

Object Positions and Floating Quantifiers in Korean (Abstract)

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Aberrant examples such as (1) below have received a substantial amount of attention in the study of floating quantifiers (FQs) since Sportiche 1988. Given the combined hypotheses about the postverbal subject positions of the unaccusative/passive verbs (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1981) and the stranding analysis, where a quantifier Q and its associated nominal are inserted into a structure as a single constituent (Sportiche 1988, Déprez 1989, Miyagawa 1989, 2001, Shlonsky 1991, Benmamoun 1999, Ko 2007, among others), the FQ *all* construed with the subject in (1) should be able to surface in the postverbal subject θ -positions. However, this expectation is not borne out, as seen from the representation in (2).

- (1) a. *The students arrived **all**. (unaccusative)
b. *The students were arrested **all**. (passive)

- (2) a. The students_i arrived [**all** t_i].
b. The students_i were arrested [**all** t_i].

Bošković (2004) observed similar problems in multiple languages within the stranding analysis. In English, for instance, if an object moves overtly to AgrOP (with the accompanying movement of the subject and verb; see Johnson 1991, Lasnik 1999, and McCloskey 2000), then an FQ should be observable in the θ -position of the transitive construction (3a), where the object originates. However, as shown in (3b), this is manifestly not the case. In the same vein, in Japanese, if the object *hambaagaa* ‘hamburger’ in (4a) can move to AgrOP through scrambling, as is usually inferred, then the subject *gakusei-ga* meaning ‘students’ should be able to strand its adjoining Q *san-nin* in the subject θ -position, namely, Spec of vP (see (4b)). Again, the findings reveal that this is not the case.

- (3) a. *Mary hates the students **all**.
b. Mary hates [_{AgrOP} the students_i [_{vP}...[_{vP} [**all** t_i]]]]

- (4) a. *Gakusee-ga hambaagaa-o **3-nin** tabeta.
 students-NOM hamburger-ACC 3-CL ate
 ‘Three students ate a hamburger.’
- b. Gakusei-ga_i [_{AgrOP} hambaagaa-o_j [_{VP} [_{t_i} **san-nin**] [_{VP} t_j tabeta]]]

These kinds of deviations from multiple languages largely influenced Bošković’s claim that the following (5) is a universal property of FQs. Purely for expository purposes, I label this generalization a *ban on quantifier float in θ -positions* (BQFT) throughout this talk.

(5) Quantifiers cannot be floated in θ -positions (Bošković 2004: 685).

Bošković derived the BQFT from two independent assumptions: (a) FQs are adjoined to the noun that they modify (Sportiche 1988, Benmamoun 1999) and (b) adjunction to arguments interferes with θ -role assignment (Chomsky 1986:16). Given these assumptions, Q-adjunction to arguments inescapably incurs a θ -role interference; consequently, all the aforementioned examples become consistent with the stranding analysis since they are independently ruled out by (5).

The main purpose of this talk is to present the following:

- (6) a. In Korean, objects always exit a VP where they are inserted and may move to a VP-region (rather than to AgrOP above the base subject).
- b. Quantifiers in Korean can only be adjoined to a shifted object, observing the BQFT generalization.
- c. The object shift in (6a) and the overall phenomenon of BQFT are best explained under the minimalist computational system that emerges from Chomsky’s (2013, 2015, 2019) labeling algorithm and the concepts of noun formation developed by Borer (2005a, b), Sportiche (2005), Takahashi and Hulsey (2009), and others.
- d. The present system, if correct, reduces clausal structures and more importantly, derives the dual properties of Q-float that have been controversial over the past decades.