Korean plural marker *tul* has two distinct usages. It can occur as typical plural morpheme, immediately following a (pro)noun (underlined in examples). Or it can be optionally attached to other categories including adverbial, verbal, or prepositional phrases (boldfaced in examples). The former is called “intrinsic *tul*” and the latter “extrinsic *tul*.”

Extrinsic *tul* has some peculiar properties. First, it carries a distributive sense. (2a) can mean either that each of the two students submitted his/her own paper, or that the two submitted one coauthored paper. By contrast, (2b) can only mean the former. Furthermore, extrinsic *tul* appears to violate compositionality: although it attaches to any category, regardless of semantic type (as in (1)), it never indicates the plurality on its adjacent element. Lastly, extrinsic *tul* must be placed in a position c-commanded by a plural argument, as in (3), and the plural argument must be within the same clause as in (4).

I argue that the function and meaning of extrinsic *tul* is not precisely explained by only these three properties, and its semantic and syntactic contribution should be captured by analogy with English *all*. English *all* is proposed to have “maximizing effect” as in (5), and to be compatible with both distributive and collective reading (Brisson 2003), both of which correctly correspond to the behavior of *tul* that I found in extensive data, including (6). Furthermore, English *all* is also attested to have multiple occurrences (7) as is the case with extrinsic *tul*.

I propose an analysis of extrinsic *tul* in parallel with English *all*, employing the idea of feature sharing version of Agree and Vehicle Requirement on Merge (Pesetsky and Torrego 2004, 2006), according to which the interpretable unvalued feature on intrinsic *tul* serves as a probe for the uninterpretable valued feature on extrinsic *tul* via Agree (8). The suggested analysis should present a more accurate account of the semantics and syntax of extrinsic *tul*, while capturing the correspondence between Korean *tul* and English *all*.
Data

(1) haksayng-tul.i  sensayngnim-kkey(.tul)  yelsimhi(-tul)  cilmwun-ul(.tul)
    student-TUL.NOM  teacher-DAT(TUL)  intently(-TUL)  question-ACC(TUL)
    kyosil-eyse(.tul)  ha-ko(.tul)  issta.
    classroom-in(TUL)  do-COMP(TUL)  be

   ‘The students are asking a question to the teacher intently in the classroom.’

(2) a. twu-myeng.uy  haksayng-tul.i  peyipe-lul  ceychwulhayssta.
    two-CL.GEN  student-TUL.NOM  paper-ACC  submitted

   ‘Two students submitted a paper.’

b. twu-myeng.uy  haksayng-tul.i  peyipe-lul.tul  ceychwulhayssta.
    two-CL.GEN  student-TUL.NOM  paper-ACC.TUL submitted

   ‘Two students submitted a paper (each).’

(3) wuli  sensayngnim-un  yenkusil-ey(*tul)  kyesita.
    our  teacher-TOP  office-in(.TUL)  be

   ‘Our teacher is in the office.’

(4) yecaay-tul.i  [nay-ka  pan-eyse.*tul  ceil-*tul  calsayngkyessta-ko]  malhanta.
    girl-TUL.NOM  I-NOM  class-in.TUL  most-TUL  handsome-COMP  say

   ‘The girls say that I am the most handsome in the class.’

(5) a. The girls built a raft. (but Sue and Mary did not)
   b. All the girls built a raft. (and no girl was allowed not to)

(6) yecaay-tul.i.tul  tteysmok-ul  mantulessta.
    girl-TUL.NOM.TUL  raft-ACC  built

   ‘Each of the girls built her own raft.’ (distributive)
   ‘All the girls built a raft together.’ (collective)

(7) a. All the gentlemen all like my father.
   b. All the important issues were all resolved.

(8) Agree

   ... InTul  ... [√ ExtTul]  ...  ⇒  ... InTul  ... [√ ExtTul]

Selected references
