Another Type of Free Choice Effect:
Korean *Amwu* N-*Lato*

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1. Introduction

The discussion of Free Choice Items (FCIs) in the literature has been primarily concerned with English *any* taking a universal-like interpretation (Dayal 1998; Giannakidou 2001; Sæbø 2001, among others). For instance, in (1), any apple among all the apples in the discourse is a permitted option for the addressee to pick. The addressee's freedom of choice to pick an unrestricted apple can be seen as being inherited by the speaker's permission or indifference. That is, because the speaker does not care the identity of an apple the addressee would pick, every apple in a given set can be a permitted choice.

(1) You can pick any apple.

Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002) suggest that speaker's indifference is a key notion for free choice (FC) effects of German *irgendein,* although it always reads existentially, rather than universally. Example (2) shows that *irgendein* conveys speaker's indifference as for the identity of the invitee, so that anyone in the domain of discourse can be an option for invitation, hence FC effect. In this regard, the simple indefinite *jemand* is infelicitous.

(2) Hans: Wen soll ich einladen?
             Who shall I invite?
     Maria: **Irgendjemand**   /   #Jemand.
             Somebody or other.   Somebody.

K&S further observe that the FC effect of *irgendein* is canceled under downward entailing (DE) contexts, as in (3). A special focus particle or emphatic stress is needed to keep it, as in (4).

(3) Ich   bezweifle,   dass sie je   irgendjemand   einladen   durfte.
     I   doubt   that she ever irgend-one   invite   could
     'I doubt that she was ever allowed to invite anybody.'

(4) Sie   darf   nie   einfach   nur   IRGENDjemand   einladen.
     She   may   never just   only   irgend-one   invite
     'She is never allowed to invite just ANYbody (by choosing indiscriminately/indifferently).'

K&S' analysis is as follows: first, the source for *irgendein*'s FC effect is its domain-widening action, as proposed by Kadmon and Landman (1993) for English *any*. FC indefinite *irgendein*, unlike simple *ein*, induces maximal widening of the domain. So, while DPs headed by *ein* denote subsets of their common noun set, *irgendein Mann* denotes the set of all men, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5) $g(D) \subseteq D$ (D is the set of possible individuals)
      $[[\textbf{ein}_\textbf{D} \textbf{ mann}]]^{w,g} = \{x: x \text{ is man in } w \ \& \ x \in g(D)\}$

(6)   For $[[\alpha]]^{w,g} \subseteq D_e$: $[[\textbf{irgend-}\alpha]]^{w,g} = \{x: \exists g'[x \in [[a]]^{w,g'}]\}$
          $[[\textbf{irgend-}[\textbf{ein}_D \textbf{ mann}]]]^{w,g} = \{x: \exists g'[x$ is a man in w & $x \in g'(D)] = \{x: x$ is a man in $w\}$

Second, since modals like 'may' only select propositions   Hamblin-style semantics for indefinites is adopted to make a compositional link between FC indefinites and modals: indefinites create Hamblin sets, namely set of propositional alternatives, as illustrated in (7).

(7) $[[$ **Hans hat irgendjemand eingeladen** $]]^{w,g} = \{p: \exists x[man(x)(w)$ & $p=\lambda w'.invited(h)(x)(w')]\}$

Third, the FC effect of *irgendein* is now formalized as so-called "distribution requirement", as in (8). That is, for every alternative created by *irgendein*, there should be an accessible world introduced by a modal. The distribution requirement is derived as a conversational implicature since it disappears in DE contexts, as we saw in (3).

(8)   Distribution Requirement
         $\{\lambda w'.\forall p[p \in [[IP]]^{w',g} \rightarrow \exists w''[w''$ is accessible from w' & $p(w'')=1]]\}$

A crucial fact that K&S fail to capture is that the FC effect in (4) is oriented not to the speaker but to the agent of inviting action, i.e. *she*. The two types of FC effects with respect to orientation are similar to the two distinct interpretations of –*ever* Free Relatives, as von Fintel (2000) and Tredinnick (2003) note. –*ever* FRs can convey either speaker indifference or agent indifference, as shown in (9).

(9)   a.Zack voted for whoever was at the top of the ballot.   **Agent's Ind.**
        = Zack <u>didn't care who</u> was at the top of the ballot and <u>indifferently voted </u>for that person.
     b. Whatever John writes is provocative.
      = <u>The speaker does not care which</u> one of John's writings is
      considered; he indifferently considers them all provocative.   **Speaker's Ind.**

In sum, the FC effect of *irgendein* has the following properties: i) it comes from domain widening of *irgendein*, ii) it is canceled in DE contexts as a conversational implicature, and iii) it can be attributed to either the speaker or an agent.

This paper aims to show that there is a source for FC effects in Korean other than domain widening and to discuss the differences between FC effects that arise from different sources. Section 2 displays basic data for Korean free choice items. Section 3 introduces the contribution of Korean domain-widening indefinite *amwu-*, which Choi (2005a) has observed. Section 4 argues that the scalar focus particle –*lato* 'even' can induce FC effects, no matter whether its associate is a domain widening indefinite or not. It is also shown that the FC effects from –*lato* 'even' have different semantic properties than those originating from domain widening with respect to cancelability and orientation. Section 5 is concerned with a compositional analysis of –*lato*-associated FCIs, based on Guerzoni's (2005) treatment of 'even'.

2. Free Choice Items in Korean

Korean FCIs are composed of an indefinite and a particle. Basically, there are two indefinites (i.e., *wh-* and *amwu-* 'no matter what…'[1]) and two particles (i.e., -*lato* 'even' and –*na* 'or') that can combine. Table (10) shows the distribution and interpretation of each combination.

(10)	*Amwu-**lato***	*Wh-**lato***	*Amwu-**na***	*Wh-**na***
Negative	*	*	?FC-∀	∀
DE other than negation	FC-∃	FC-∃	FC-∀	∀
Modal, Imperative etc.	FC-∃/∀	FC-∃/∀	FC-∀	∀
Affirmative	*	*	?FC-∀	∀

(DE for downward entailing context; FC for free choice)

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[1] *Amwu*-based polarity sensitive items are discussed in Lee et al. (2000) and Choi (2005a).

The first two items based on *–lato* 'even', i.e., *amwu/wh*-N-*lato* take an existential quantification in DE contexts while being interpreted as a universal-like generic or an existential in so-called FC contexts including generics, imperatives, and modals, among other contexts. By contrast, the third item, the combination of *amwu* 'no matter what' and *–na* 'or', i.e., *amwu-na* is interpreted as a universal-like free choice across the board. The contrast is very clear in the translation of English example in (11), provided by Horn (2000).

(11) a. If you eat ANY meat, you are not a vegetarian.   (NPI use)
    b. If you eat ANY meat, you are not a kosher Jew.   (FC use)

Horn (2000) observes that *any* in conditional can be ambiguous between its negative polarity (NPI) incarnation and FC incarnation. In (11a) *any* is construed as a non-specific existential while in (11b) it is interpreted universally. Such an ambiguity is resolved by two different lexical items in Korean, as shown in (12).

(12)   Translation of Horn's (2000) examples
a.   **amwu/etten**   koki-**lato** mek-umyen, ne-nun   chaysikcuuyca-ka   ani-ta.
    Any/what   meat-even eat-if   you-Top   vegetarian-Nom   not-be-Decl
    'No matter what meat it may be, if you eat it, you are not a vegetarian.'
b.   **amwu**   koki-**na**   mek-umyen, ne-nun   yutayin-i   ani-ta.
    Any   meat-or   eat-if   you-Top   Jew-Nom   not-be-Decl
    'If you eat just ANY meat (no matter what meat it may be), you are not a kosher Jew.'

NPI use of *any* can be translated into *amwu/wh-lato* whereas FC *any* can be realized by *amwu-na* in Korean. Note, however, that although *amwu/wh-lato* in (12a) takes an existential quantification, it does involve FC flavor such as the speaker's indifference concerning the identity of meat you eat, that is, "no matter what ..." reading. In imperative statements like (13), *amwu/wh-lato* and *amwu-na* also deliver FC flavor, coming either from the speaker's indifference (13a) or agent's indifference (13b). They are different in terms of quantificational force, parallel to (12).

(13) a.   (ne   cikum nai-ka   myech-intey   acikto   kyelhon-ul   an   ha-e?)
        you   now   age-Nom how.much-but still   marriage-Acc Neg   do-Q
        'Why are you still not married in spite of being such an old woman? (rhetorical)'
        amwu/nwukwu-lato   man-napwa-la
        anyone/who-even   meet-try-Imp
        'Meet any one person: I don't care who you meet.'
    b.   (namca-tul-un   ta   ttokkhat-ay.)
        man-Pl-Top   all   same-Decl
        'Guys are all the same.'
        kunyang **amwu-na** man-napwa-la
        just   anyone-or meet-try-Imp
        'Go and meet just ANYbody, not caring about who to meet.'

While disjunction *–na* combined with *amwu* is a FCI, as we have seen, disjunction *–na* associated with *wh-* is simply a universal quantifier in Korean. Thus, there is no FC reading with *wh-na* in (14b), in contrast to *amwu-na* in (14a).

(14) a. John-un   **amwu**-hako-**na**   ca-ass-e
        J.-Top   any-with-or   sleep-Past-Decl
        'John slept with just ANYbody by acting indifferently/indiscriminately.'
    b. John-un   **nwukwu**-hako-**na** ca-ass-e
        J.-Top   who-with-or   sleep-Past-Decl
        'John slept with everybody.'

From the fact that *wh-* with *-na* 'or' does not induce FC effects, one can easily infer that it is either *amwu* 'no matter what' or *–lato* 'even' that induce FC effects in Korean, as schematized in (15). To

tease apart their respective contribution of *amwu* and *–lato*, we need to compare *amwu-lato* and *wh-lato*. In the next section, it will be shown that while *amwu-lato* and *wh-lato* are the same in terms of distribution, q-force, and introduction of FC flavor, *amwu* in *amwu-lato* (and in general) gives rise to some stronger semantic effects.

(15)   **amwu** ——————————————— **---lato** 'even$_{NPI}$'

   wh ——————————————— **---na** 'or'
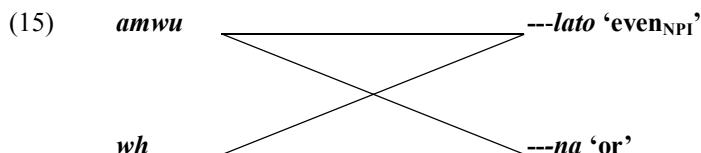
3. Domain widening of *amwu*

Choi (2005a) argues that Korean *amwu* induces a domain widening, as K&L (1993) and K&S (2002) have proposed for English *any* and German *irgendein*, respectively. The domain widening function of *amwu* is responsible for several ways in which it differs semantically from other indefinites such as *wh*-indefinites: *wh*-indefinites range over a regular domain of individuals whereas *amwu* induces maximal widening of this domain. The effects generated by domain widening fall into the following two types: (i) emphatic effects similar to *even*-like behavior and (ii) restriction on scope taking.

3.1. Rhetorical question

As proposed in van Rooy (2003) for NPIs like *lift a finger*, domain widening (together with 'even') gives rise to the rhetorical effect in (16). In Korean, rhetorical questions with the rhetorical-Q morpheme *-kessni* can be formed with *amwu*-N but not with *wh*-N, as in (17).

(16) Did John *lift a finger* to help Mary? (-rhetorical reading only.)

(17)   a.   John-i   **amwu**   towum-ilato   cwu-ess-kessni?
              John-Nom   any   help-even   give-Past-RheQ
              'Did John give any help to Mary?' (John must have done nothing to help Mary.)
         b.   *John-i   **etten**   towum-ilato   cwu-ess-kessni?
              John-Nom   what   help-even   give-Past-RheQ

3.2. Non-accidental Generalization

Amwu-N cannot be used to express an accidental generalization, but *wh*-N can, as shown in (18b). Note that Rullmann (1996) argues that in Dutch, emphatic NPIs with wider domain can only be used in non-accidental generalizations, as in (19) (see also Heim 1984; Dayal 1995). Thus, *amwu*-N can be seen as equivalent to emphatics (or minimizers), but *wh*-N can't.

(18)   a.   nwukwu-/amwu-lato ttayli-n   aytul-un   motwu pel-ul   pat-ass-ta
              Who-/anyone-even   beat-Rel   kids-Top   all   punishment-Acc got
              'Every kid who beat anyone was punished.'
         b.   nwukwu-/#**amwu**-lato ttayli-n aytul-un   motwu phalan os-ul   ip-ko.iss-ess-ta
              who-/anyone-even   beat-Rel   kids-Top   all   blue   clothes-Acc   was.wearing
              'Every kid who beat anyone was wearing blue clothes.'

(19)   a.   ledereen   die   **wat   dan ook**   gegeten   had   werd   ziek
              Everyone   who   what PRT PRT   eaten   had   got   sick
              'Everyone who ate anything got sick.'
         b.   #ledereen   die   **wat   dan ook**   gegeten   had   droeg   een   spijkerbroek.
              Everyone   who   what PRT PRT   eaten   had   wore   a   blue-jeans
              'Everyone who ate anything was wearing blue jeans.'   (Rullmann 1996)

3.3. Scope behavior

Wh-N can take wide scope over a modal, but *amwu*-N cannot, as shown in (20). *Wh-lato* in (20a) yields ambiguity between taking wide and narrow scope with respect to the modal while *amwu-lato* can only take narrow scope, hence no ambiguity. This is in a way similar to Musolino and Gualmini's (in press) observation that NPs with a specific domain (e.g., partitives) can take wide scope more easily. For instance, in (21a), *two of the birds* with a partitive is construed as a wide scope indefinite more easily whereas *two birds* in (21b) is hard to interpret as taking wide scope.

(20) a. Jane-un **nwukwu**-hako-**lato**   kyelhonha-yahan-ta
          J.-Top   who-with-$_{LATO}$ marry-must-Decl
    [Reading A] $\sqrt{}\exists>\Box$: 'There is some man Jane has to marry, the speaker doesn't care who it is.'
    [Reading B] $\sqrt{}\Box>\exists$: 'Jane has to marry a man, any man is a permitted marriage option for her.'
      b. Jane-un **amwu**-hako-**lato**   kyelhonha-yahan-ta
          J.-Top   any-with-$_{LATO}$ marry-must-Decl
    [Reading B] only: $\sqrt{}\Box>\exists$: 'Jane has to marry a man, any man is a permitted option for her.'

(21) a. The Smurf didn't catch <u>two of the birds</u>.   (Musolino and Gualmini, in press)
      b. The Smurf caught all the cats but she didn't catch <u>two birds</u>.

So far, we have observed differences between *amwu*-N and *wh*-N. The three contrasts, that is, rhetorical effect, non-accidental generalization, and restriction on scope taking are created by the domain widening function of *amwu*.

4. Another Source for Free Choice Effect: *Amwu/wh–lato*

In this section, I show that FC effects in Korean can stem from the scalar focus particle *–lato* 'even'.

4.1. Basic Data

Example (22) shows that both *amwu* and *wh* that are associated with *–lato* convey the speaker's (i.e. Tom's) indifference regarding the identity of the caller. Therefore, Sue's response inquiring the caller's identity is not felicitous. Only if the *–lato* part is omitted, the FC flavor goes away, as in (23).

(22) Tom: **amwu/nwukwu-lato** cenhwaha-myen, na-hanthey allye-cwe.
            Anyone/who-even   call-if   I-Dat   notice-Imp
            'If anyone calls, please let me know; I don't care the identity of the caller.'
      Sue: #nwukwu? 'Who?'
             who-Q

(23) Tom: **nwukwu-ka**[2]   cenhwaha-myen, na-hanthey allye-cwe.
            who-Nom   call-if   I-Dat   notice-Imp
            'If someone calls, please let me know.'
      Sue: nwukwu?
             who-Q
             'Who?'

The type of FC effect derived from *–lato* 'even' differs from the one coming from domain widening in two ways. Recall that *irgendein*'s FC flavor created by domain widening i) is canceled in

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[2]   Note that *amwu*-N cannot associate with case markers while *wh*-N can.
         a.   ***amwu**-haksayng-**i**   ***amwu**-haksayng-**ul**   ***amwu**-haksayng-**eykey**
              amwu-student-Nom   *amwu*-student-Acc   *amwu*-student-Dat
         b.   **etten**-haksayng-**i**   **etten**-haksayng-**ul**   **etten**-haksayng-**eykey**
              which-student-Nom   which-student-Acc   which-student-Dat
              'some student'

DE contexts, and ii) can be either speaker-oriented or agent-oriented. I observe that the FC effect coming from –*lato* 'even' i) is not canceled in DE contexts, and ii) can only be speaker-oriented. Let us see this in more detail.

4.2. Cancelability

First, in contrast to German, the FC effect is not canceled in DE contexts, but projected higher up as a presupposition. For instance, "no matter who…" reading is still alive under a DE context like the complement of *doubt* in (24). Here again, if –*lato* is omitted, the FC effect goes away, as seen in (25).

(24) Na-nun Mary-ka amwu-lato chotayhassta-nunkey uysimsulepta
      I-Top   M.-Nom   anyone-$_{LATO}$ invited-that   doubt
      'I doubt that Mary invited anyone, <u>no matter who may be considered as a possible invitee by Mary</u>.'

(25) Na-nun Mary-ka **nwukwu-lul** chotayhassta-nunkey uysimsulepta
      I-Top   M.-Nom   who-Acc   invited-that   doubt
      'I doubt that Mary invited someone.(lit.)'

4.3. Orientation

Second, The FC effect induced by –*lato* is always expresses the speaker's indifference, never the agent's. Only *amwu* with -*na* 'or' can introduce the FC effect for the agent.[3] K&S suggest that *irgendein* in (26) can be ambiguous in three ways depending on its scope and the orientation of FC effect. When *irgendein* takes wide scope over the modal and yields speaker's indifference, reading (27A) obtains. Reading in (27B) comes about with narrow scope and speaker's indifference. The third reading in (27C) is derived by agent's indifference coming with emphatic stress on *irgendein*[4].

(26) Mary   musste   irgendeinen   Mann   heiraten.
      Mary   had-to   irgend-one   man   marry.

(27) *Scope*   *Orientation*
A. ∃>□,   Speaker: There was some man Mary had to marry,
                            <u>the speaker doesn't know or care</u> who it was.
B. □>∃,   Speaker: Mary had to marry a man,
                            <u>any man was a permitted marriage option for her</u>.
C. □>∃,   Agent: Mary had to marry just ANYman, acting indiscriminately.

In Korean, the three readings in (27) are realized by three different FCIs, as follows. First, speaker's indifference is induced by –*lato*-FCIs while agent's indifference is created by *amwu* with -*na* 'or'. Second, as we have seen in section 3, only *wh*-N can take wide scope, but *amwu*-N cannot. Thus, (28A) reading of speaker's indifference and wide scope is realized by *wh-lato*, and (28B) reading of speaker's indifference and narrow scope can be generated by both *amwu-lato* and *wh-lato*. Agent's indifference, as in (28C), can only be realized by *amwu-na*.

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[3] *Amwu-na* can also induce speaker's indifference in some contexts like the following. However, the crucial distinction is that the FC effect of –*lato* FCIs <u>must</u> be attributed to the speaker while the one of *amwu-na* can be oriented to the agent or the speaker. For more detailed analysis of *amwu-na*, see Choi (2005b).
      Amwu   say-na   na-l.swu.iss-ta.
      Any   bird-or   fly-can-Decl
      'Any bird can fly.'
[4] Agent's indifference seems not to be compatible with wide scope of FC indefinites inherently. See Tredinnick (2004) for more on this.

(28) *scope*   *orientation*
A. ∃>□,   Speaker: ⇒ *wh-lato*
  Jane-un **nwukwu**-hako-**lato** kyelhonha-yahan-ta
  J.-Top who-with-even   marry-must-Decl
  'There is somebody Jane has to marry, the speaker doesn't care/know who it is.
B. □>∃,   Speaker: ⇒ *amwu/wh-lato*
  Jane-un **amwu**/**nwukwu**-hako-**lato** kyelhonha-yahan-ta
  J.-Top anyone/who-with-even   marry-must-Decl
  'Jane has to marry a man, any man is a permitted marriage option for her.'
C. □>∃,   Agent: ⇒ *amwu-na*
  Jane-un **amwu**-hako-**na** kyelhonha-yahan-ta
  J.-Top anyone-with-or   marry-must-Decl
  'Mary had to marry just ANYman, acting indiscriminately.'

A natural question at this point is, given that –*lato* 'even' can induce FC effects in Korean which are derived as a presupposition and oriented only to the speaker, how can the semantics of –*lato* 'even' in general contribute to FC effects? That is the main concern of the next section.

5. Focus semantics of –*lato* 'even$_{NPI}$'
5.1. *Ambiguity of 'even'*

The English focus particle *even* is ambiguous in NPI contexts (i.e. DE contexts) as observed for sentences like (29) by Karttunen and Peters (1979) and Rooth (1985). Rooth (1985) argues that the ambiguity is lexical. Namely, apart from normal *even*, there is an NPI-*even* that occurs in the same contexts that license NPIs. The presuppositions for each of the two meaning of *even* are given in (30) and (31) respectively.

(29) It's hard to believe that John even understands [Syntactic Structures]$_F$.

(30) Normal *even*
 a. scalar-P: *Syntactic Structures* is the **least likely** book for John to understand.
 b. existential-P: There is some book other than *Syntactic Structures* that John understood.

(31) Negative Polarity *even*
 a. scalar-P: *Syntactic Structures* is the **most likely** book for John to understand.
 b. existential-P: There is some book other than *Syntactic Structures* that John <u>didn't</u> understand.

As the contrast between (32) and (33) shows, the ambiguity of English *even* is lexicalized by two different *even*'s in Korean: -*lato* seems parallel to NPI-*even* denoting the most likely entity while –*to* denotes the least likely entity as a normal-*even* or PPI (positive polarity item)-*even*.

(32) -*To* as *Normal/PPI-even*
  John-i i mwuncey-**to** phwul-myen, swuhak swuep-ul tut-cianh-ato.tointa
  J.-Nom this problem-even solve-if   math.class-Acc   take-not-be_allowed
  'If John solves even this problem, he can skip math course.'
 a. scalar-P: This problem is the **least likely** problem for John to solve.
 b. existential-P: There is some problem other than this problem that John solved.

(33) -*Lato* as *NPI-even*
  John-i i mwuncey-**lato** phwul-myen, ku-lul honnay-ci.ahn-ulkkey.
  J.-Nom this problem-even solve-if he-Acc admonish-Neg-Decl
  'If John solves even this problem, I will not admonish him.'
 a. scalar-P: This problem is the **most likely** problem for John to solve.
 b. existential-P: There is some problem other than this problem that John didn't solve.

However, the existential presupposition of *–lato* is not derived correctly on Rooth's approach, as opponents to lexical theory have argued (see Willkinson 1996; Guerzoni 2002). Sentence (33) does not convey the factive presupposition such that John <u>did not</u> solve some other problems. Intuitively, the alternatives to the focused element looks like the following: there are some other problems such that I will not admonish John if he solves them. Thus, the existential presupposition must be computed more globally, not just within the antecedent of conditional. Recent work by Guerzoni (2005) can capture both scalar-P and existential-P for *–lato* in the right way.

5.2. Guerzoni (2005) for Most-Likely/NPI-'even'

NPI-*even* in German is realized by a combination of *auch* 'also' and *nur* 'only'[5]. It shows NPI-like distribution, introducing most likely-presupposition, as in (34). Guerzoni (2005) proposes that existential-P is derived by *auch* and scalar-P by *nur* in a compositional manner. Importantly, the existential-P of *auch* is formulated globally by (covertly) moving *auch* to the top at LF to avoid presupposition clash between existential-P of *auch* and exclusive-P of *nur*, as illustrated in (35). The most-likely-presupposition arising from *nur* is formulated locally with no movement.

(34) Niemand hat auch nur die Maria getroffen.
　　Nobody has also only the Mary met.
　　'Nobody didn't even meet Mary.'

(35) LF1: [niemand$_1$ [$_K$ auch [**nur** [t$_1$ hat [[die Maria]$_f$]$_f$ getroffen]]]]
　　a. existential-P of *auch* at node K: g(1) met somebody different from M.
　　b. exclusive-P of *nur* at node K: g(1) didn't meet anybody different from M. ($\perp$)

Thus, the proper LF should be like (36) where *auch* scopes over *niemand*. It yields more global existential-P than scalar-P. No presupposition clash arises.

(36) LF: [**auch** [niemand$_1$ [[**nur** [t$_1$ hat [[die Maria]$_f$]$_f$ getroffen]]]]
　　a. scalar-P: 　　　　　　Mary is the most likely person to meet.
　　b. existential-P: 　　　　There is someone different from Maria that nobody met.

5.3. Compositional analysis of 'amwu/wh-lato'

In this paper, scalar focus particle *–lato* is considered to be an "NPI"-*even* à la Guerzoni (2005). Also, the paper assumes that *amwu-/wh-* are existential quantifiers, following Lahiri (1998). That is, *amwu koki* 'any meat' denotes "some meat", as opposed to "a lot of meat" or "all meat". Now, the scalar-P and existential-P of *–lato* in (37) can be analyzed as in (38a) and (38b) respectively.

(37) **amwu** koki-**lato** 　mek-umyen, 　ne-nun chaysikcuuyca-ka 　　ani-ta.
　　Any 　meat-even 　eat-if 　　you-Top vegetarian-Nom 　　　not-be-Decl
　　'No matter what meat it may be, if you eat it, you are not a vegetarian.'

(38) 　a. *Amwu koki* (x), i.e., some meat (x) is the most likely/insignificant (amount of) meat you eat.
　　　b. There is other (amount of) meat (y) such that if you eat y, you're not a vegetarian.

Sentence (37) can be paraphrased as follows: if you eat even the smallest amount of meat or even the most likely/insignificant (amount of) meat, then you're not a vegetarian. The FC effect, namely, speaker's indifference is easily predicted by the combination of the two presuppositions. That is, even the most likely/insignificant/trivial meat (x) (e.g., crabmeat) may be taken into account as an option for you, although there are other more considerable alternatives (y) (e.g., beef) to it, so that <u>the speaker does not care about the identity of meat</u>. Hence, FC effects arise.

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[5] Similar combination can be found in other languages, such as Dutch and Italian. See Guerzoni (2005) and Rullmann (1996).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I argue that in Korean *amwu,* unlike *wh*-indefinites induces domain widening, which is responsible for several semantic effects including free choice effects, as observed for German *irgendein* in Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002). More importantly, I show that the scalar focus particle –*lato* 'even$_{NPI}$' also gives rise to FC-like effects in Korean. However, the FC effect induced by –*lato* is different from the one caused by domain widening with respect to cancelability and orientation. The –*lato* FC is not cancelable, and always oriented towards the speaker. Finally, I propose a compositional analysis of –*lato* FCIs: –*lato* is characterized as "NPI"-*even* à la Guerzoni (2005), and its most-likely presupposition together with existential presupposition yields the FC effects.

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