

Event structures of Experiencer Predicates in Korean: their causal, temporal, and focal sub-structure

Seungho Nam

Seoul National University

nam@snu.ac.kr

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Questions

1. event structure:

- ways of assigning event-head
- ways of interpreting temporal restriction between sub-events?
- any coefficient in the event structure

2. Causation templates for experiencer predicates:

- experienced causation
- types of experiential events

3. why do we need extended event structures?

- experiencer predicates: their syntactic/semantic behaviour
- argument realization/alternations

experiencer predicates (EP) in English

- mostly devoted to the study of transitive EPs
 - a. fear type
 - b. frighten type

- intransitive EPs
 - a. *care* type: *care about/for, marvel at, suffer from, rejoice in*
 - b. *appeal* type: *appeal to, niggle at, grate on, matter to*
(See Levin 1993; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005)

EPs in Korean:

- we focus on intransitive predicates, since most of the transitive psych verbs in Korean are derived from the intransitive base forms by morphological or syntactic derivation.

nolla ‘to be surprised’

nolla-p ‘surprising’

nolla-i ‘surprise’ (tv.)

nolla-key ha ‘to make someone surprised’ (paraphrastic causative)

- the event structures of intransitive psych predicates will be easily extended to those of transitive ones.

Data

■ semantic types of intransitive EPs:

- in terms of agentivity of experiencer in the causing sub-event

(i) Agentive experiencer predicates [AEP]:

whose Experiencer plays a role of Agent in the experiential causing sub-event, and

■ *cilwuha* ('be bored/boring')

■ *musep* ('be scared of/scary')

(ii) Patientive experiencer predicates [PEP]:

whose Experiencer cannot play a role of Agent but can play a role of Patient or Theme in the causing sub-event.

■ *komap* ('be thankful')

Agentive EPs vs. Patientive EPs

- both are lexically simple and share the same case-frames but show apparent asymmetry in their event structure and argument structure.
- The AEPs and PEPs in Korean share the same case frame [Experiencer-nom(subject) + Stimulus-nom]
 - (a) nay-ka ku yenghwa-ka cilwuha-ess-ta
 I-Nom that movie-Nom bored-Past-Decl
 ‘I was bored with that movie.’
 - (b) nay-ka Koni-ka komap-ess-ta
 I-Nom Koni-Nom be.thankful-Past-Decl
 ‘I was thankful to Koni.’
- They always imply an (experiential) causing event for the resultant psychological state.

Another agentive EP class

musep ‘be scared of/scary’

(a) *nay-ka* *John-i* *musep-ta*
 I-Nom John-Nom scared-Decl
 ‘I am scared of John.’

- This class also shares the same case-frames, but different from the previous ones in that this class does not always imply a causing event.

Experiencer alternation of AEPs:

cilwuha ‘to be boring/bored’

(2a) nay-ka ku yenghwa-ka cilwuha-ess-ta
 I-Nom that movie-Nom bored-Past-Decl
 ‘I was bored with that movie.’

(3a) ku yenghwa-ka na-hanthey cilwuha-ess-ta
 that movie-Nom I-Dat bored-Past
 ‘That movie was boring to me.’

- Experiencer (EXP) surfaces as a subject in (a), but
- Stimulus (STM) is a subject in (b).

Another AEP class

musep ‘be scared of/scary’

- (a) *nay-ka* *John-i* *musep-ta*
 I-Nom John-Nom scared-Decl
 ‘I am scared of John.’
- (b) *na-hanthey* *John-i* *musep-ta*
 I-Dat John-Nom scary-Past-Decl
 ‘John is scary to me.’

Stimulus alternation of AEPs:

komap ‘to be thankful’

(2b) *nay-ka Koni-ka komap-ess-ta*
 I-Nom Koni-Nom be.thankful-Past-Decl
 ‘I was thankful to Koni.’

(3b) *nay-ka Koni-hantey komap-ess-ta*
 I-Nom Koni-Dat be.thankful-Past
 ‘I was thankful to Koni.’

- EXP is always realized as a subject.
- STM *Koni* takes nominative case (*-ka*) or dative case (*-hantey*).

case alternations of AEPs and PEPs

AEP: EXP-alternation

EXP-nom	STM-nom	V	→ EXP subject
EXP-dat	STM-nom	V	→ STM subject

PEP: STM-alternation

EXP-nom	STM-nom	V	→ EXP subject
EXP-nom	STM-dat	V	→ STM subject

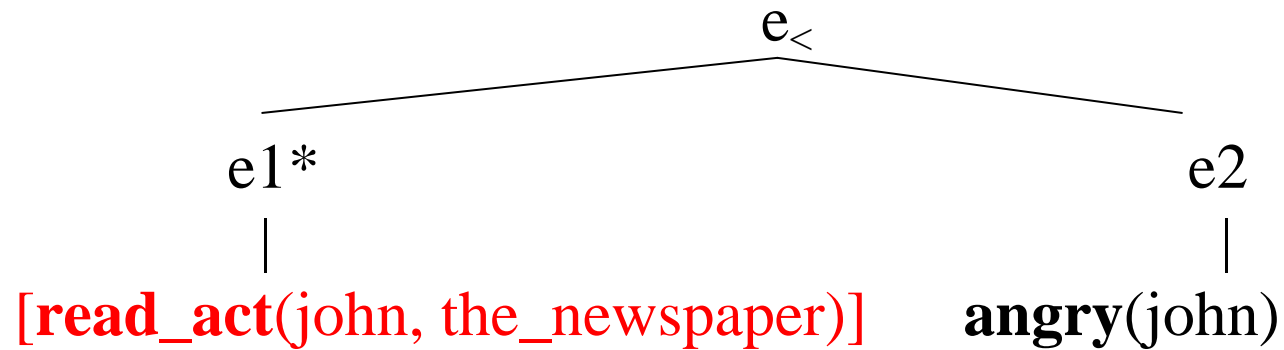
causation in experiencer predicates

The newspaper angered John.

- Pustejovsky (1995) proposes a causative analysis of psych predicates.
- causation = a causing sub-event + a caused sub-event
- *anger* type EPs select for an event function in subject position, and they can be properly interpreted as denoting a causative event
- metonymic reconstruction of the subject into an event
→ an experiential ‘reading’ event

reconstruction of experiential event

The newspaper angered John.



- Pustejovsky (1995) puts this event into the template of “Experienced Causation”

anger

Pustejovsky (1995)

EVENTSTR = E1 = **e1:process**
E2 = e2:state
RESTR = <o
HEAD = e1

ARGSTR = ARG1 = ①[<②,<e1,t>>]
ARG2 = ②[animate_ind]

QUALIA = experiencer_lcp
FORMAL = **angry**(e2, ②)
AGENTIVE = **exp_act**(e1, ②, ①)

experienced causation vs. direct causation

■ Experienced Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_{\text{result}}(e2, \mathbf{x})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_{\text{act}}(e1, \mathbf{x}, \dots)$

■ Direct Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_{\text{result}}(e2, \mathbf{y})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_{\text{act}}(e1, \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})$

+

experienced causation vs. direct causation

■ Experienced Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_result(e2, \mathbf{x})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_act(e1, \mathbf{x}, \dots)$

EXP/AGENT



■ Direct Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_result(e2, \mathbf{y})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_act(e1, \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})$

PATIENT



experienced causation vs. indirect causation

■ Experienced Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_{\text{result}}(e2, \mathbf{x})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_{\text{act}}(e1, \mathbf{x}, \dots)$

■ Indirect (Constitutive) Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_{\text{result}}(e2, \mathbf{y})$

CONST = $\text{part_of}(\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{y})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_{\text{act}}(e1, \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{z})$

+

experienced causation vs. indirect causation

■ Experienced Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_result(e2, \mathbf{x})$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_act(e1, \mathbf{x}, \dots)$

■ Indirect (Constitutive) Causation

EVENTSTR = E1 = e1:process

E2 = e2:state

QUALIA = FORMAL = $\alpha_result(e2, y)$

CONST = $\mathbf{part_of}(z, y)$

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_act(e1, x, \mathbf{z})$

default Arg
(mediator)



Agentivity of Experiencer

■ semantic types of intransitive EPs:

- in terms of agentivity of experiencer in the causing sub-event

(i) Agentive experiencer predicates [AEP]:

whose Experiencer plays a role of Agent in the experiential causing sub-event, and

■ *cilwuha* ('to be bored/boring')

(ii) Patientive experiencer predicates [PEP]:

whose Experiencer cannot play a role of Agent but can play a role of Patient or Theme in the causing sub-event.

■ *komap* ('to be thankful')

Examples:

Agentive EP: *koylop-* (be distressed; distressing), *kepukha-* (feel awkward; uncomfortable), *musep-* (fear, be afraid/scared of; fearful, dreadful), *taptapha-* (be irritated by, be irritating), *changphiha-* (shameful), *anlakha-* (comfortable), *culkep-* (be pleased; pleasant), *phyenanha-* (feel comfortable; be comfortable), *cilwuha-* (be bored of; be boring), *pulkhwayha-* (be displeased with; unpleasant), etc.

Patientive EP: *kamsaha-* (thank for), *mosmattangha-* (be displeased with), *kokkap-* (regrettable), *hwangsong.sulep-* (be awed at), *komap-* (thankful to), *sepsepha-* (be disappointed, disappointing), *saym-i-na-* (feel envy of), *sinkyeng.ssui-* (be sensitive to, care about), etc.

causing event realized as a clausal complement

(a) nay-ka ku yenghwa-ka cilwuha-ess-ta
I-Nom that movie-Nom bored-Past
‘I was bored with that movie.’

(b) nay-ka [ku yenghwa-lul poki]-ka cilwuha-ess-ta
I-Nom that movie-Acc watch-Nom bored-Past
‘I was bored with watching that movie.’

- Experiencer behaves as an agent in the causing sub-event.
- the causing sub-events may be realized on surface as a CP/VP complement

causing event realized as a clausal complement

(9a) nay-ka Koni-ka komap-ess-ta
 I-Nom Koni-Nom be.thankful-Past-Decl
 ‘I was thankful to Koni.’

(9b) nay-ka [Koni-ka na-lul towacwun.kes]-i komap-ess-ta
 I-Nom Koni-Nom I-Acc helping-Nom thankful-Past
 ‘I was thankful to Koni that she helped me.’

- the causing sub-event temporally precedes the caused/result sub-event
 ‘I am thankful to Koni.’
- Stimulus behaves as an agent in the causing sub-event.

Clausal realization of causing event

- Korean has two eventive complements:

[V-*ki*] ‘V-ing’

[V-*nun.kes*] ‘the thing/fact that ...’

- Agentive EP may take either of the complements.

(a) na-nun [ku yenghwa-lul po-ki]-ka cilwuha-ta
I-Top that movie-Acc watching-Nom bored
‘I am bored with watching that movie.’

(b) na-nun [ku yenghwa-lul po-nun.kes]-i cilwuha-ta
I-Top that movie-Acc watch-Comp-Nom bored
‘I am bored with watching that movie.’

Clausal realization of causing event

■ PEPs do not take a VP complement headed by [-*ki*] ‘V-ing’:

- (a) Jini-nun [Koni-ka caki-lul towacwu-nun.kes]-i komap-ess-ta
Jini-Top Koni-Nom self-Acc helping-Nom thankful-Past-Decl
‘Jini_i was thankful that [Koni helped her_i].’
- (b) *Jini-nun [Koni-ka caki-lul towacwu-ki]-ka komap-ess-ta
Jini-Top Koni-Nom self-Acc helping-Nom thankful-Past-Decl
‘Jini_i was thankful to [Koni’s helping her_i].’

Event templates for AEPs and PEPs

+

■ **Agentive Experienced Causation** (*cilwuha* ‘be bored/boring’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]
E2 = [e2:state]
RESTR = [e1 o e2]
HEAD = e1(e2)
QUALIA = FORMAL = be_bored(e2,x)
AGENTIVE = α _act(e1,x,y)

■ **Patientive Experienced Causation** (*komap* ‘be thankful’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]
E2 = [e2:state]
RESTR = <
HEAD = (e1)e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = be_thankful(e2,x,y)
AGENTIVE = α _act(e1,y,...)

Event templates for AEPs and PEPs

■ **Agentive Experienced Causation** (*cilwuha* ‘be bored/boring’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]

E2 = [e2:state]

RESTR = [e1 o e2]

HEAD = **e1(e2)**

QUALIA =

FORMAL = be_bored(e2,**x**)

AGENTIVE = α _act(e1,**x**,y)

EXP



■ **Patientive Experienced Causation** (*komap* ‘be thankful to’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]

E2 = [e2:state]

RESTR = <

HEAD = **(e1)e2**

QUALIA =

FORMAL = be_thankful(e2,x,**y**)

AGENTIVE = α _act(e1,**y**,...)

STM



Argument alternation: under-specification of event head

■ **Agentive Experienced Causation** (*cilwuha* ‘be bored/boring’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]

E2 = [e2:state]

RESTR = [e1 o e2]

HEAD = e1(e2)

QUALIA = FORMAL = be_bored(e2,x)

AGENTIVE = α _act(e1,x,y)

- (i) If HEAD = e1* (i.e., the causing event is focused),
→ STM surfaces as a subject.
- (ii) If HEAD = e1*+e2* (i.e., the whole transition is focused),
→ EXP surfaces as a subject.

Argument alternation: under-specification of event head

■ Patientive Experienced Causation (*komap* ‘be thankful’)

EVENTSTR = E1 = [e1:process]

E2 = [e2:state]

RESTR = <

HEAD = (e1)e2

QUALIA = FORMAL = be_thankful(e2,x,y)

AGENTIVE = $\alpha_{act}(e1,y,\dots)$

(i) HEAD = e2* or e1*+e2* (i.e., the resultant event is focused),
→ EXP surfaces as a subject.

(ii) STM-alternation

Concluding ...

1. Any coefficient in the event structure?

Causation template	~	Temporal restriction
Patientive Exp. Causation	~	$e1 < e2$
Agentive Exp. Causation	~	$e2 <_o e1$

2. Types of causing event:

Agentive Exp. Causation	→	experiential event
Patientive Exp. Causation	→	non-experiential event

3. Event structure is crucial in argument realization.

in what way?

Event-Head interpretation:

→ cognitive salience, aspectual, force dynamic, ...

thank you!