) and demonstrative-NP licensing? The answer the present analysis affords us is that mirativity involves focus, and focus involves considering *alternatives* (cf. Rooth 1985, 1992), and this facilitates using what I call *exophoric indexing*, i.e., locating a set of individuals that are *not* overtly introduced into the discourse in S_A and then picking out a unique individual that meets the NP meaning from that set (compare, a.o., Hawkins 1978; Simonenko 2014; Ahn 2022).[21]

Using a demonstrative-NP in (8) is not *required*, however, because a bare noun can be felicitously used as a result of ι^x_T combining with it, although it would not convey the same meaning that using a demonstrative-NP would: using an anaphoric bare noun in (8) does not implicate that the speaker is comparing the dog with some other individual that has not been introduced into the discourse in S_A. It only implicates that the speaker had some expectations about the dog (e.g., how it would behave) before it came to their house.

The fact that using a demonstrative-NP is "optional" in (8) and it is infelicitous in (13) brings up the question of why it would be required in contexts like (10). My answer is that a demonstrative-NP is required in (10) due to the superlative predicate that is used in (10b). Evidence for this comes from the fact that, when the sentential predicate of (10b) is changed to a

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[21] Connection between emotivity and demonstrative use is well documented in English, though not all cases involve anaphoric environments (see, e.g., Lakoff 1974; Wolter 2006; Liberman 2008; Potts and Schwarz 2010; Acton and Potts 2014; Simonenko 2014; Kim 2018). In section 4, I briefly remark on how the present analysis may help explain such cases.

non-superlative adjective, using a bare noun is possible, as shown in (34b), modulo the different meaning that comes about.[22] For the reader's convenience, I repeat (10) below.

(10) a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse   kay han mali-lul   po-ass-ta.

     animal-hospital-LOC   dog one CLF-ACC   see-PST-DECL

     'I saw a dog at a/the veterinary hospital.'

   b.*(Ku)   kay-ka   kacang kwiyewu-ess-ta.

     that   dog-NOM   most   be.cute-PST-DECL

     Intended: 'The/that dog was the cutest.'

(34) a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse kay han mali-lul   po-ass-ta.

     animal-hospital-LOC   dog one CLF-ACC   see-PST-DECL

     'I saw a dog at a/the veterinary hospital.'

   b. (Ku) kay-ka   kwiyewu-ess-ta.

     that   dog-NOM   be.cute-PST-DECL

     'The dog was cute.'

   Under the present analysis, (10b) requires a demonstrative-NP subject because, due to the superlative semantics of the sentential predicate, interpreting the sentence involves locating a set of individuals that are presupposed to exist in the discourse context and then applying the predicate's meaning to a unique individual that is picked out from that set, yet (10a) introduces

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[22] When *ku* is used in (34b), the sentence implicates that the speaker is comparing the dog with some other animals that have not been introduced into the discourse.

just one new discourse referent, so using a definite with [+exo] and thereby locating some set of individuals that have not been overtly introduced into the discourse in S_A becomes necessary.

Support for this analysis comes from the fact that, when multiple new discourse referents are introduced in S_A, using a demonstrative-NP is not necessary, as exemplified in (16), which is repeated below for the reader's convenience. In fact, in such contexts, using a demonstrative-NP would be judged infelicitous because there is no need to locate a set of individuals that exist outside the immediate discourse context that has been established by uttering S_A.[23]

(16) a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse   kay han mali-wa,   koyangi han mali,

      animal-hospital-LOC   dog one CLF-and   cat   one CLF

      kuliko   haymsutha han mali-lul   po-ass-ta.

      and   hamster   one CLF-ACC see-PST-DECL

      'I saw a dog, a cat, and a hamster at a/the veterinary hospital.'

   b. **(#Ku) kay-ka**   kacang kwiyewu-ess-ta.

      that dog-NOM   most   be.cute-PST-DECL

      Intended: 'The dog was the cutest.'

Taken together, these facts show that, in Korean, anaphoric demonstrative-NPs may occur as the last resort, but in some contexts, their occurrence is grammatically required. And, in the light

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[23] We can apply the same logic to contexts like (15): In (15), using a demonstrative-NP gives rise to pragmatic anomaly because there have already been two individuals introduced into the discourse in S_A, meeting the presupposition of the comparative predicate, and there is no need for the speaker to encode a locative relation between them and the referent of the anaphoric definite at issue.

of the proposed analysis, what such contexts have in common is that they require a definite

subject with [+exo].

At this juncture, I would like to point out that even using a bare noun as a text-internally

licensed quasi-name does not improve the grammaticality of (10b), even though in contexts like

(9) and (34) it does. In the current system, this inability arises because, unlike demonstrative-

NPs, anaphoric bare nouns which function as text-internally licensed quasi-names do not carry

[+exo]; they carry [-exo; -end].

I should also note at this juncture that using a proper name in (10b) can improve the

grammaticality. To illustrate, (35b) can be construed as meaning that a puppy named *Kangaci*

was the cutest of all the animals that the speaker saw at some vet's office.[24]

(35) Context: Speaker knows a puppy named *Kangaci*, which literally means 'puppy'.

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[24] If *Kangaci* in (35b) is replaced by a human name, e.g., *Mina*, the acceptability becomes lower, as shown in (i).

This is because, given our world knowledge, comparing a human being with other animals with respect to the

property of being cute when one is at a vet's office is not so plausible. This shows that using just *any* proper name

will not work in improving the grammaticality of (10b) when it is uttered as the continuation of (10a).

(i) Context: Speaker has a female friend named *Mina*.

    a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse   **Mina-lul**   po-ass-ta.

       animal-hospital-LOC   Mina-ACC   see-PST-DECL

       'I saw Mina at a/the veterinary hospital.'

    b. #**Mina-ka**   kacang   kwiyewu-ess-ta.

       Mina-NOM   most   be.cute-PST-DECL

       Intended: 'Mina was the cutest.'

a. Tongmwul-pyengwon-eyse **Kangaci-lul** po-ass-ta.

animal-hospital-LOC Kangaci-ACC see-PST-DECL

'I saw Kangaci at a/the veterinary hospital.'

b. **Kangaci-ka** kacang kwiyewu-ess-ta.

Kangaci-NOM most be.cute-PST-DECL

'Kangaci was the cutest.'

The grammaticality of (35) shows that, despite their superficial similarity, proper names are inherently different from text-internally licensed bare noun anaphoric definites.

I take this to suggest that proper names carry [+exo], and for this reason, when they occur in contexts like (35b), they can let the speaker locate a set of individuals that have not been overtly introduced into the discourse in S_A, thereby satisfying the presuppositionality requirement of the sentence, in a manner analogous to what using a demonstrative-NP does. If correct, this analysis suggests that proper names and demonstrative-NPs have at least two things in common: apart from the *direct referentiality* property that has been attributed to them in the literature (see, e.g., Roberts 2002; Simonenko 2014; Bombi 2018), they both carry what I call [+exo].[25]

I turn now to addressing why demonstrative-NPs are felicitous in contexts like (7) but not in contexts like (11)-(12), even though, in both (7) and (11)-(12), they occur bearing a topic-marker, and S_A introduces two new discourse referents into the discourse, so the discourse contexts look similar. The answer I offer is that this is due to the coordinate structure and the use

[25] But this does not mean that they are identical. Proper names are considered *rigid designators* (Kripke 1980) and therefore they are assumed to pick out the same object in all possible worlds; demonstrative-NPs will not. They pick out different individuals depending on context, let alone different worlds (see, e.g., King 2001; Roberts 2002, 2003).

of a topic-marker in *both* subject positions. Evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that when the second subject in (11)-(12) occurs with the additive particle *-to* 'also', the sentences become felicitous, as exemplified in (36)-(37). For the reader's convenience, I repeat (11)-(12) below.

(11) a. Kakey   an-ulo   namca han myeng-kwa yeca   han myeng-i

      store   inside-to   man   one CLF-and   woman one CLF-NOM

      tulleo-ass-ta.

      enter-PST-DECL

      'Into the store entered a man and a woman.'

  b. **(??/#Ku) namca-nun**   kapang-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ko

      that man-TOP   bag-ACC   carry-CONN AUX-PST-CONN

    (??/#ku) yeca-nun   wusan-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ta.

      that woman-TOP   umbrella-ACC carry-CONN AUX-PST-DECL

    Intended: 'The man was carrying a bag and the woman was carrying an umbrella.'

(12) a. Thakcawi-ey sakwa han kay-wa   kywul han kay-ka   iss-ess-ta.

      table.top-LOC apple one CLF-and   orange one CLF-NOM   exist-PST-DECL

      'On the table, there were an apple and an orange.'

  b. **(??/#Ku)**   **sakwa-nun**   singsinghay-ss-ko **(??/#ku)**   **kywul-un**

      that   apple-TOP   be.fresh-PST-CONN   that   orange-TOP

      singsingha-ci   ahn-ass-ta.

      be.fresh-CONN   NEG.AUX-PST-DECL

Intended: 'The apple was fresh and the orange was not fresh.'

(36) a. Kakey   an-ulo   namca han myeng-kwa yeca   han myeng-i

      store   inside-to   man   one CLF-and   woman one CLF-NOM

      tulleo-ass-ta.

      enter-PST-DECL

      'Into the store entered a man and a woman.'

    b. **Ku   namca-nun**   kapang-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ko

        that   man-TOP   bag-ACC   carry-CONN AUX-PST-CONN

        ku   yeca-to   kapang-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ta.

        that   woman-also   bag-ACC   carry-CONN AUX-PST-DECL

        'The man was carrying a bag and the woman was carrying a bag also.'

(37) a. Thakcawi-ey   sakwa han kay-wa   kywul han kay-ka   iss-ess-ta.

      table.top-LOC apple   one CLF-and   orange one CLF-NOM   exist-PST-DECL

      'On the table, there were an apple and an orange.'

    b. **Ku   sakwa-nun** singsinghay-ss-ko   **ku kywul-to**   singsinghay-ss-ta.

       that   apple-TOP   be.fresh-PST-CONN   that orange-also   be.fresh-PST-DECL

       'The apple was fresh and the orange was fresh as well.'

Under the present analysis, (11b) and (12b) are infelicitous with demonstrative-NP subjects because, in each discourse, there are three sets of things being compared, and there is a conflict between the *situation-internal* comparison implicated by the second use of the topic marker and

the *situation-external* comparison enforced by the use of the demonstrative-NP in the second conjunct (compare Kim 2021a, b).

To show this, let me first point out that when a Korean speaker uses a coordinate structure like (11)-(12), and topic-marks the subjects of both clauses using -*nun/un*, there arises a non-cancellable implicature that they are comparing and contrasting the subjects' referents with respect to the property denoted by the first clause's predicate. To see this, consider (38): (38a) cannot be felicitously followed by (38b) because the latter is canceling the implicature that Sora does not like apples, unlike Mina.

(38) a. Mina-**nun**   sakwa-lul   cohaha-ko   Sora-**nun**   kywul-ul

      Mina-TOP   apple-ACC   like-CONN   Sora-TOP   orange-ACC

      cohaha-n-ta.

      like-IMPRF-DECL

      'Mina likes apples and Sora likes oranges.'

    b. #Kuliko   Sora-to   sakwa-lul   cohaha-n-ta.

      And   Sora-also   apple-ACC   like-IMPRF-DECL

      'And Sora likes apples, too.'

With this background information, when we come back to (11), we can explain its infelicity when containing demonstrative-NP subjects in the second sentence as follows.

Here, using the topic-marked demonstrative-NP subject in the first conjunct implicates that the speaker is comparing the man with some individual y that has not been introduced into the

discourse in S_A and therefore does not exist in s_s. For referential convenience, let me call this *comparison A*.

When we turn to the second conjunct, at first glance, things look similar because, here too, the subject bears a topic-marker and it also has a demonstrative modifier, and together, these two markers indicate that the speaker is comparing the woman with some individual z that has not been introduced into the discourse in S_A, so does not exist in s_s. However, the topic-marking on the subject also implicates that its referent is being compared with the referent of the first clause's subject with respect to the property denoted by the first clause's predicate. So, there are in fact two comparisons simultaneously being made in the second conjunct of the sentence, one between the woman and z, and another between the man and the woman. For ease of reference, let me call these *comparison B* and *comparison C*, respectively.

Let me now point out that *comparison A* and *comparison B* both involve an individual that does not exist in s_s; therefore, we can characterize them as *situation-external* comparisons. On the other hand, *comparison C* is between two individuals that exist in s_s, namely, the man and the woman; therefore, we can characterize it as a *situation-internal* comparison.

When we look at the entire sentence's meaning in this light, we can make sense of why it would be judged infelicitous when it has demonstrative-NPs occur as the subjects of both conjuncts. The reason is that the first comparison (i.e., *comparison A*) is situation-external, so the direction of the comparison is situation-outward ($\uparrow$); the second comparison (i.e., *comparison B*) is also situation-external, so the direction of the comparison is situation-outward ($\uparrow$) as well; however, the third comparison (i.e., *comparison C*) which is occurring simultaneously with *comparison B* is situation-internal, and making this comparison involves going back to the first conjunct ($\leftarrow$) and then coming back to the second conjunct ($\rightarrow$), and *this* creates processing

difficulty. That is, the marginality of (11b) arises because *comparison B* and *comparison C* are being made at the same time and they are conflicting with each other in terms of their direction and content. These ideas are schematically depicted in (39).

(39) Comparisons occurring in (11b) when demonstrative-NPs occur
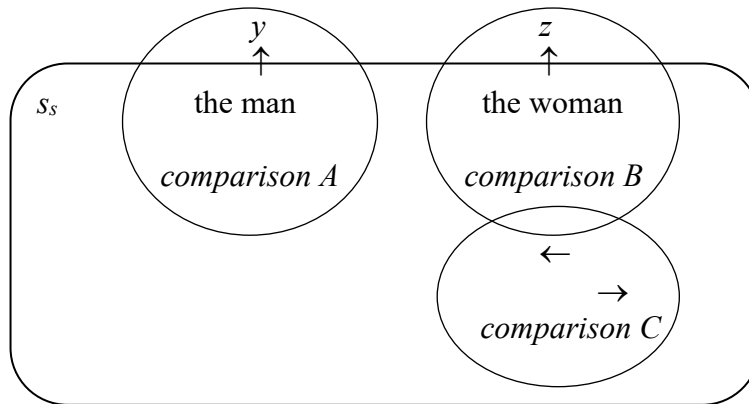

Such difficulty does not arise in (36b), by contrast. This is because, here, the second conjunct's subject has the additive particle *-to* instead of the topic marker *-nun*, and as a result, only two contrastive comparisons are being made in the entire sentence, i.e., one between the man and *y* (*comparison A*), and another between the woman and *z* (*comparison B*), and they do not conflict with each other, as depicted in (40).

(40) Comparisons occurring in (36b)
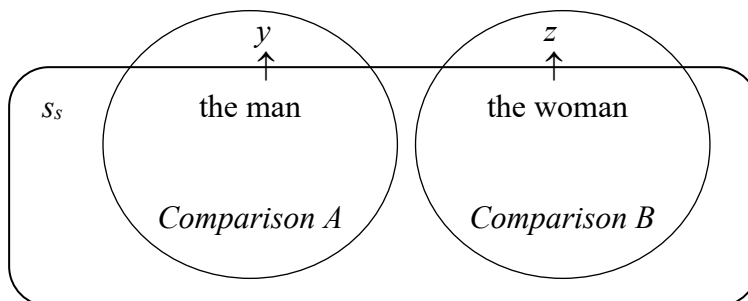
Now, I wish to point out that, on the analysis I have presented, using anaphoric bare noun subjects in (11b) creates no issues, regardless of whether the bare nouns are construed as situation-internally licensed definites or text-internally licensed quasi-names: If they are construed as situation-internally licensed definites as a result of combining with $\iota^x{}_S$, then interpreting the sentence involves making just one contrastive comparison, namely, a situation-internal comparison between the man and the woman; consequently, there arises no processing issue. Even if they are construed as text-internally licensed quasi-names, however, interpreting the sentence involves making just one situation-internal comparison, namely, between the man and the woman. This is because anaphoric bare nouns inherently lack [+exo], so no individuals that have not been introduced into the discourse in S_A will be considered in making the comparison in S_D, unlike the case where the subjects have a demonstrative modifier. These ideas are pictured in (41).

(41) Comparison occurring in (11b) when bare nouns occur
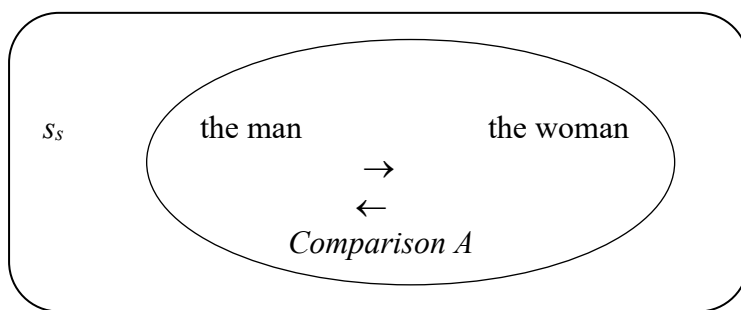
Finally, let me note that environments like (36) can permit anaphoric bare nouns, as exemplified in (42), but with a slightly different meaning, and the present analysis can provide a straightforward account for this: Unlike (36), (42) is judged felicitous only if the speaker is

comparing the man with the woman who have both been introduced into the discourse by uttering the first sentence. In the present analysis, the reason for this is the same as what I have given for (11) when its second sentence has anaphoric bare nouns, *except* that, here, the second definite subject occurs with the additive particle *-to*, so the direction of the comparison is just one way, unlike the case with (11b). In short, anaphoric bare nouns carry what I call [+end] or [-exo; -end], and therefore, when they occur in contexts like (42), they only engender a situation-internal comparison interpretation, as sketched in (43).

(42) a. Kakey   an-ulo   namca han myeng-kwa yeca   han myeng-i

       store   inside-to   man   one CLF-and   woman one CLF-NOM
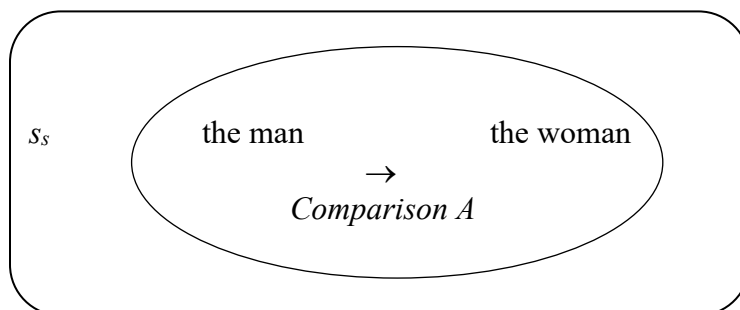
       tulleo-ass-ta.

       enter-PST-DECL

       'Into the store entered a man and a woman.'

   b. **Namca-nun**   kapang-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ko

       man-TOP   bag-ACC   carry-CONN   AUX-PST-CONN

       yeca-to   kapang-ul   tul-ko   iss-ess-ta.

       woman-also   bag-ACC   carry-CONN   AUX-PST-DECL

       'The man was carrying a bag and the woman was carrying a bag also.'

(43) Comparison occurring in (42b)

3.3 Summary

To summarize, then, what I have proposed for demonstrative-NPs and anaphoric bare nouns in Korean can provide us with an elegant analysis of their distributional and interpretative properties. In addition, the analysis given in this section answers all the questions raised at the end of section 2, not to mention solving all the problems the Korean facts present to the existing analyses that we identified in that section.

4 Conclusions

The purpose of this article has been twofold. One was to show that, in Korean, the choice between an anaphoric bare noun and a demonstrative-NP is not as free as has been held in the literature. The other was to account for the distribution of anaphoric bare noun subjects and demonstrative-modified ones and their form-meaning correlation. I have argued that the two types of anaphoric definites behave the way they do because of the different licensing conditions they have, which are built into their semantics, and because of the exophoric and the endophoric or non-exophoric and non-endophoric indices they have due to the [+exo] and the [-end] or [-exo; -end] features they carry.

The analysis proposed in this paper has several consequences. First, it enables us to have a cleaner classification of anaphoric definites and other types of definites in Korean than has been previously possible. As well established in the literature, in Korean, bare nouns function as weak definites and unique definites (see, e.g., Kang 2021), but this paper has shown that they also function as strong definites, 'strong' in the sense that they carry indices (Schwarz 2009). As mentioned in the introduction, similar facts are found in Mandarin (see, e.g., Simpson and Wu

2022; Dayal and Jiang 2023), challenging Schwarz's (2009) *unique/weak* definite versus *familiar/anaphoric/strong* definite dichotomy, and this has led Dayal and Jiang (2023) to analyze bare nouns in Mandarin to function as *both* weak definites and strong definites, while treating demonstrative-NPs as belonging to a separate category than strong definites. If we adopt such a treatment, however, we cannot satisfactorily account for why bare noun definites in Korean can function as *both* weak/unique definites and strong/anaphoric/familiar definites. One might assume with authors like Dayal and Jiang (2023) and Moroney (2021) that this is due to the free availability of null anaphoric iota type shifting in bare noun languages like Mandarin/Korean. But such an approach cannot answer the question of what triggers the null anaphoric type shifting operation to begin with and why it is freely available in bare noun languages. Moreover, it cannot answer why iota type shifting is resorted to when demonstrative-NPs in Korean can already function as strong/anaphoric/familiar definites, as this paper has clearly shown.
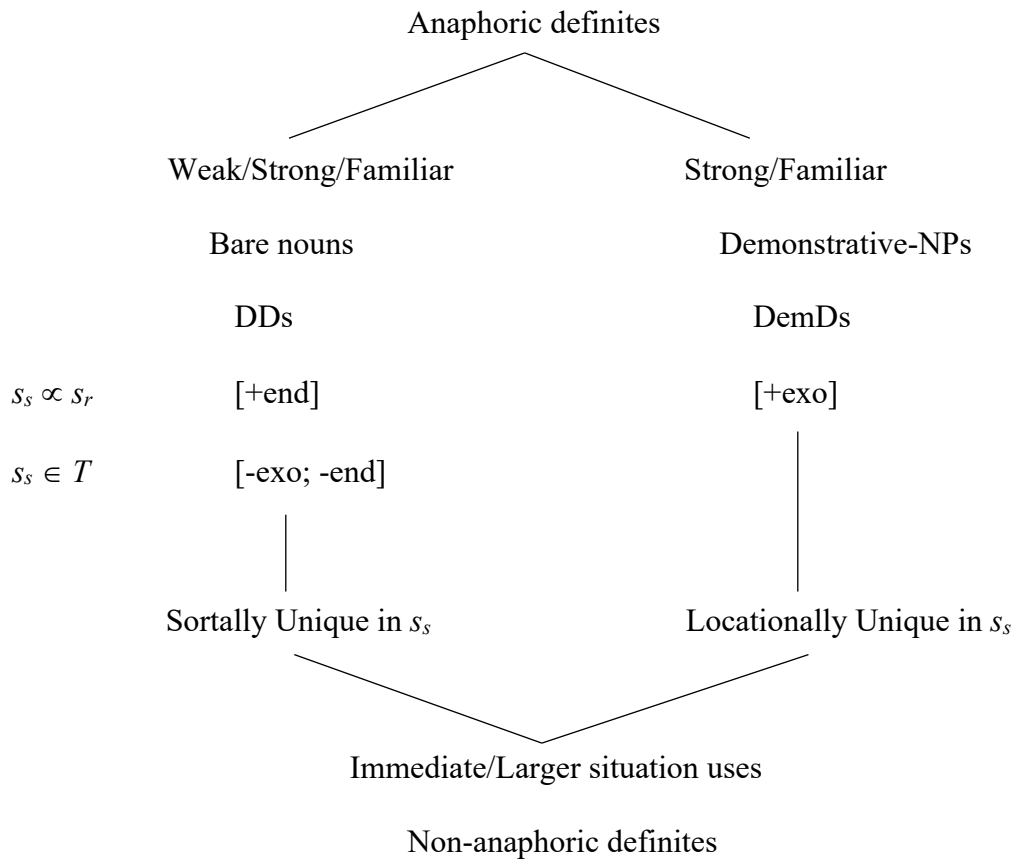
The answer the present analysis provides us is that this is due to bare noun definites in Korean carrying [+end] or [-exo; -end] whereas demonstrative-NPs carry [+exo], which allows them to occur in any environment that licenses definites, regardless of whether it is an anaphoric or a non-anaphoric environment. In addition, under the present analysis, bare nouns can function as weak/unique definites as well as strong definites because their internal syntax is such that their LocP hosts what I call [+end] or [-exo; -end] features, and this allows the null anaphoric iota type shifter, i.e., $\iota^x{}_S$ or $\iota^x{}_T$, to merge at its Spec position, thereby contributing the function that the NP-level meaning can combine with (i.e., a function of type $<<et>,<<et>,e>>$).

In the light of this new analysis, then, we can offer the following picture for Korean, where bare noun definites and demonstrative-NPs carry the semantics of definite descriptions (DDs) and demonstrative descriptions (DemDs), respectively, and they can both occur in anaphoric and

non-anaphoric/deictic contexts, the only difference between the two contexts being that, in non-anaphoric/deictic contexts, what I have been referring to as s_s is the *immediate* physical/non-linguistic discourse situation that includes the discourse participants, i.e., the speaker and the addressee, and what I have been referring to as *text* (i.e., *T*) is the *larger* physical/non-linguistic discourse context that contains s_s or the universe of discourse that is presupposed to be part of the common ground of the discourse participants.

(44) Classification of definites in Korean

Anaphoric definites

Weak/Strong/Familiar   Strong/Familiar

Bare nouns   Demonstrative-NPs

DDs   DemDs

$s_s \propto s_r$ [+end]   [+exo]

$s_s \in T$ [-exo; -end]

Sortally Unique in s_s Locationally Unique in s_s

Immediate/Larger situation uses

Non-anaphoric definites

Second, the proposed analysis leads us to see that anaphoric definiteness marking in Korean is governed by intricate interplay between discourse structure, information structure, pragmatics,

and lexical semantics, and this lets us make sense of why discourse salience would make some anaphoric definite subjects occur as bare nouns—as claimed by Jenks (2018)—but some as modified by demonstratives—as claimed by authors like Park (2022). Under the current analysis, such seemingly conflicting empirical generalizations emerge because discourse salience can mean different things depending on whether the anaphoric definite at issue plays the role of a topic, or that of a focus.[26] In addition, there are different kinds of topic or focus meanings that an anaphoric definite subject can express, which are, in the case of Korean, grammatically encoded by particles like the topic-marker *-nun/un* and the NOM-marker *-i/ka* (Sohn 1999). Additionally, what calls for a demonstrative-NP in Korean are the licensing conditions given in (25). Therefore, even among anaphoric subjects that function as a topic or a focus, some may occur with a demonstrative, but some may not.

Third, this article sheds new light on why occurrence of a demonstrative-NP has been claimed to indicate some sort of perspective-shift which correlates with a new episodic boundary or tense or viewpoint change in a narrative in various languages including English, Kannada, Korean, and Mandarin (see, e.g., Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; Wright and Givón

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[26] As an anonymous reviewer points out, in his investigation of Eastern Cham (Austronesian, Vietnam), Baclawski (2019) establishes a connection between a topic versus a focus status of a nominal, event tracking, and grammatical encoding of discourse relations via various mechanisms (e.g., indexing, nominal movement to the left periphery of clausal structure). I did not directly engage with his work here because the details of the phenomena he discusses are rather different from what we are concerned with in this paper. But he also notes that contrastive topics behave differently from non-contrastive topics, suggesting some potential affinity between Eastern Cham facts and Korean facts (see his chapters 2 and 5). For related and more detailed discussion on contrastive topics and their differences from non-contrastive topics, see Constant 2014.

1987; Fabb 1997; Srinivas and Rawlins 2020; Kim 2021a, b; Simpson and Wu 2022):[27] In the current system, computing the meaning of a demonstrative-NP involves looking *beyond S_A* in s_r, whereas computing the meaning of an anaphoric bare noun does not. Hence, choosing one form over the other can help indicate whether the same perspective is being maintained between S_D and S_A or not.

Fourth, this paper suggests that, despite the well-known connection between the absence of an overt D and the presence of case-particles in languages like Korean, the case-particles themselves do not encode definiteness (compare, e.g., Park 1992; Park and Kang 2020; Park 2022); if that were the case, then all NOM-marked definite subjects in Korean should be either a bare noun or a demonstrative-NP, contrary to fact. In the proposed framework, some Case-particles (e.g., NOM) may help encode meaning that is related to focus, yet what licenses an overt anaphoric definiteness marker, i.e., a demonstrative, is the presupposition of (26), and what necessitates such a marker is a semantic environment that requires a definite nominal with [+exo] due to the fact that the current discourse context does not satisfy the presupposition of the sentential predicate, e.g., when the sentence has a superlative predicate, as in (10).

Fifth, the present paper has shown that even though demonstratives may give rise to *anti-uniqueness effects* in the sense of Simonenko (2014), it is not the case that every occurrence of a demonstrative-NP comes with the anti-uniqueness presuppositionality proposed by Dayal and Jiang (2023). Under the proposed analysis, apparent anti-uniqueness effects come about because of the [+exo] on the demonstrative-NP at issue and the semantics of demonstratives which

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[27] To take English, for example, whenever the narrator makes a comment on the content of the story in the middle of the narration, they tend to use demonstratives or what would be considered strong definite forms, e.g., *I said to myself, this is it*, as cited in Fabb 1997: 167.

encodes some locative relation between speaker and the individual denoted by the definite at issue.

Looking at demonstratives in this light, we can account for why even in English, some demonstrative descriptions are licensed even though the so-called anti-uniqueness requirement is not met. For example, as Simonenko (2014: 90) notes, (45) is judged fine when uttered in a context where there is just one albino gorilla. And similar facts have been observed by authors like Wolter (2006) as well.

(45) **That albino gorilla** is very dangerous!

In the literature, this phenomenon remains an outstanding issue (see, e.g., Simonenko 2014; Ahn 2022). In the present analysis, it receives a simple, yet satisfactory, account. A demonstrative is licensed in (45) because there is a need for the speaker to indicate a locative relation between them and the individual denoted by the definite at issue; that is, it satisfies a version of the licensing condition I have proposed in (25b).

Related to this, we can now begin explaining why *emotivity* or *speaker affect* seems to license demonstratives in numerous languages including English, German, Korean, and Japanese (see, e.g., Kim 2018, 2019 and references there). According to the present analysis, all occurrences of demonstratives come with what I call [+exo] and they potentially have the semantics given in (26). As a result, using them can encode that the speaker locates a set of individuals that have not been overtly introduced into the discourse and then indicates that the individual denoted by the definite at issue has a property that the individuals in that set do not (compare Ahn 2022). That is, demonstrative modification can serve as a strategy to indicate

noteworthiness, as has been claimed by authors like Maclaran (1982), Wright and Givón (1987), Ionin (2016), and Kim (2019). And, under the analysis I have put forward here, this is due to the [+exo] feature they carry and the locative relation they encode between the speaker and the individual they refer to.

Sixth, this article suggests that, just like DDs (e.g., *the door*, *the moon*, *the President*), DemDs (e.g., *that door*, *that moon*, *that President*) have a uniqueness presupposition built into their semantics, but they have a different sense of uniqueness: While DDs refer to an individual that has a *uniquely identifiable sortal property in s_s*, DemDs refer to an individual that stands in a *unique locative relation* to the *speaker in s_s* (compare Hawkins 1989, 1991; Löbner 1985; Lyons 1999). Therefore, the same sentence can contain more than one occurrence of the same DemD, although it cannot contain more than one occurrence of the same DD, as observed by authors like Robinson (2005) and as exemplified in (46).[28]

(46) a. **This$_1$ dog** is awake and **this$_2$ dog** is asleep.

b. #**The$_1$ dog** is awake and **the$_2$ dog** is asleep.

And for these reasons too, in Korean, one can use the distal demonstrative *ce* when looking at the moon, commenting on it, despite the fact that there is just one unique moon in s_s, as exemplified in (47).

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[28] In the present analysis, the first occurrence of *this dog* and the second occurrence of *this dog* in (46a) refer to different individuals because the *LR* variables in their denotations receive different values from the discourse context.

(47) **Ce   tal-un**   cengmal   khuta.

    that   moon-TOP   really   is.big

    'That moon is really big.'

Finally, this paper has shown that even though Korean is an article-less language, a demonstrative is sometimes grammatically required for an anaphoric definite subject. We can take this to suggest that a strong definite article is being grammaticalized in Korean and that what appears to be the same lexeme sometimes functions as a phrasal modifier but other times as an "article", a possibility that has been put forward by authors like Cho (2022), though not in this context or by using data that would stablish Korean demonstratives' potential article status.

If this line of analysis is correct, then it may implicate that Korean grammar is transitioning into what Simonenko and Carlier (2020) call an *NP-givenness grammar* from what they call a *TP-givenness grammar*, a transition that they claim languages like Old French and Old Hungarian have undergone also, resulting in the rise of definite articles descending from demonstratives.[29]

It remains to be seen whether the core ideas proposed in this paper carry over to other syntactic environments in Korean including donkey anaphora sentences, as well as to other "article-less" (numeral classifier) languages such as Mandarin, Japanese, Shan, Kannada, Hindi, and Serbian. Additionally, it will be interesting to see whether all cases where the definite at issue in Korean carries what I call [+exo] can be translated into DemDs in article-possessing

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[29] According to Simonenko and Carlier (2020), an *NP-givenness grammar* marks definiteness by using articles whereas a *TP-givenness grammar* does so by using information-structure driven "flexible" word order or prosody.

languages like English and German, and whether all cases where the Korean definite at issue

carries what I call [+end] or [-exo; -end] can be translated into DDs in such languages.

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