Gradable Predicates and Directed Motion Constructions

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1 Introduction

• English adjectives are compatible with measure phrases (MPs) as far as they are ‘positive’ (Kennedy 1999)

(1) a. That fence is 6 feet tall / ?? low.
   b. That stick is 6 feet long / ?? short.

• Korean adjectives are not compatible with MPs in general.

(2) a. ??Ku wultali-ka 6 phithu noph-ta / nac-ta.
    that fence-Nom 6 feet high-Decl / low-Decl
   b. ??Ku maktayki-ka 6 phithu kil-ta / ccalp-ta.
    that stick-Nom 6 feet long-Decl / short-Decl

• Korean auxiliary -eci freely combines with a gradable adjective, forming an inchoative (roughly translated as become-A)

    That stick-Nom long-Past-Decl
    ‘That stick was long.’
    That stick-Nom long-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘That stick became longer.’

• A measure phrase (MP) may appear with -eci inchoatives. In this case, a MP denotes the difference between two states, just like that in comparatives.

    that fence-Nom 6 ft. high-eci-Past-Decl / low-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘That fence became 6 feet higher / lower’
    that stick-Nom 6 ft. long-eci-Past-Decl / short-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘That stick became 6 feet longer / shorter’

(5) That fence is 6 feet higher than this fence.

• Initial questions

1. Why are MPs only compatible with deadjectival inchoatives derived by -eci?
2. Why can MPs only mean the difference between two states in deadjectival inchoatives with -eci, just like those in comparatives?

• The aim of the presentation
– To provide a unified account with Korean auxiliary -eci
– To investigate the interaction between gradable predicates, path arguments and directed motion constructions
– To draw theoretical as well as cross-linguistic implications between the lexical semantics and constructional meaning

2 Korean deadjectival inchoatives as directed motion constructions

2.1 Gradable path arguments

• Both -eci and ka-/o- ‘go/come’ take gradable adjectives as their arguments

(6) a. ku kang-i kiph-eci-ess-ta.
that river-Nom deep-eci-Past-Decl
‘That river became deeper’
b. ku kang-i kiph-e ka-n-ta.
that river-Nom deep-L go-Pres-Decl
‘That river is getting deep’

• Directed motion of the subject along the scale associated with the gradable adjective (Zubizarreta & Oh 2007)

2.2 Modifier cemcem ‘gradually’

• Both -eci and ka-/o- ‘go/come’ are compatible with cemcem

(7) a. ku kang-i cemcem kiph-eci-ess-ta.
that river-Nom gradually deep-eci-Past-Decl
‘That river gradually became deeper’
b. ku kang-i cemcem kiph-e ka-n-ta.
that river-Nom gradually deep-L go-Pres-Decl
‘That river is gradually getting deep’

• cemcem: modifier of a path argument (Lim & Zubizarreta 2010)

2.3 Other types of path arguments

• Non-gradable verbal predicates and post-positional phrases are compatible with ka-, but not with -eci

Eric-Nom die-L go-Pres-Decl
‘Eric is dying’
Eric-Nom die-eci-Past-Decl

Eric-Nom park-Loc go-Past-Decl
‘Eric went to the park’
Eric-Nom park-Loc-eci-Past-Decl
2.4 Measure phrases

- Only -eci is compatible with MPs

(10) a. Ku kang-i 1m kiph-eci-ess-ta.
    that river-Nom 1m deep-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘That river became 1m deeper’

b. *Ku kang-i 1m kiph-e ka-n-ta.
    that river-Nom 1m deep-L go-Pres-Decl

- When there is a salient standard of comparison, a gradable adjective without -eci is compatible with a MP

(11) I pilting-i (ce pilting-pota) 3m noph-ta.
    This building-Nom (that building-than) 3m high-Decl
    ‘This building is 3m higher than that building’

- Plausible assumption: comparative components inside -eci

2.5 -pota ‘than’

- Only -eci is compatible with -pota ‘than’

    That fence-Nom 10 min. before-than tall-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘That fence became higher than 10 minutes ago’

    That fence-Nom 10 min. before-than high-L go-Past-Decl/come-Past-Decl

2.6 -tongan/-maney ‘for/in’

- Unlike -eci, ka- is only compatible with for adverbials

    Allison-Gen height-Nom one month for / one month in tall-L go-Past-Decl
    ‘Allison was getting tall for a month/in a month’

    Allison-Nom height-Nom one month for / one month in tall-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘Allison became taller for a month/in a month’

2.7 Variable telicity of -eci

- -eci deadjectival inchoatives show variable telicity, depending on the nature of the scale associated with the adjectival root

(14) Allison-uy khi-ka (?)han tal tongan / han tal maney khu-eci-ess-ta.
    Allison-Nom height-Nom one month for / one month in tall-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘Allison became taller for a month/in a month’

(15) Suphu-ka (?)10 pwun tongan / 10 pwun maney chalap-aci-ess-ta.
    Soup-Nom 10 min. for / 10 min. in cool-textiteci-Past-Decl
    ‘The soup cooled for 10 minutes / in 10 minutes’

    chunk-of-metal one-Nom one month for / one month in flat-eci-Past-Decl
    (lit.) ‘A chunk of metal became flat for a month / in a month’
This pattern reminds us of the variable telicity of so-called English degree achievements (Hay et al. 1999, Kennedy & Levin 2008)

2.8 Interim summary

- Similarities between -eci and ka-/o-
  - Both -eci and ka-/o- may take gradable adjectival complements
  - Both -eci and ka-/o- are compatible with cemcem ‘gradually’

- Differences between -eci and ka-/o-
  - ka-/o- can take physical paths and non-gradable predicates as its complement, while -eci cannot
  - ka-/o- is NOT compatible with -pota ‘than’ clause, while -eci is compatible
  - ka-/o- with gradable predicates is atelic, but -eci shows variable telicity

3 Theoretical Backgrounds

3.1 L-syntax of directed motion

- The meaning of directed motion can be represented as construction (Zubizarreta & Oh 2007)
- The small v takes a path argument, the category of which is not determined.

(18) \[ \text{v} \]
\[ \text{D} \]
\[ \text{v} \]
\[ \text{X}_{\text{path}} \]

- The vP headed by the small v taking the path argument is considered a spell-out domain (Fox & Pesetsky 2005)
- Go, come, or become do not have any intrinsic lexical meaning - they are different spell-outs of the small v in directed motion constructions, varying depending on the deixis and path arguments
- The directed motion may either be physical or abstract, depending on the type of path arguments

(19) a. Robert went to the park.

b. \[ \text{D} \]
\[ \text{v} \]
\[ \text{Robert} \]
\[ \text{v} \]
\[ \text{P} \]
\[ \text{P}_{\text{path}} \]
\[ \text{to} \]
\[ \text{P}_{\text{loc}} \]
\[ \text{the park} \]
3.2 Semantics of gradable adjectives and comparatives

- Kennedy’s semantics of gradable adjectives
  - Adjectives: functions from individuals to degrees of type $<e,d>$ (not $<d,et>$, as standardly assumed)
    
    \[(\text{old}) = \lambda x._., \text{the degree to which} \ x \ \text{is old} \ (\text{Svenonius & Kennedy 2006:149})\]

  - To become a predicate (of type $<e,t>$), adjectives should combine with a functional head, $Deg$
    
    \[(\text{DegP} \quad \text{Deg} \quad \text{AP})\]

- Degree morphology: pos and meas
  - pos: unmarked case ($<e,et>$)
    
    \[(\text{Deg pos}) = \lambda g_{<e,d>}. \lambda x. \ g(x) > d_{s(g)(e)}\]

    (where $g$ is of type $<e,et>$, and $d_{s(g)(e)}$ represents the ‘standard of comparison’ for a context of utterance $c$) (Svenonius & Kennedy 2006:149)

  - meas: when a measure phrase appears ($<e,d,et>$)
    
    \[(\text{Deg meas}) = \lambda g_{<e,d>}. \lambda d'. \lambda x. \ g(x) \geq d' \ (\text{Svenonius & Kennedy 2006:150})\]

- Comparative morphology in Kennedy & McNally (2005)
  - -er/more combines with an adjective of type $<e,d>$, and returns another adjective of type $<d,ed>$
    
    \[(\text{-er/more}) = \lambda g_{<e,d>}. \lambda d'. \lambda x. \ g(x) \geq d'\]

    - The standard for the degree associated with the adjective is changed to $d'$, introduced by a covert/overt than clause
      
      \[(\text{taller}) = \lambda d'. \lambda x. \ x's \ degree \ of \ tallness \ w.r.t. \ d'\]

- Some examples

\[(\text{The stick is very long.})\]
(28) a. The stick is 6 feet long.
   b. [Diagram]

(29) a. This stick is much longer than that stick.
   b. [Diagram]

(30) a. This stick is 2 inches longer than that stick.
   b. [Diagram]
4 Proposal

4.1 Proposal (to be slightly elaborated later)

- Neither -eci nor ka-/o- has any intrinsic lexical meaning: they are different spell-outs of the small verb $v$ that heads a directed motion construction (as assumed in Zubizarreta & Oh 2007)

- $v$ is spelled-out as -eci when the path argument of $v$ contains an abstract path provided by a comparative projection ComP (headed by covert -er/more), while it is spelled-out as ka- otherwise

- In English meas may directly select a gradable predicate as its complement, whereas in Korean meas only takes a gradable predicate headed by -er/more

- Semantics of $v$: $[v] = \lambda P_{ct}. \lambda x_e. x$ becomes $P$

- -eci with a measure phrase

(31) Ku wultali-ka 6 phithu noph-aci-ess-ta.
That fence-Nom 6 feet tall-eci-Past-Decl
‘That fence became 6 feet taller’

(32)

(33) \[
\begin{align*}
[tall] & = \lambda x_e. \text{the degree to which } x \text{ was tall} \\
[taller] & = \lambda d_1, \lambda x_e. \text{the degree to which } x \text{ was tall w.r.t. } d_1 \\
[taller than } d^c] & = \lambda x_e. \text{the degree to which } x \text{ was tall w.r.t. } d^c \\
[\text{meas taller than } d^c] & = \lambda d_4, \lambda x_e. \text{the degree to which } x \text{ was tall w.r.t. } d^c \text{ was more than or equal to } d \\
[6 \text{ feet meas taller than } d^c] & = \lambda x_e. \text{tallness of } x \text{ w.r.t. } d^c \text{ was more than or equal to 6 ft.} \\
[\text{became 6 feet meas taller than } d^c] & = \lambda x_e. \text{tallness of } x \text{ w.r.t. } d^c \text{ became more than or equal to 6 ft.} \\
[\text{that fence became 6 feet meas taller than } d^c] & \text{is true iff tallness of that fence w.r.t. } d^c \text{ became more than or equal to 6 ft.}
\end{align*}
\]

- -eci without an overt measure phrase: covert measure phrase $d^c$ (or existential closure of $d^c$) (Roumyana Pancheva p.c.)
\[\text{\textbullet ka- with a gradable adjective: incompatibility of a MP with pos}\]

   That fence-Nom tall-eci-Past-Decl
   ‘That fence became taller’

35. \[\text{\textbullet ka- with a gradable adjective: incompatibility of a MP with pos}\]

36. \[\text{\textbullet ka- with a gradable adjective: incompatibility of a MP with pos}\]

   Day-Nom dark-L go-Past-Decl
   ‘The day was getting dark’

38. *John-uy khi-ka 3 cm khu-e ka-n-ta.
   John-Gen height-Nom 3 cm tall-L go-Pres-Decl
   (intended) (lit.) ‘John is getting 3 cm tall’
The degree to which $x$ was dark
$\text{pos} \text{dark} = \lambda x. \text{darkness of } x \text{ was more than } d_{s(dark)(c)}$
$\text{became pos dark} = \lambda x. \text{darkness of } x \text{ became more than } d_{s(dark)(c)}$
$\text{the day became pos dark} \text{ is true if darkness of the day became more than } d_{s(dark)(c)}$

• Interim Summary
  – Similarities between $ka$- and -eci
    * They share the same structure in L-syntax: the directed motion construction.
  – Differences between $ka$- and -eci
    * -eci: a path headed by meas, taking a gradable predicate argument headed by comparative morphology -er/more
    * $ka$: a path headed by pos, without any comparative phrase.
  – The compatibility of MPs with -eci
    * The comparative morphology -er/more in the path argument and the difference of the selectional restriction of meas between Korean and English.

4.2 Explaining variable telicity

• Variable telicity in English degree achievements

  (41) Variable telicity
  a. The soup cooled in 10 minutes. (Telic)
  b. The soup cooled for 10 minutes. (Atelic)

  (42) Atelic by default
  a. The gap between the boats widened for a few minutes.
  b. ??The gap between the boats widened in a few minutes.

  (43) Telic by default
  The sky darkened (but it didn’t become dark)

• Kennedy & Levin (2008) on degree achievements
  – In the adjectival core of degree achievements:
    * If there is an upper bound as well as a lower bound on the scale associated with the adjectival core, the degree achievement is interpreted as telic.
    * Otherwise, it is interpreted as atelic.
  – The adjectival core of a degree achievement also contains the comparative morphology more.
    * The adjectival core in the degree achievement always has the lower bound (that is, $d^c$ introduced by than clause).
    * The telicity of a degree achievement varies only depending on whether the scale of the adjectival core has the upper bound or not.
Variable telicity of -eci inchoatives

- Since we assume that -eci inchoatives contain a comparative morphology, the variable telicity of -eci inchoatives can also be accounted for in parallel with Kennedy and Levin (2008).

- Specifically:
  - * phyengphyengha- ‘flat’ or kkoskkosha- ‘straight’, etc.:
    - An upper bound: telic by default
  - * nelp- ‘wide’, etc.:
    - No upper bound: atelic by default
  - * chakap- ‘cool’, etc.:
    - An upper bound is context-dependent: variable telicity

5 Further extensions of the proposal

5.1 Psychological adjectives

- Psych adjectives, which form so-called double-nominative constructions in Korean, can freely combine with -eci.

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Greg-nun saca-ka mwusep-ess-ta.
  \hspace{1cm} Greg-Top lion-Nom afraid-Past-Decl
  \hspace{1cm} ‘Greg was afraid of lions’
  \item Greg-nun saca-ka mwusep-eci-ess-ta.
  \hspace{1cm} Greg-Top lion-Nom afraid-eci-Past-Decl
  \hspace{1cm} (lit.) ‘Greg became afraid of lions’
\end{enumerate}

- Problems in psych adjectives

  1. Judgments vary on psych adjectives with ka-.

\begin{enumerate}
  \item ?Greg-nun holangi-ka mwusep-e(-man) ka-n-ta.
  \hspace{1cm} Greg-Top tiger-Nom afraid-L-(only) go-Pres-Decl
  \hspace{1cm} (lit.) ‘Greg is getting afraid of tigers’
\end{enumerate}

  2. What kind of MPs can we assume in cases of psych adjectives?

- Psych adjectives are also gradable, however (Jiwon Yun p.c.):

  1. Degree adverbs

\begin{enumerate}
  \item John-un saca-ka maywu mwusep-ess-ta.
  \hspace{1cm} John-Top lion-Nom very afraid-Past-Decl
  \hspace{1cm} ‘John was very afraid of lions’
\end{enumerate}

  2. Comparatives

\begin{enumerate}
  \item John-un saca-ka holangi-pota mwusep-ess-ta.
  \hspace{1cm} John-Top lion-Nom tiger-than afraid-Past-Decl
  \hspace{1cm} ‘John was more afraid of lions than tigers’
\end{enumerate}

- Tentatively, we apply the same analysis as gradable adjectives to psych adjectives.
5.2 Transitive predicates and inchoative auxiliary

- *-eci* may also combine with a limited class of transitive verbs, forming an anticausative of the verbal root:

    Lisa-Nom house one CL-Acc build-Past-Decl
    ‘Lisa built a house’

    house one CL-Nom Lisa-due to build-eci-Past-Decl
    ‘A house was built (by Lisa)’

- Not all transitives allow *-eci*, obviously.

(49) a. James-ka mwulkoki sey mali-lul cap-ess-ta.
    James-Nom fish three CL-Acc catch-Past-Decl
    ‘James caught three fish’

b. ??Mwulkoki sey mali-ka (James-eyuyhay) cap-aci-ess-ta.
    fish three CL-Nom James-due to/Dat catch-eci-Past-Decl

- Verbal *-eci* is not a passive morpheme

  - Purpose clause

(50) a. Cengpwu-nun [cwumintul-ul pohoha]-lyeko kyengchalse-lul
    Government-Top residents-Acc protect-Comp police station-Acc
    cis-ess-ta.
    build-Past-Decl
    ‘The government built a police station to protect residents’

b. ??[cwumintul-ul pohoha]-lyeko kyengchalse-ka cis-eci-ess-ta.
    residents-Acc protect-Comp police-station-Nom build-eci-Past-Decl

  - Agent-oriented adverbials

    John-Top willingly/deliberately house one CL-Acc build-Past-Decl
    ‘John willingly/deliberately built a house’

b. ??kikkei/uytocekulo cip han chay-ka cis-eci-ess-ta.
    willingly/deliberately house one CL-Nom build-eci-Past-Decl

  - *-eyuyhay* argument is not agentive

(52) Cikwu-uy CO2 nongto-ka inkan-eyuyhay noph-aci-ess-ta.
    Earth-Poss CO2 density-Nom human-due to high-eci-Past-Decr
    ‘The density of CO2 in the earth became higher due to human’

- Two questions

  - If *-eci* is not a passive morpheme, what is the nature of *-eci*?
  - What is the common factor verbs compatible with *-eci* share?

- Classes of verbs compatible with *-eci*


• Classes of verbs incompatible with -eci (cont.)
  – Verbs of perception: tut- ‘hear’, po- ‘see/watch’, etc.
  – Other verbs: ttayli- ‘beat’, cap- ‘catch’, etc.

• Semantics of verbs compatible with -eci
  – The meaning of change of state can be understood in terms of directed motion along an abstract path
    * cf. The milk went sour.
  – The meaning of creation can be understood in terms of change of state (from non-existence to existence)
  – The meaning of movement obviously involves the meaning of direct motion along an (abstract/physical) path

• Therefore, condition on the verbal -eci:
  Only verbs which involve the meaning of directed motion are compatible with -eci

• Problem
  – Verbs whose meaning is related to directed motion can appear with -eci
  – However, verbs cannot appear as a path argument of directed motion constructions by themselves, since they do not lexically encode any notion of path
  – This contrasts with gradable adjectives, which are associated with certain scales, and therefore can appear as path complements of directed motion constructions

• Tentative proposal
  – Let us assume that verbs we saw above take their own path argument
  – When appearing with -eci, the verbal root directly merges with the head v of the directed motion construction
  – This verbal complex takes the path argument, which was originally the path argument of the verbal root
  – The detransitivization is a byproduct of the formation of the verbal complex
  – Next question: what kind of path argument do these verbs take?

5.2.1 Verbs of creation and change of state

• Verbs of creation are compatible with resultatives in Korean (Lim & Zubizarreta 2010, Park 2004).

    John-Nom house one CL-Acc high-Res build-Past-Decl
    (lit.) ‘John built a house high’

b. Cip han chay-ka noph-key cis-eci-ess-ta.
    House one CL-Nom high-Res build-eci-Past-Decl
    (lit.) ‘A house was built high’
c. “As a result of building, the house became high”

- Verbs of change of state are also compatible with resultatives in Korean (Lim & Zubizarreta 2010, Park 2004).

   John-Nom that chunk-of-metal-Acc flat-Res hammer-Past-Decl
   (lit.) ‘John hammered that chunk of metal flat’

b. ku soystengeli-ka napcahak-key twutulki-eci-ess-ta.
   that chunk-of-metal-Nom flat-Res hammer-eci-Past-Decl
   (lit.) ‘That chunk of metal was hammered flat’

c. “As a result of hammering, the metal became flat”

- With other verbs, key-adverbials are not interpreted as resultatives.

   John-Nom apple one-Acc dirty-Adv eat-Past-Decl
   ‘John ate an apple in a dirty manner’
   NOT: John ate an apple, and as a result of eating, the apple became dirty.

b. ??Sakwa han kay-ka (John-euyuyhay) mek-eci-ess-ta.
   apple one CL-Nom John-by eat-eci-Past-Decl

- Analysis

  Following Hoekstra (1988), let us assume that these verbs always take an adjectival resultative complement, even when it is not overtly realized.

(56) Cip han chay-ka noph-key cis-eci-ess-ta.
   House one CL-Nom high-Res build-eci-Past-Decl
   (lit.) ‘A house was built high’

(57) 

5.2.2 Verbs of movement

- These verbs do not take any resultatives.
• However, we assume that these verbs take their own path argument, along which a theme argument moves.

• Therefore, in the following example, the dative goal argument is analyzed as a path argument:

Apple one-Nom John-Dat give-eci-Past-Decl
‘An apple was given to John’

• Analysis

(59)

5.2.3 Some elaborations on the previous proposal

• Since verbs of movement do not contain any comparatives, the previous generalization - v is spelled-out as -eci when the directed motion construction contains a comparative phrase - does not hold anymore

• An alternative can be found in the notion of boundedness/delimitedness (Tenny 1994, among others)

• Definition: a path is bounded/delimited iff its starting point as well as ending point are specified

• Tentative proposal

- v in the directed motion construction is spelled-out as -eci when the path argument is (partially) bound/delimited

- In cases of gradable/psychological adjectives (and possibly the verbs of COS as well), the comparative morpheme delimits the lower bound of a scale (and therefore the starting of the path)

- In cases of verbs of movement, the goal argument delimits the endpoint of the path

6 Conclusions and remaining issues

6.1 Conclusions

• -eci with gradable adjectives, like ka-/o-, is the spell-out of the head v of the directed motion construction

• Specifically, v is spelled-out as -eci when the scale is delimited by ComP

• This analysis can account for the various syntactic/semantic characteristics of -eci, including its comparative meaning, its compatibility with measure phrases, and its variable telicity
6.2 Further implications on event structure and lexicon-syntax interface

- Simple lexical aspects (Vendler 1967) do not fully account for argument realization
  - Note that verbs compatible with -eci include verbs with various lexical aspects: build is an accomplishment, but kKay- is an achievement
  - More fine-grained semantic-based account is required

- Neither lexical semantics of predicates nor constructional meaning fully determine the other
  - A unified account of verbal -eci and adjectival -eci, as well as the similarities between differences between ka-/o- and -eci can be provided in terms of constructions
  - The distribution of verbal -eci is accounted for in terms of lexical semantics
  - Cf. Zubizarreta & Oh (2007) for the compatibility of path arguments with a certain type of verbal roots

6.3 Remaining issues

6.3.1 -eci vs. Spanish se?

- Examples of se

(60) a. La tormenta hundió la barca
    the storm sink the boat
    ‘The storm sunk the boat’
b. La barca se hundió
    the boat se sink
    ‘The boat sunk’ (Basilico 2010:2)

(61) a. Juan leyó un libro
    John read a book
    ‘John read a book’
b. Juan se leyó un libro.
    Juan se read a book.
    ‘John read a book (Basilico 2010:2)

(62) *Josefina se abrió una lata
    Josephina se open a can
    ‘Josephina opened a can’ (Basilico 2010:3)

- Basilico (2010) on Spanish se
  - Transitives which can appear with se without any detransitivization are mostly accomplishments which take incremental themes (Tenny 1994, inter alia): a homomorphism between the event and the theme argument
  - This means that the incremental theme argument with accomplishments can be regarded as a path argument along which the event proceeds.
  - Given this, Basilico (2010) claims that, se is an underspecified eventive light verb v, which requires a bounded path or scale as its complement.
  - Distributed Morphology (Embick & Noyer 2007, inter alia): a verb is created by combining an acategorical head with a little v, which provides verbal features to the root.
  - In cases of transitive se, se forms a verbal complex with a transitive verb, which takes a theme argument as its path
  - In cases of intransitive se, se takes a verbal root as its path argument
• Basic structure of transitive se in Basilico (2010)

(63)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{se} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{√Root} \\
 \end{array} \]

Path_B

• Examples of transitive se and intransitive se

(64)  
(a) Ese niño se comió la manzana.
That child se ate the apple
‘That child ate the apple’

(b) \[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{se} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{√com} \\
 \end{array} \]

Ese niño

la manzana

(Basilico 2010:19,20, respectively)

(65)  
(a) La barca se hundió.
The boat se sunk
‘The boat sank’

(b) \[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{v} \\
  \quad \text{se} \\
  \quad \text{√hund} \\
 \end{array} \]

la barca

(Basilico 2010:36)

• The analysis in Basilico (2010) does not easily extend to Korean -eci
  – -eci is a strict detransitivizer: except gradable/psych adjectives, it only combines with transitives
  – Not all accomplishments are compatible with -eci (e.g., verbs of consumption)

• Some parametric variations may work at this point, but at the moment it is not clear how to specify.

6.3.2 Stacking vs?

• Two instantiations of v, -eci and ka-, may appear at the same time
6.3.3 Passive morphemes vs. -eci

- Korean regular passive morpheme: i/hi/li/ki
- Verbs compatible with -eci are not compatible with passive morphemes
- Verbs incompatible with -eci are in general passivized by regular passive morpheme
- Not fully complementary distribution: verbs like mit- ‘believe’, twicip- ‘overthrow/turn down’, phwul- ‘solve’ allow both
- More investigations are required

(66) Kang-i (*10m) kiph-eci-e ka-n-ta.
river-Nom (*10m) deep-eci-L go-Pres-Decl
‘The river is getting deeper’

- MPs are not allowed when -eci and ka- appear at the same time
- No clear answer at the moment

house three CL-Nom build-Pass-Past-Decl / build-eci-Past-Decl
‘Three houses were built’

(68) Yekieyse mwulkoki-ka manhi cap-hi-ess-ta / ??cap-aci-ess-ta
here fish-Nom a lot catch-Pass-Past-Decl / catch-eci-Past-Decl
‘Fish were caught a lot here’

ship-Nom overthrow-Pass-Past-Decl / overthrow-eci-Past-Decl
‘The ship was overthrown’

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