

## Intervention Effects as NPI Licensing Intervention

This proposal puts forward the idea that so-called *intervention effects* in Korean are not the result of LF wh-movement, and therefore the elements previously known as interveners are no longer interveners. Based on the assumption that a wh-in-situ does not undergo LF movement, I argue that intervention effects triggered by the NPIs in Korean can be understood as a part of the NPI licensing intervention in which quantificational force of the wh-in-situ interrupts the relation between the NPI and its licenser [+NEG]. (Horn 2000, Sells 2001, 2005) According to this, the NPI is no longer an intervener, but the wh-in-situ plays an intervening role instead.

Sentences given in (1) have been described as exhibiting so-called *intervention effects* based on the assumption that a certain type of expression prevents the wh-in-situ phrase from undergoing movement at LF as in (2). Since scrambling of the wh-in-situ saves ungrammaticality of the sentence, intervention effects have been regarded as one piece of evidence to support LF wh-movement in wh-in-situ languages. (Hoji 1985, Beck 1996, Beck and Kim 1997, Hagstrom 1998, Miyagawa 2002) The previous literature has taken it for granted that the NPIs occur in the scope of their licenser. Under this assumption, the NPI *amwuto* in (1a) is in the scope of the negation morpheme *-anh* as illustrated in (3). However, it has been argued that there is a discrepancy between syntactic licensing and semantic scope of NPIs in Korean. In a nutshell, it is not necessary that the NPIs should be in the scope of a trigger, although the NPI licensing must obey clause-mate condition. (Chung and Park 1998, Lee 2001, Sells 2001, Kim 2002, Sells 2001, 2005, among others)

There are several pieces of evidence to support this claim. First, as in (4) a suppletion form of negation, which also licenses clause mate NPIs just like an ordinary negation form, presents different scopal interaction with respect to other quantifiers (Chung and Park 1998). Second, only a theta marked phrase by its predicate can be licensed by the negation in Korean as in (5a), unlike English in which the NPI can be licensed once they are in the scope of negation as in (5b). (Chung and Park 1998, Sells 2001) Third, the NPI can be licensed within a clause carrying a negative element, although there is no semantic negative interpretation of that clause as in (6). (Sells 2001, 2005)

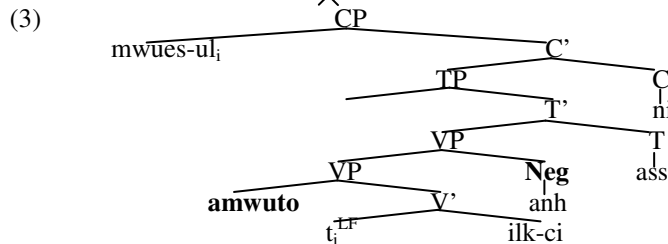
If this assumption is correct, intervention effect triggered by the NPIs in Korean is because the wh-interrogative wh-in-situ prevents the NPI from being licensed by [+NEG], rather than the NPI itself serving as the intervener. This is accordance with Horn (2000)'s Intervention Constraint for the NPI licensing in (8) in which any element with quantificational force is not allowed to appear between the NPI and its licenser as in (9) (Linebarger 1987, Sells 2005) With recourse to this line of reasoning, the fact that the indefinite reading of the wh-in-situ is not subject to intervention effects can be captured too. The wh-words in Korean are ambiguous between indefinites and wh-interrogatives, but the indefinite reading of the wh-word is not subject to intervention effects as in (7a). In favor of the claim that the wh-words in Korean are originally are indefinites, and the wh-interrogative reading is derived from the indefinite reading of the wh-word by quantifier raising (Nishigauchi 1990, Kim 1991, Aoun and Li 1993, Choi 2003), the prediction naturally falls out: the quantificational force of the wh-interrogative enters into the scope interaction with the NPI, so that the NPI licensing is interrupted, and intervention effects emerge. On the contrary, the indefinite reading of the wh-word does not have its own quantificational force (Heim 1982), and therefore it does not harm the NPI licensing relation.

Rejecting the idea that intervention effects are the result of the LF movement, I here argue that the NPIs previously known as 'interveners' are not interveners. Instead, intervention effects must be understood as construction-specific phenomena. That is, intervention effects appear when properties of the wh-in-situ phrase conflict with syntactic and semantic properties of constructions where the wh-in-situ phrase occurs, such as the NPI licensing intervention. In this sense, the wh-in-situ phrase seems to play a role as an intervener, which interrupts syntactic and semantic relation which each well-formed structure is supposed to have.

(1) a. \***Amwuto mwues-ul ilk-ci anh-ass-ni?**  
 anyone what-Acc read-CI Neg-Past-Q  
 'What did no one read?'

b. **Mwues-ul amwuto ilk-ci anh-ass-ni?**  
 what-Acc anyone read-CI Neg-Past-Q

(2) LF: [<sub>CP</sub> wh-phrase<sub>i</sub> [. . . [intervener [. . . t<sub>i</sub> . . . ]]]]



(Beck and Kim 1997)

(4) a. John-un **motun** salam-ul **molu-n-ta.**  
 John-Top all man-Acc not know-Pres-Decl  
 'John does not know all the people.'

(∀>Neg)

b. John-un **motun** salam-ul **al-ci mos-ha-n-ta.**  
 John-Top all man-Acc know-CI Neg-do-Pres-Decl  
 'John does not know all the people.'

(∀>Neg)

'It is not the case that John knows all the people.'

(Neg>∀)

(5) a. \*John-i **amwuto-uy** phyenci-lul pat-ci-**anh-ass-ta**  
 John-Nom anyone-Gen letter-Acc receive-CI-Neg-Past-Decl  
 'John didn't receive anybody's letter.'

b. John did **not** read **anybody's** book.

(6) **Amwuto i chayk-pakkey ilk-ci-anh-ass-ta**  
 anyone this book-only read-CI-Neg-Past-Decl  
 'Everyone read only this book.' (only>Neg)  
 \*'No one read only this book.' (Neg>only)

(7) **Amwuto mwues-ul ilk-ci anh-ass-ni?**  
 anyone what/something-Acc read-CI Neg-Past-Q

a. 'Did no one read anything?'

b. \*'What did no one read?'

(8) No operator with quantificational force may intervene between a polarity item and its trigger  
 (either negation or its downward entail analogues) (Horn 2000:163)

(9) \*[NPI . . . wh-phrase . . . [+NEG]]

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