

## Domain Restriction in Freedom of Choice: A View from Korean INDET-NA items

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Recent work on indefinites, free choice items (FCI), and negative polarity items (NPI) has shown that there is much variation on the phenomena, both within and across languages (e.g., Quer 2000, Giannakidou 2001, Chierchia 2005). From this literature, however, a new theoretical perspective has also emerged which points to a potentially unified account of the three distinct phenomena, i.e., FCI, NPI, and (non)specificity. What cuts across them is the widening or narrowing of the quantification domain. In this paper, we develop such an account and illustrate its use in the analysis of Korean FCIs which consist of indeterminates (e.g., *nwukwu* who/someone, *amwu* someone/anyone and the so-called disjunctive particle *-na*, with a special focus on *nwukwu-na* and *amwu-na*).

Indefinites are typically used with an implicit domain restriction *D* that is part of the common ground. Current theories of the relevant phenomena crucially refer to alternative domains other than *D*, bringing about distinct effects. Specific uses of indefinites are characterized by narrow, in some cases singleton, domains. Their exact nature is usually known only to the speaker, giving rise to the speaker-listener asymmetry of information that is typical of the phenomenon (van Rooy 2001, Schwarzschild 2002). On the other hand, the German *irgend*-series of indefinites induces a widened domain, as discussed in Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002, the result of which is the opposite of specificity: *irgend* induces the weakest possible interpretation of the sentence, implicating either that the speaker is unable to be more specific about the individual at issue (ignorance) or that its identity is irrelevant (indifference). NPIs signal that the sentence remains true under super-domains of *D* (Kadmon and Landman, 1993, Krifka 1995, Chierchia 2001, van Rooy 2003). Their distributional properties are then explained under the added pragmatic constraint that super-domains lead to a strengthened statement. In a similar vein, Chierchia (2005) explains the universal force of FCIs through domain-widening in conjunction with an implicature to the effect that

none of the more specific statements is excluded.

Our account of Korean indet+na • items is similar to Chierchia (2005) account in the end result but there are some important differences in detail. Instead of resorting to an intricate mechanism of implicature computation, we take a more direct approach which relies on the relationship between specificity and free choice. The idea is that a sentence containing a FCI is true iff every possible way of using the corresponding sentence with a specific indefinite, in lieu of the FCI, is true.

We show that this approach not only accords well with the pre-theoretical notion of free choice • but also derives the effects of some of the ad-hoc requirements on the phenomenon such as the distributive requirement imposed by Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002).