

Quantifiers

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I. Quantifiers

- (1) DPs, but not individuals
 - a. John/He/That man offended Susie.
 - b. Somebody/Two people/All offended Susie.
- (2) DPs that fail to validate subset-to-superset inferences
 - a. John came yesterday morning.
∴ John came yesterday.
 - b. At most one letter came yesterday morning.
∴ At most one letter came yesterday.
- (3) DPs that fail the Law of Contradiction
 - a. Mount Halla is on this side of the border, and Mount Halla is on the other side of the border.
 - b. More than two mountains are on this side of the border, more than two mountains are on the other side of the border.

II. Floating Quantifiers

- (4) a. All astronauts don't speak the same language.
b. Astronauts don't all speak the same language.
 - a. Tous les enfants ont vu ce film.
all the children have seen this movie.
 - b. Les enfants ont tous vu ce film. (French, Sportiche 1988: 426)
- (5) The stranding view (of the two competing theories; Kayne 1975, Sportiche 1988, Shlonsky 1991, Bošković 2004, etc.)
 - (i) FQs modify DPs in the same way as DP-initial Qs.
 - (ii) FQs display agreement with the DP they modify.
 - (iii) the relationship b/w an FQ and the DP it modifies obeys an anaphor-like locality condition.
- (6) a. Elles sont toutes/*tous allées à la plage.
they-F are all-F.PL/*all-M.PL gone-F.PL to the beach
'They (the women) all went to the beach.' (French, Doetjes 1997: 205)
b. Diesen Studenten habe ich gestern allen/*alle geschmeichelt.
These-DAT.PL students have I yesterday all-DAT.PL/*0 flattered
'I flattered all of these students yesterday.' (German, Merchant 1996:4)
- (7) a. *[The mother of my friends_i] has **all_i** left.
b. *La mère de mes amis_i est **tous_i** partie.

- c. *My friends_i think that I have **all**_i left.
d. *Mes amis_i pensent que je suis **tous**_i parti.
my friends think that I am all left
intended: 'My friends all think that I have left.' (Kayne 1981: 196)
- (8) a. [_{TP} [All [astronauts]]] [_{VP} [all [astronauts]]] ...
b. [_{TP} [astronauts]] [_{VP} [all [astronauts]]] ...
- (9) The adverbial view (of the two competing theories; Doetjes 1991, Bobaljik 2001, Fitzpatrick 2005, etc.)
- (i) Counter-examples to the stranding view
(ii) FQs appear in apparent adverbial positions.
(iii) An FQ quantifies over a verbal predicate (as well as a nominal predicate)
- (10) a. *The criminals were arrested **all**.
a'. The criminals were **all** arrested.
b. *The students arrived **all**.
b'. The students **all** arrived.
- (11) [(11)-(13) from Bobaljik 2001]
a. [These children] have **each** (*of) read a different book.
b. [Each *(of) these children] has read a different book.
- (12) a. **All** lions, tigers and bears are scary.
b. Lions, tigers and bears are **all** scary
- (a): 'all' quantifies over [lions, tigers and bears]
(b): an additional reading, i.e., a generic reading of the individual plurals
- (13) a. Les enfants prendront **chacun** un ballon l'un après l'autre.
the children took each a ball the one after the other
b. #[Chacun des enfants] prendront un ballon l'un après l'autre.
each of the children took a ball the one after the other
- (14) a. The children (**all**) would (**all**) have (**all**) been (**all**) doing that.
b. Les soldats ont (**tous les deux**) été (**t.l.d**) présentés (**t.l.d**) à Anne
the soldiers have all the two been introduced to A.
par ces garcon.
by this boy
'Both soldiers were introduced to Anne by this boy.' (Kayne 1977:46)
- (15) a. My friends **all**/probably will leave.
b. *Les enfants **tous**/bientôt vont partir.
the children all/soon will leave (Pollock 1989:368)
- (16) a. Jean (*souvent) embrasse (souvent) Marie.
'John often kisses Mary.'
b. John (often) kisses (*often) Mary.
c. Mes amis (***tous**) aiment (**tous**) Marie.
d. My friends (**all**) love (***all**) Mary. (Pollock 1989: 367).

- (17) a. Otto has read this book, and my brothers have (all/certainly) read it, too.
 b. Otto has read this book, and my brothers have (*all/*certainly) [.. Ø..], too. (Sag 1978)

III. Floating Numeral Quantifiers in Korean and Japanese

- (18) a. 학생들이 오늘 세 명 왔다.
 b. *학생들이 책을 네 명 샀다.
 c. 어제 밤에 차가 주차장에서 두 대 도난당했다.
 d. 음식을 나연이가 파티에 세 그릇 가져왔다.
- (19) a. 어제 [세 명의 아이]가 길을 잃었다. (prenominal quantifier)
 b. 어제 [아이 세 명]이 길을 잃었다. (postnominal quantifier)
 c. 아이가 (어제) 세 명 길을 잃었다. (floating quantifier)
- (20) The word-order restriction on FNQs (Haig 1980, Kuroda 1980)
 a. *학생들이 책을 세 명 샀다.
 a' . 학생들이 세 명 책을 샀다.
 c. 책을 학생들이 세 권 샀다.
- (21) The stranding analysis
 (i) distributional restrictions on FNQs
 (ii) semantic relationship b/w the FNQs and the host DPs
 (iii) agreement pattern in case
- (22) The subject-object asymmetry:

- a. *학생들이_i 책을 [0 세 명] 샀다.
 b. 책을_i 학생들이 [t_i 세 권] 샀다.
 cf. Saito' s (1985) ban on scrambling; Miyagawa (1989)

- (23) The host NP must c-command the FNQ.
 a. 학생들이 어제 두 명 왔다.
 b. *학생들의 차가 어제 두 명 부서졌다.
 cf. John' s mother looks at herself/*himself in the mirror.
- (24) An FNQ can be associated with the subject of a passive/unaccusative, but not with the subject of an unergative.
 a. 집이 도둑에게 두 채 털렸다.
 b. 소방수가 현장에 열 명 도착했다.
 c. ??* 아이들이 크게 두 명 웃었다.
- (25) The adverb analysis
 (i) existence of numerous counterexamples to distributional restrictions on FNQs (Fukushima 1991, Katagiri 1991, Mihara 1998, Takami 1998, 2001, Gunji and Hashida 1998, Ishii 1999, Nakanishi 2004, etc.)
 (ii) semantic restrictions that can be explained if FNQs are VP-adjoined adverbs
 (iii) FQs appear in apparent adverbial positions.
- (26) a. 이발사가 아이들의 머리를 세 명 잘랐다.
 b. 학생들이 맥주를 벌써 두 명 마셨다.
 c. 학생들이 위스키도 두 명 마셨다.

- d. 학생들이 그 브랜드의 위스키를 **두 명** 마셨다.
 e. 미국인이 일본을 작년에 **30,000명** 방문했다.
 f. 친구들이 순이에게 **두 명** 프로포즈했다.
 g. 학생들이 자기가 천재라고 **세 명** 말했다.
- (27) a. 재나가 접시를 조심스럽게/열심히/2장/깨끗이 닦았다.
 b. 우리는 사건을 조심스럽게/10건/면밀히 살펴보았다.
- (28) a. 군인들이 2차 대전 중에 러시아에서 **700만 명** 죽었다.
 b. 군인들이 **700만 명** 2차 대전 중에 러시아에서 죽었다.
 c. 군인들이 러시아에서 **700만 명** 2차 대전 중에 죽었다.
- (30) a. 아이들이 어제 **세 명** 장난감 보트를 만들었다.
 a' , 세 명의 아이들이 어제 장난감 보트를 만들었다.
 b. 친구들이 어제 **두 명** 결혼했다.
 b' . 친구들 세 명이 어제 결혼했다.
 -- (a) and (b) convey a distributive reading only, unlike (a') and (b') that allow both a distributive- and a collective reading.
- (31) a. 아이들이 어제 **세 명** 피터를 때렸다.
 b. ??아이들이 어제 **세 명** 피터를 죽였다.

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