

### ***Suffer* as not-at-issue meaning: evidence from affected experiencer constructions in Korean**

This paper investigates the affected experiencer construction (henceforth, the AEC) in Korean that is marked with the verbal suffixes *-i/hi/li/ki*. This construction has often been called an adversity passive, because it implies some negative effect on the nominative argument.

- (1) Chelswu-ka (Yuna-eykey) ilum-ul cek-*hi*-ess-ta.  
Chelswu-Nom (Yuna-Dat) name-Acc write.down-*hi*-Pst-Dec  
'Chelswu had his name written down (by Yuna).'  
= 'Chelswu had his name written down (by Yuna), and he suffered from it.'

Despite this distinct meaning, less emphasis has been put on the semantic contribution of sentences like (1). In the present paper, we propose in connection with a multidimensional semantic approach (e.g. Karttunen 1973, Karttunen & Peters 1979) that a sentence may involve two tiers of meaning in semantics, an at-issue meaning (i.e. the truth conditional meaning) and a not-at-issue meaning and the adversative meaning in (1) is projected as not-at-issue meaning like an implicature. In this analysis, the morphemes *-i/hi/li/ki* are syntactic heads with multidimensional semantics: they take a Voice as their complement and introduce the suffering event on the not-at-issue tier in addition to the main event on the at-issue tier.

First, we show that a nominative argument is an affected experiencer. As in (2), the nominative argument must be animate, sentient, and understood as being affected adversely by the event. (2) with *Hana* is grammatical, whereas (2) with *chayksang* 'desk' is not because an inanimate NP is not an entity that can be understood to suffer.

- (2) Hana-ka/\*chayksang-i Minswu-eykey tali-lul cap-*hi*-ess-ta.  
Hana-Nom/desk-Nom Minswu-Dat leg-Acc grab-*hi*-Pst-Dec  
'Hana/\*the desk had her/its leg grabbed by Minswu.'

Note that there is a possession relation between the nominative and the accusative arguments. (2) with *Hana* is infelicitous if the leg is understood as a detached part; likewise (3) is acceptable only when the general is riding on the horse. We posit that the possession meaning comes from a material part-whole relation: the nominative argument encodes the whole of a part-whole relation with the accusative argument, and there is often a semantic extension from this core.

- (3) Cangkwun-i pwuha-eykey mal-koppi-lul cap-*hi*-ess-ta. Yeon (1991)  
General-Nom subordinate-Dat horse-bridle-Acc hold-*hi*-Pst-Dec  
'The general had the bridle of his horse held by the subordinate.'

In the second part of our presentation, we show that the AEC is a passive construction and that the corresponding active sentence is the type of double object construction (henceforth, the DOC) discussed in Tomioka and Sim (2007) in which the possessor and the possessee are both marked by the accusative case and there is a material part-whole relation between them. Yet, this active DOC lacks an adversative implication, as in (4a).

- (4) a. Yuna-ka Chelswu-lul ilum-ul cek-ess-ta. DOC  
Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Acc name-Acc write.down-Pst-Dec  
'Yuna wrote down Chelswu's name.'

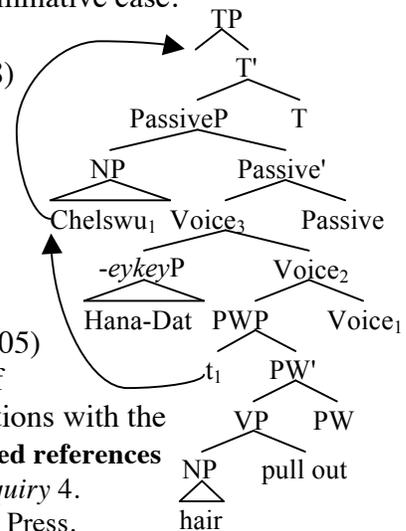
- b. #haciman Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ci anh-ass-ta.  
 but Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-*hi-ci* Neg-Pst-Dec  
 ‘But Chelswu did not have his name written down by Yuna.’

One piece of evidence showing that the AEC is a passive is that when the dative argument is missing in (1), an implicit argument must be interpreted as an existential, a clear diagnostic for passives (Keenan 1980, 1985). Next, as in (4a) and (4b) the contradiction test reveals that the AEC is truth-conditionally equivalent to the DOC, which indicates that the two are derivationally related like English *be*-passives and active sentences and the adversative meaning associated only with the AEC is on a level of meaning independent of the truth-conditional meaning. We demonstrate from the *family-of-sentence* tests (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990) that the adversative meaning does not fall under the scope of truth-functional operators such as negation and the antecedent of conditionals. In (5), the adversative meaning cannot be negated. In (6), it does not add a condition to the conditional: whether or not Chelswu suffers from the event is irrelevant for the condition under which you are given money. Finally, the adversative meaning is not a presupposition as it is not part of the common ground.

- (5) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey meli-lul ppop-hi-ci anh-ass-ta.  
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat hair-Acc pull.out-*hi-ci* Neg-Pst-Dec  
 Meaning: ‘Chelswu did not have his hair pulled out by Yuna.’  
 \*‘Chelswu had his hair pulled out by Yuna, but he did not suffer from it.’
- (6) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey meli-lul ppop-hi-n-ta-myeon  
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat hair-Acc pull.out-*hi*-Pres-Dec-if  
 nay-ka ne-hantey o.sip pwul-ul cwu-kess-ta.  
 I-Nom you-Dat five.ten dollar-Acc give-Fut-Dec  
 ‘If Chelswu has his hair pulled out by Yuna, I will give you fifty dollars.’

Taken together, we suggest based on event semantics that (7a) the *Passive* head can introduce meanings on two tiers, the main assertion on the at-issue tier and the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier (the not-at-issue meaning is represented after colon), and (7b) the head PW (Part-Whole) is responsible for the relation between the possessor and the possessee. In (8), *Chelswu* is base-generated in Spec-PWP, and moves to Spec-PassP via passivization where it is associated with the not-at-issue meaning. It further moves to Spec-TP to get nominative case.

- (7) a.  $\llbracket \text{Passive} \rrbracket = \lambda g_{\langle e, st \rangle} . \exists z . \lambda e . f(z)(e) : \lambda y . \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \& \text{Experiencer}(e', y)) \& \text{CAUSE}(e')(e)$   
 b.  $\llbracket \text{PW} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle} . \lambda x . \lambda y . \lambda e . f(x)(e) \& x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$   
 c.  $\llbracket \text{PassiveP} \rrbracket = \exists x . \lambda e . \text{pull.out}(e) \& \text{Agent}(e, \text{Yuna}) \& \text{Theme}(e, x) \& x \text{ is hair} \& \text{hair} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu} \text{ at } \tau(e) : \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \& \text{Experiencer}(e', \text{Chelswu})) \& \text{CAUSE}(e')(e)$



One important consequence of this work is that contrary to Potts (2005) a single lexical item can make semantic contributions to both tiers of meaning; this has also been shown in Japanese benefactive constructions with the verbal morpheme *morazw* ‘receive’ (Kubota & Uegaki 2009). **Selected references**  
 Karttunen, L.1973. Presuppositions of Compound Sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4.  
 Potts, C. 2005 *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford University Press.