

## Multidimensional semantic approach to the affected experiencer construction in Korean

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This paper investigates the Korean affected experiencer construction that is marked by the passive suffixes *-i/hi/li/ki* on a verb. This construction has often been referred to as an adversity passive construction because the sentence implicates a negative meaning.

- (1) Chelswu-ka                      Hana-eykey                      meli-lul                      ppop-*hi*-ess-ta.  
Chelswu-Nom                      Hana-Dat                      hair-Acc                      pull.out-HI-Pst-Dec  
'Chelswu had his hair pulled out by Hana.'  
= 'Chelswu had his hair pulled out by Hana, and he *suffered* from it.'

We show that a nominative argument is an affected experiencer and that the adversity implication is straightforwardly explained by a multidimensional semantic approach (following Karttunen 1973, Karttunen & Peters 1979, Roberts et al. 2009, Bosse et al. 2012 inter alia); there are two tiers of meaning, an at-issue meaning and a not-at-issue meaning and the meaning of 'suffering' is projected as a not-at-issue meaning like an implicature.

Empirical evidence for the nominative argument being an affected experiencer comes from the fact that it must be animate and sentient, and understood as the entity that suffers from the event. The experience needs not be physical; the experiencer can be psychologically affected. Note also that there must be some possession relation between a nominative argument (the possessor) and an accusative argument (the possessee). Taking into considerations various examples, we suggest that possession meaning comes from a material part-whole relation between the nominative and the accusative arguments, and there is often a semantic extension from this core

In addition, we show that the affected experiencer construction is a passive construction; when the dative argument is missing, an implicit argument must be interpreted as an existential. It is assumed that the corresponding active sentence is the double accusative construction discussed in Tomioka and Sim (2007) in which both the possessor and the possessee are marked by the accusative case *-(l)ul* and the possessor is restricted to an animate entity.

- (2) Hana-ka                      Chelswu-lul                      meli-lul                      ppop-ass-ta.  
Hana-Nom                      Chelswu-Acc                      hair-Acc                      pull.out-Pst-Dec  
'Hana pulled out Chelswu's hair.'

However, the affected experiencer construction is distinguished from its active counterpart in that the meaning of 'suffering' occurs only in the affected experiencer construction. We demonstrate from the *family-of-sentence* tests (Roberts et al. 2009; they cite Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990 for the name) that the meaning of 'suffering' cannot be negated, questioned, and it makes no difference to conditionals, indicating that it is a not-at-issue meaning which is independent of the at-issue content of sentences.

Taken together, we situate our proposal within the event semantics of Kratzer (1996), and suggest that the passive suffix makes semantic contributions both at an at-issue tier and a not-at-issue tier simultaneously. This means in the proposed structure that a syntactic head Pass(ive) can introduce meanings of two tiers (Bosse et al. 2012). The not-at-issue meaning is represented

after colon. Also, a syntactic head PW (Part-Whole) is responsible for the relation between the possessor (a nominative NP) and the possessee (an accusative NP).

(3)

a.  $[[\text{Passive}]] = \lambda g_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda e. \exists y. f(y)(e): \lambda z. \exists e'(\text{suffer}(e') \& \text{Exp}(e', z)) \& \text{CAUSE}(e')(e)$

b.  $[[\text{PW}]] = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda e. \lambda x. \lambda y. f(x)(e) \& x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

One important consequence of this work is that contrary to Potts (2005) a single lexical item can make semantic contributions both at the at-issue tier and not-at-issue tier; this has also been shown in Kubota and Uegaki (2009), where the Japanese benefactive verbal morpheme *moraw* 'receive' is also associated with meanings of separate tiers.

### Selected references

**KarKunen, L.1973.** Presuppositions of Compound Sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 167-193.

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