

What conveys free choice effect in Korean?

The recent studies on free choiceness are mostly centered on disjunction and invisible operator *Exh* for *Exhaustification* (Sauerland (2004, 2009), Chierchia (2004, 2006), Fox (2006), Allonso-Ovalle (2006), Chemla (2009) among others). The main claim is that free choice effect (FC-effect) can be captured if the operator-*Exh* is assumed to apply recursively to disjunctions associated with modal. However, there has been a persistent question which is elusive; what triggers recursive application of *Exh*?

The lexical semantics of Korean FCIs have an advantage to answer the above puzzle. Korean FCIs are consist of one of the indefinites *amwu-* or *wh-* and disjunctive particle *-na* ‘or’ or focus particle *-lato* ‘even’. The combination of two indefinites and two particles results in 4 FCIs: *amwu-na*, *wh-na*, *amwu-lato*, *wh-lato*.

Setting aside *even*-based FCI in this talk, I will show how FC-effect is derived in Korean with *or*-based FCI. It is a common property to both \forall -FCI and \exists -FCI that the indefinites play a role to activate domain-alternatives whereas disjunctive particle covers with an operator-*Exh*. However, the relevant domains of *Exh* should be differentiated in order to get different quantificational force. As for \forall -FCI, *Exh* should be recursively applied to its subdomain alternatives of disjunction via ‘anti-exhaustification’ (a notion from Kratzer and Shimoyama, 2002)). As for FC-effect of \exists -FCI, *Exh* is applied to its scalar conjunctive alternatives in the first place. The second *Exh* is applied recursively to its subdomain alternatives, the motivation of which comes from the numeral *hana* ‘one’ which is overtly or covertly associated with \exists -FCI in Korean.

Key words: Free choice effect, disjunction, exhaustification, recursive application