

## Reflexive Nature of Verbs of ‘put-on’ and Their Argument Alternations in Korean

The event of ‘putting x on one’s body’ is expressed in Korean by different lexical verbs depending on which body part is involved. These verbs include *ep-* ‘put x on one’s **back**’, *an-* ‘put x in one’s **arms**’, *sin-* ‘put shoes on (one’s **feet**)’, *ip-* ‘put clothes on (**oneself**)’, *mwul-* ‘put x in one’s **mouth**, etc. I categorize these verbs as verbs of the ‘put-on’ class. The verbs of the ‘put-on’ class often display patterns that differ from typical transitive verbs in a number of constructions. For example, when they undergo morphological causativization (MC), the agent of the base verb is realized as a goal [1]. If they are permitted in morphological passive constructions (MP), the passive verbs have an argument structure that differs from prototypical passives; the agent and the theme of the active [2a] are realized as a location and an agent in the passive, respectively [2b]. In the previous literature (e.g., Park 2001), the MCs and MPs in (1b) and (2b) have often been argued to be formed in the lexicon due to the difficulty of relating the base sentences to their causative/passive counterparts. Contrary to the previous claims, I argue that the base sentences in (1) and (2) are structurally related to their causative and passive counterparts and that the atypical argument structure alternations are attributable to the inherent meaning components of the base verbs (i.e., lexical reflexive specification). I further claim that the meaning specification is reflected explicitly in the semantic and syntactic representations of these predicates.

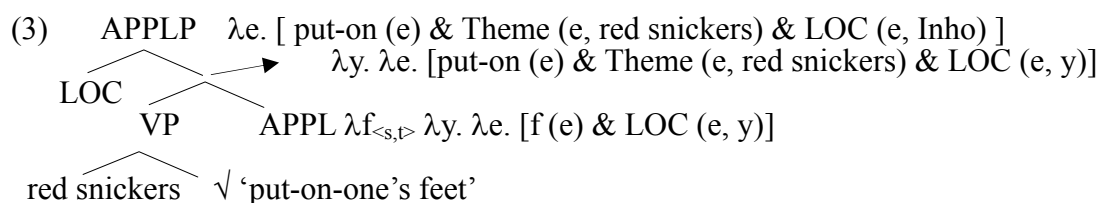
The commonality of the theme arguments selected by verbs of the ‘put-on’ class is that they all undergo a change of location. This means that the verb meaning of these predicates involves an inherent locational endpoint where the theme ends up. For this reason, I assume that the verbs of the ‘put-on’ class contain an abstract applicative head (APPL) that introduces a locative argument above the VP [3].

The APPL head denotes a relation between an entity expressing a location and an eventuality denoted by the verb (cf. Pytkäinen 2002). LOC is a positional endpoint of the theme that undergoes a change of location. I further argue that the surface subjects of these verbs are underlyingly locations, not agents. The verbs of the ‘put-on’ class are lexically reflexive in the sense that the locational endpoint of the theme is also the agent that initiates the event; when *Inho* puts the shoes on, *Inho* is the agent who initiates the event and also the location where the shoes are situated at the end of the event. In order to account for the reflexive nature of these verbs, I propose that APPLP merges with  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$  under the assumption that there are different flavors of Voice and that the argument structure of verbs is determined by the type of Voice.  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$ , like Kratzer’s Voice (Kratzer 1996), combines with a verbal projection (e.g., APPLP). What is particular to  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$  is that its semantics, regardless of whether it takes active [2a] or passive [2b] morphology, selects an open predicate with an unsaturated individual argument. The semantics of  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$  further states that the agent introduced by  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$  is identified with the unsaturated argument, as in (4). Due to this semantic specification, when it merges with APPLP in (3),  $\text{Voice}_{\text{RFL}}$  enforces syntactic detransitivization of the APPLP [5]; no syntactic argument is projected by APPL. The structure in (5) thus yields a transitive sentence in (1a).

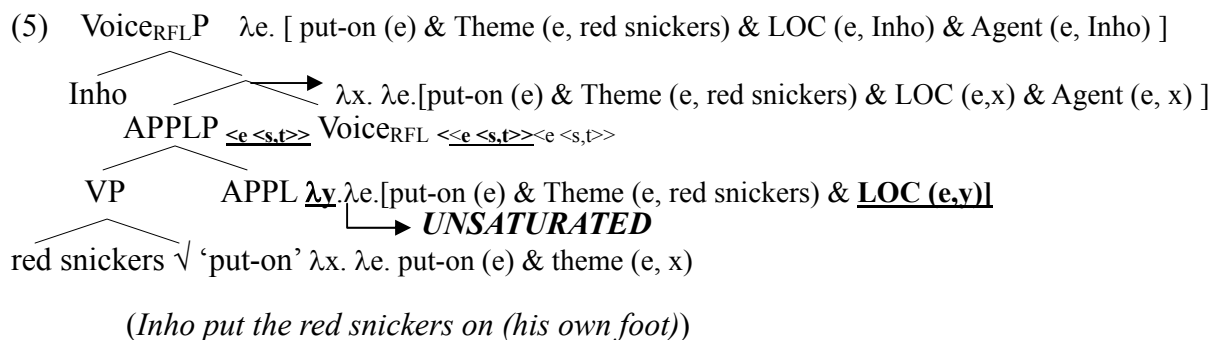
In this talk, I will demonstrate in detail how the underlying structure proposed for verbs of the ‘put-on’ class provides straightforward explanations for the thematic role transitions (e.g., from an agent to a goal/from a theme to an agent) observed in (1) and (2).

The analysis propounded in this paper not only provides straightforward explanations for a variety of idiosyncratic patterns associated with verbs of the ‘put-on’ class in Korean, but also offers additional empirical support in favor of the theory of lexical decomposition in the syntax.

- (1) a. Inho-ka ppalkan wundonghwa-lul sin-ess-ta.  
 Inho-NOM red snickers-ACC put.on-PST-DC  
 ‘Inho put the red snickers on (his own feet).’
- b. Emma-ka Inho-eykey ppalkan wundonghwa-lul sin-*ki*-ess-ta.  
 Mother-NOM Inho-DAT red snickers-ACC put.on-CAU-PST-DC  
 ‘Mother put the red snickers on Inho(’s feet).’
- (2) a. Inho-ka kikkei ku ai-lul ep-ess-ta.  
 Inho-NOM willingly the child-ACC put.on.one’s back-PST-DC  
 ‘Inho willingly put the child on his back.’
- b. Ku ai-ka kikkei Inho-eykey ep-*hi*-ess-ta.  
 The child-NOM willingly Inho-DAT put.on.one’s back-PASS-PST-DC  
 ‘The child willingly *got on* Inho’s back.’



- (4) Voice<sub>RFL</sub> (with verbs of the ‘put-on’ class)  
 $\lambda P_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda e. [ P (e, x) \ \& \ \text{Agent} (e, x) ]$



**Selected References:**

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