

On the Meaning and Distribution of TUL in Korean: Evidence from Corpora*

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This paper aims to discuss semantics and pragmatics of the “so-called” plural marker TUL in Korean based on the distribution in the corpora and interviews. In this paper, I showed that the level of plurality which TUL represents is beyond truth-conditional and is instead “expressive” and context-dependent. That is, TUL-attachment is pragmatically decided rather than lexically decided. By attaching TUL, what the speaker aims to express is his/her commitment to explicitly convey the plurality of the argument. Furthermore, by using TUL, the speaker implies that the majority of the argument under discussion takes part in the ascribed event structure.

Keywords: TUL, corpora, expressive, context-dependent, pragmatically-decided

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the semantics and pragmatics of the so-called plural marker *-tul* (henceforth, TUL) in Korean. In particular, I aim to answer the following four questions, based on different empirical investigations that include studies and interviews from corpora of written and spoken data:

- (1) a. Is the count/mass noun distinction the sole criterion for TUL attachment?
- b. Is the meaning of TUL the same as *all* or *each* in English?
- c. Is TUL attachment optional?
- d. Does TUL only represent the ‘plurality’ of the host noun (in the case of the nominal TUL) or the subject (in the case of the non-nominal TUL)? Also, is the meaning of the nominal TUL essentially different from the non-nominal TUL?

* I am grateful to the audience at the 3rd European Association of Korean Language Teaching (EAKLE) for their feedback. All remaining errors are my own.

In this paper, I argue that the level of meaning which TUL represents is beyond being truth-conditional and is instead “expressive” and context-dependent. This speculation is motivated by Potts and Kawahara’s (2004) and J Kim and Sells’s (2007) view on Japanese/Korean honorification. They argued that the essence of the meaning of honorifics is not defined truth-conditionally but instead, Japanese and Korean honorification represents a set of expressive meanings. Kim and Sells in particular argued that the so-called subject-honorification particle *-si-* in Korean is not determined lexically as is the case for number and gender agreements in Indo-European languages. For instance, in (2), both sentences are natural, if they are uttered in the “right” context. That is, whether or not *-si-* is attached is not dependent on the semantic properties of the subject noun.

- (2) a. kim sensayngnim-i o-n-ta.
 Kim teacher -Nom come-Pres-Decl
 ‘Teacher Kim is coming.’
- b. kim sensayngnim-i o-si-n-ta.
 Kim teacher-Nom come-Hon-Pres-Decl
 ‘Teacher Kim is coming.’

I argue that TUL attachment shares this same motivation. By attaching TUL, what the speaker aims to express is his/her explicit commitment to convey the plurality of the argument. Furthermore, by using TUL, the speaker implies that the majority of the argument under discussion takes part within the ascribed event structure. However, at the same time, by using TUL, the speaker shows his/her intention to remain vague or unspecific in terms of the actual number or proportion of the argument under discussion. The argument under discussion can be the host expression where TUL is attached or another expression, such as a subject or sometimes an object.

Throughout this paper, I will show that it is misguided to assume TUL as a lexically-defined plural suffix and the TUL attachment as a kind of number agreement. In this paper, I will go through each of the questions raised in (1) with core examples. The corpora I have used in this paper are given, with descriptions, in (3).¹ Most examples discussed in this paper are drawn from the corpus.

- (3) a. Sejong Written Corpus: 58 million words
 b. Sejong Spoken Corpus: approximately 0.8 million words

¹ I am very grateful to Prof. Jiyoung Shin for allowing me to use her corpora (SLILC) for this research also to the Institute of the National Institute of Korean Language (NIKL) for allowing me to use the updated Sejong Corpus (2009.12).

- c. Spoken Language Information Lab Corpus:
 - (i) Adults' spontaneous speech: 174,409 words
 - (ii) Children's spontaneous speech: 25 hours' speech from 53 children aged 3-8.

In addition, this paper will compare the results from written and spoken corpora, as it has emerged that TUL attachment is much more frequent in the spoken corpus than in its written counterpart. In the following sections, I will provide an answer to each question with corpus search results and interviews, concluding in section 6.

2. Is the Count/Mass Noun Distinction the Sole Criterion for TUL Attachment?

In this section, I will show that animacy plays a crucial role in TUL attachment, as well as count/mass distinction. This is a new finding. As far as I am aware, E Suh (2008) is the only work that has addressed the issue of NP semantics in the distribution of TUL. She tried to demonstrate the role of a [+human] feature instead of a [+animate] feature in the distribution of TUL, and could not find any supporting evidence in her experiments. I will return to this shortly.

The existence of count/mass distinction in Korean common nouns has been assumed without question in the field by traditional linguists including H-B Choi (1971). Consider (4) from B-M Kang (1999: 148).

- (4) a. *sakwa-tul* 'apple-TUL' /**mwul-tul* 'water-TUL'
- b. *kak sakwa* 'each apple' /**kak mwul* 'each water'
- c. *yere sakwa* 'several apples' /* *yere mwul-tul* 'several waters'
- d. *se haksayng-tul* 'three student-TUL' /**se mwul-tul* 'three water-TUL'
- e. *sakwa-mata* 'apple-each' /**mwul-mata* 'water-each'

B-M Kang (1994) showed that the semantic domains of Korean count nouns are shown to be much more like those of English count nouns, except that the denotation of a syntactically singular count noun in Korean may include semantically plural domains as well as a singular domain. For instance, *sakwa* in Korean denotes not only plural 'apples' but also a singular 'apple.' However, it is puzzling that TUL does not occur with all countable, common nouns. As we shall soon see, TUL rarely occurs with countable, common nouns if they denote inanimate entities.

Consider (5). The classification in (5) is drawn from search results of the Se-

jong Written Corpus. I have extracted TUL *kwa* CONJ² sequences from each corpus to solicit TUL-attached nominals only, excluding other TUL attached categories for the moment. I have taken TUL-attached nouns and classified them into four types according to the semantics of the host nominal: (i) animate nouns, (ii) pseudo-animate nouns (nouns which, although inanimate, are (in)directly related to animate nouns, e.g., *cengpwu* ‘government,’ *kacok*, ‘family’); (iii) logical/abstract nouns³; (iv) inanimate, countable nouns. The results show that very few inanimate nouns occur with TUL in any corpus.

- (5) Types of TUL-attached nominals in the Sejong Written Corpus (total 294 times)
- a. Animate nouns: 250 times
 - b. Pseudo animate nouns: 6 times
 - c. Abstract/logical nouns (e.g., definition, characteristics): 33 times
 - d. Inanimate, countable nouns (e.g., *sakwa* ‘apple,’ *takca* ‘table’): 5 times

Similarly, in the Sejong Spoken Corpus, TUL-attached nominals occurred 607 times. Yet, inanimate nouns were found only twice. This result confirms that animacy is a crucial criterion in TUL attachment, more so than is the case for the count/mass criterion. In the Adult Spoken Language Information Lab Corpus, TUL occurred 128 times. Among these occurrences, TUL was attached to inanimate, countable nouns such as *bench* ‘bench,’ *sacin* ‘picture’ and *kot* ‘place’ eight times, and all of those sentences were a kind of existential construction, as we shall see shortly. As for the Child Spoken Language Information Lab Corpus, TUL- attached inanimate nouns were not observed at all.

Given that the size of the corpus of children’s speech is relatively small, I have also conducted a series of interviews with four three-year-old children. Their tasks were to describe picture books which include 20 pictures like the one shown in Figure 1.⁴ TUL was often observed in descriptions of the giving/receiving animals, but was never attached to the objects being given. This shows that even young children know that it is the animacy of a noun that affects TUL attachment. This result explains the problem encountered by E Suh (2008). She contrasted human vs. animal in TUL attachment. However, this human/animal distinction does not seem to affect TUL attachment. The

² I have extracted this sequence since *kwa* is a connective used for NP co-ordination.

³ It is difficult to consider abstract/logical nouns [-animate], since they are “produced” by humans. Therefore, I consider them to be another type of pseudo-animate nouns.

⁴ One reviewer questioned whether this would still be the case if I were to replace the ice-creams with animate nouns, such as bugs. I suspect that the use of TUL for bugs in this case would still be rare. Nevertheless, I did not contrast the animacy of direct objects in the experiment; this I will leave for future study.

results of these interviews verify our findings from the corpora, and show that even young children have correctly ascertained the role of animacy in TUL attachment.

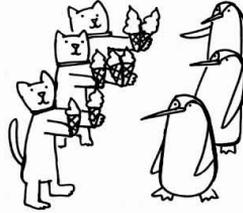


Figure 1. Animacy in TUL attachment.

Nevertheless, TUL attachment is sometimes also natural for inanimate nouns. In the rest of this section, we will focus on this issue. In a nutshell, TUL may appear with all nouns, regardless of the animacy of the host noun, in a kind of existential constructions. Y-C Jun (2000) argues that defining existential construction in Korean as a purely morpho-syntactic term is too limited. Following Abbot (1992), he therefore extends the tenet of existential construction and argues that neither visible locative expressions nor phonological prominence nor context are sufficient to determine the existential nature of a sentence; I will omit the details of his argument here. However, what I have adopted from Y-C Jun (2000) is the necessity of extending the “morpho-syntactically” defined nature of existential constructions and incorporating prosody and context into the picture. As we shall see in section four, this is because TUL attachment is sensitive to the “spoken situation” or context. For instance, in (6), the existential nature is guaranteed by the “bracketed” context.

- (6) (keki iss-nun sakwa cwung-ey) ssek-un kes-tul-ul
 (there existing-Adn apple among) rotten-Adn thing-TUL-Acc
 kolla-la.
 choose-Imp

‘Choose the rotten ones among the apples there.’

According to the corpora used in our investigation, the three constructions listed in (7) were frequently used as existential constructions. All the TUL-attached inanimate noun examples found in the four corpora occurred in one of the constructions in (7). Constructions with expressions denoting place or demonstratives, such as those in (8), were most frequent.

- (7) a. locative verb construction
 b. constructions with expressions denoting place or demonstratives
 c. type construction
- (8) yeki san-tul-i cham alumtap-ta.
 here mountain-TUL-Nom really beautiful-Decl
 ‘The mountains here are really beautiful.’

Particularly, in the kind/type construction, as shown in (9), TUL can be easily attached to nouns regardless of their animacy factor. The same tendency is observed when TUL-attached nominals are used in constructions that inherently assume plurality, as in (10). For instance, in *-cwunge* ‘among/between’ constructions, such as those given in (10), TUL was found approximately 880 times in the Sejong Written Corpus. Noticeably, of those occurrences, the sheer majority were animate nouns.

- (9) a. etten conglyu-uy salam(tul)-i wasseyo?
 which kind-Gen man-TUL-Nom came
 ‘What kinds of people came?’
- b. etten conglyu-uy wuyu(tul)-i kakey-y isseyo?
 which kind-Gen milk-TUL-Nom shop-at exist
 ‘What kinds of milk are there in the shop?’
- (10) a. salam-tul cwung-ey
 person-TUL among
 ‘Among people’
- b. salam-tul sai-ey
 person-TUL between
 ‘Between people’

In sum, lexical or ontological definition are very limited in explaining TUL distribution. Consider (11) below. Logically, TUL should appear with *son* ‘hands,’ yet (11b) sounds very unnatural.

- (11) a. cina-ka son-ul ssis-ess-ta.
 Jina-Nom hand-Acc wash-Past-Decl
 ‘Jina washed her hands.’
- b. ?? cina-ka son- tul-ul ssis-ess-ta.
 Jina-Nom hand-Acc/TUL-Acc wash-Past-Decl
 ‘Jina washed her hands.’

However, (12) is natural. In (12) the speaker explicitly aims to express the plurality of the argument under discussion or in other words emphasize the severality of the argument under discussion.

- (12) aitul-i son-tul-e ta mengi-twulesseyo.
 children-Nom hand-TUL-at all bruise-appeared
 Lit. 'The hands of children are all bruised.'

3. Is the Meaning of TUL the Same as *all* or *each* in English? TUL as a Plural Marker for Vague "Mostness"

In the literature on TUL, it is often assumed that there are two types of TUL according to host category (e.g., nominal vs. non-nominal). The meanings of the two TULs have been regarded as being essentially different. That is, TUL, when attached to a nominal, pluralises the element to which it is attached, but when attached to a non-nominal, it does not pluralise the property of the host category. Y-K Kim (1994) in particular argued that the latter TUL, known also as an extrinsic/dummy or spurious/dependent plural TUL has several distinct properties compared to the former TUL known, as an intrinsic TUL. Roughly, these properties include the following: (i) it carries a distributive sense; (ii) it does not obey compositionality, because this TUL does not contribute to the meaning of the expression to which it is attached to and (iii) it must be c-commanded by a plural subject within the same clause. Kim, among others, proposed that the meaning of the non-nominal TUL can be expressed using the formula shown in (13), suggested by Link (1983) to explain the meaning of floating quantifiers such as *each*. Consider (13) from Y-K Kim (1994: 318).

- (13) ${}_{D}VP = \lambda x \forall y [\text{atomic-i-part-of}(x,y) \rightarrow VP(y)]$

According to (13), the meaning of (14) can be read informally as each kid ('atomic-i-part' of 'kids') went to school.

- (14) ai-tul-i hakkyo-ey-tul kassta. [with non-nominal TUL]
 kid-TUL-Nom school-at-TUL went.
 'The kids went to school.'

However, as Y-R An (2007) shows, this is not sufficient for explaining the actual behaviour of the extrinsic/dummy TUL (Y-R An, 2007: 2). I will not repeat Y-K Kim or Y-R An's claims in detail in this paper. In micro-level semantics, the two types of TUL certainly express different levels of meaning. Nevertheless, in this paper, I aim to show that the essence of plurality which

theless, in this paper, I aim to show that the essence of plurality which any TUL represents, which I call, “vague mostness.” This means that the majority of argument under discussion takes part in the ascribed event structure. However, at the same by using TUL, the speaker shows his/her intention to remain vague or unspecific in terms of the actual number or proportion of the argument under discussion. The argument under discussion can be the host expression where TUL is attached or another expression, such as a subject or sometimes an object. Consider (14) and (15); there is no truth-conditional meaning difference between the two. The two sentences are true if the majority of kids went to school.

- (15) ai-tul-i hakkyo-ey kassta. [without non-nominal TUL]
 kid-TUL-Nom school-at-TUL went.
 ‘The kids went to school.’

Further evidence that the plurality TUL represents is “mostness” can be found in (16). (16a) is not natural but (16b) is.

- (16) a. ?? motun/kak haksayng-i sihem-ul cal-poass-ciman,
 All/each student-Nom exam-Acc well-took-but
 kurayto myech myeng-un tteleciessta.
 still some Cl_{human}-Top failed
 ‘??All/each student did very well in their exam, but still some failed.’
- b. haksayng-tul-i sihem-ul cal-poass-ciman, kurayto
 Student-TUL-Nom exam-Acc well-took-but still
 myech myeng-un tteleciessta.
 some Cl_{human}-Top failed
 ‘The students did very well in their exam, but still some failed.’

What is most important about TUL is that it conveys that the majority of argument takes part in the ascribed event structure. Consider (17). (17) would be very odd in a situation where a number of houses are old but the majority of the houses in the village are not old.

- (17) i tongney cip-tul-i olay toyessta.
 This village house-TUL-Nom old
 Lit. ‘Houses in this village are old.’

If the non-nominal TUL adds strict distributivity, (18a) should sound unnatu-

ral compared to (18b), since the verb *moy-* ‘gather’ is a collective verb. Yet, again, this is not the case. Both sentences are natural, regardless of the existence of the non-nominal TUL.

- (18) a. haksayng-tul-i wuntongcang-ey-tul moyessta.
 student-TUL-Nom playground-in-TUL gathered
 [with non-nominal TUL]
 ‘Students gathered in the playground.’
 ‘*Each student gathered in the playground.’
- b. haksayng-tul-i wuntongcang-ey moyessta.
 student-TUL-Nom playground-in gathered
 [without non-nominal TUL]
 ‘The students gathered in the playground.’

In addition, TUL very often co-occurs with quantifying expressions that also express vagueness such as *yele-* ‘several’ (30 times in the Sejong Corpus), as in (19a). However, TUL does not occur with specific/numeral quantifying expressions such as those in (19b-c).⁵

- (19) a. yele salam-tul [nominal TUL]
 several person-TUL
 ‘Several people’
- b. ??sey myeng-uy uysa-tul [nominal TUL]
 three Cl_{human}-Gen doctor-TUL
 ‘Three doctors’
- c. ??sam pwun tongan ttuie-tul kasseyo. [non-nominal TUL]
 three Cl_{minute} for run-TUL went
 ‘(They) went running for thirty minutes.’

In the next section, we will discuss why TUL cannot occur with specific numeral expressions.

⁵ A reviewer pointed out that if numeral expressions follow a TUL-attached noun as below, it is considered natural. However, I think this is slightly different in that, in this case, the numeral expression updates the plurality presented by *uisa-tul*. I think this is similar to English apposition, for example, “This year, of my students, three are overseas students.”

(i) *uysa-tul* sey myeng
 doctor-TUL three CL (person)
 ‘Three doctors’

4. Is TUL Attachment Optional?

TUL attachment is regarded as optional. In interviews, young children often dropped TUL for both giving and receiving animals. Figure 1 is repeated below as Figure 2.

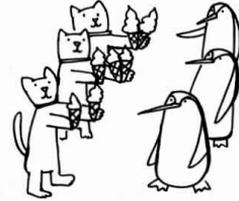


Figure 2. Animacy in TUL attachment.

However, dropping TUL is not always possible. Consider (20) below. In the situation given in (20), unless the speaker wanted to conceal the existence of their other children, they would not use the sentence in (20a). The unnaturalness of (20a) arises due to an insufficient amount of information, which violates the Gricean maxim of quantity (i.e., make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange) (see Grice 1975)). By using TUL, the speaker expresses that she/he has more than one child.

(20) (situation: the speaker has three children attending Seoul University and he/she is describing this situation.)

a. ?? uli ai-nun sewul-tayhak-ey taninta.
our child-TOP Seoul-University-at attend
'Our child attends Seoul National University.'

(this sentence is odd unless the speaker intends to conceal the existence of his/her other children.)

b. uri ai-TUL-un sewul-tayhak-ey taninta.
our child-TUL-Top Seoul-University-at attend
'Our children attend Seoul National University.'

However, at the same time, I claim that by using TUL, the speaker expresses his/her intention not to make an "explicit/concrete" plurality. This is why explicit quantificational expressions cannot co-occur with TUL-attached items as in (19), repeated below as (21).

(21) a. ??sey myeng-uy uysa-tul [nominal TUL]
three Cl_{human}-Gen doctor-TUL
'Three doctors'

- b. ?? sam pwun tongan ttuie-tul kasseyo. [non-nominal TUL]
 three Cl_{minute} for run-TUL went
 '(They) went running for thirty minutes.'

Since the use of TUL expresses the speaker's commitment to imply mostness (i.e., that the noun in question is in the majority), attaching TUL decreases generic meaning in (22b) compared to (22a).

- (22) a. thokki-nun kwi-ka kil-ta.
 rabbit-Top ear-Nom long-Dec
 'Rabbits have long ears.' (generic meaning)
- b. thokki-tul-un kwi-ka kil-ta.
 rabbit-TUL-Top ear-Nom long-Decl
 'Rabbits have long ears.' (weakened generic meaning)

When TUL is attached to non-nominal categories such as adverbs, TUL is used to "directly" express specific illocutionary acts (see (23)). The non-nominal TUL also reinforces progressive aspect, as shown in (24). However, notice that the use of TUL is not the direct source of illocutionary acts, nor does it represent progressive aspect; it merely reinforces these effects.

- (23) cal-tul hanta.
 well-TUL do
 'Well-done.' (meaning: what are you doing?, expresses regret)
- (24) sewul-kkaci bus-eyse sese-tul kassta.
 Seoul-to bus-at stand-TUL went
 '(They) stood up on the bus all the way to Seoul.'

As J-J Song (1997), among others, argued, it is true that by attaching TUL to non-nominal categories, one can assume a plural subject of which each participates in the event (though this is not always the case, as we shall see in section 5). Nevertheless, as we have seen, this observation is not satisfactory. It is noticeable that TUL is attached much more frequently in the spoken corpora than in written corpora, as we have observed in section two. In the written text, the number of TUL-attached nouns is rather limited. In the corpus *saram-tul* 'person-TUL' (879 in the Sejong Corpus), *ay-tul* 'guys' (173 in the Sejong Corpus) and *haksayng-tul* 'students' (163 in the Sejong Corpus) have been observed. However, these forms seem to be encoded as independent lexical items, instead of being derived from singular forms.

Consider (25). The meaning of a complete constituent changes if TUL is at-

tached after the case particle. (25b) would sound unnatural compared to (25a) if the context was that the people in question waited together outside the same or the only Seoul National University library. This is because when TUL is attached to case-marked nominals (a kind of XP) as in (25a), it does not necessarily refer to the plurality of the host nominal, but that of the (often implicit) subjects. This is not the case when TUL is attached before the case particle, as in (25b).

- (25) a. sewul-tay tosekwan ppak-eyse-tul kitali-ko iss-eyo
 Seoul-university library outside-at-TUL wait Prog-Decl
 [Nominal+Case Particle+TUL]
 ‘(I heard that they) are waiting outside Seoul National University library.’
- b. ??sewul-tay tosekwan-tul ppak-eyse kitali-ko iss-eyo.
 Seoul-university library outside-at-TUL wait Prog-Decl
 [Nominal+ TUL+Case Particle]
 ‘(I heard that they) are waiting outside Seoul National University libraries.’

In the next section, I will discuss whether the non-nominal TUL only represents the plurality of the subject and also whether the meaning of the nominal TUL is essentially different from that of the non-nominal TUL.

5. Does the Non-nominal TUL Only Represent the Plurality of the Subject? Is the Meaning of the Nominal TUL Essentially Different from That of the Non-nominal TUL?

Contrary to general assumptions (see Y-K Kim 1994 among others), the non-nominal TUL does not always refer to the plurality of the subject. Consider (26).

- (26) a. cina-ya, imo-TUL-hanthey masissnun kes com
 Jina-VOC aunt-TUL-DAT delicious thing please
 mantule-TUL tallay.
 make-TUL ask
 [plural indirect object]
 ‘Jina, please ask (your) aunts to make you some delicious thing.’

- b. cina-ya, imo-hanthey masissnun kes-TUL com
 Jina-VOC aunt-DAT delicious thing-TUL please
 mantule-TUL tallay.
 make-TUL ask

[plural direct object]

‘Jina, please ask your aunt to make you some delicious things.’

In the relevant literature, the so-called plural copy phenomenon has been widely discussed (See J-J Song 1997, and C Kim & Tomioka 2005, among others). However, strikingly, in both the spoken and written corpora, the antecedent TUL never occurred in the presence of a non-nominal TUL. Indeed, those TULs seem to play a role as an independent lexical item for implicit plural argument (subject or object). In the corpora under our investigation, non-nominal TUL occurred 90% of the time in imperative sentences without subjects. On the rest of the occasions, TUL was used in the directive type of speech action. In every instance, those TULs were used in “spoken” situations, where the vague mostness of the subject or object is assumed. Given this, the meaning of those TULs is hard to postulate without considering speakers’ intentions – just as for the case of the nominal TUL. Prosodically, these non-nominal TULs seem to be different from nominal TULs. They are prosodically more prominent than nominal TULs. Consider (27) below. The TUL in (27b) generally sounds more prominent than the one in (27a).⁶

- (27) a. sensayngnim-tul-i o-si-ess-ne.
 teacher-TUL-Nom come-Hon-Past-Emp
 ‘(I realise that) teachers have come.’
- b. (keki) sensayngnim-tul!
 over there teacher-TUL
 ‘Teachers over there!’

In fact, in spontaneous speech, it is not rare to find TUL used as an independent pronoun as in (28).

- (28) keki-tul coyonghi hay!
 there TUL quiet do
 ‘(You guys) there be quiet!’

This level of meaning is difficult to capture in truth-conditional terms. Potts

⁶ Often, when the TUL is attached at the end of a sentence, the tone also seems to be copied over. This I will leave for future study.

and Kawahara (2005) propose the following four criteria to capture expressive meanings of Japanese honorification.

- (29) a. Nondisplaceability
 b. Independence
 c. Immediacy
 d. Descriptive ineffability

Plurality content also projects up out of all the standard presupposition holes (i.e., *nondisplaceability*). Hence, in (30a), the content of plurality does not change under negation. Negation wide reading – negating the plurality of the nominal – is not available.

- (30) ai-tul-i hakkyo-ey an wassta.
 child-TUL-Nom school-at Neg came
 ‘The children didn’t come to school.’
 (i.e., Many/most students didn’t come to school: TUL>> Neg,
 * Not many/most students came to school: Neg>>TUL)

In addition, TUL contributes a meaning that is independent of the meaning of the main clause. That is, the plurality which TUL denotes does not only contribute to the truth-conditional meaning but also to the attitudinal meaning (i.e., *independence*) as we have discussed. Thirdly, TUL achieves its intended act simply by being uttered (i.e., *immediacy*). Fourth, the meaning of TUL is not quite propositional (i.e., *descriptive ineffability*). Based on this observation, I argue that the core meaning of TUL, regardless of its host category (e.g., nominal vs. non-nominal) is a set of “expressive” meanings.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, based on investigations of spoken and written corpora, I have argued that TUL-attachment is pragmatically and contextually decided. By attaching TUL, what the speaker aims to express is his/her commitment to explicitly convey the plurality of the argument. Furthermore, by using TUL, the speaker implies that the majority of the argument under discussion takes part in the ascribed event structure.

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