

A Pseudo Object Control Construction in Korean

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Overview

- The *persuade*-construction in English is a typical object control:
 - (1) Tom **persuaded** Mary to leave.
- Syntax: No overt subject appears in the *to*-infinitive clause:
 - (2) John persuaded Mary [(**Mary*/**she*/**her*/**herself*) to leave].
- Semantics: Necessary co-indexation (obligatory control interpretation):
 - (3) John_{*i*} persuaded Mary_{*j*} [----**i*/*j*/**k* to leave].

Overview (cont'd)

- Topic: *Persuade*-construction in Korean

(4) *John-i Mary-eykey/lul [[----- ttena]-tolok] seultukhay-ss-ta.*
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc leave-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

(roughly) 'John persuaded Mary to leave.'

- Question: Is it an object control as assumed in the literature?
- Proposal: *Persuade*-construction in Korean is not a control; it is more like *pro*-drop.

PRO Analysis

- PRO analysis of object control (Chomsky 1981).

(5) John persuaded [Mary_i] [_{TP} PRO_i to leave].

- PRO is **caseless** (null case), but the overt subject of the embedded clause must be nominative in Korean (cf. Cormack & Smith 2004):

(6) *sensayngnim-i Mary-uy emeni-eykey/lul* [[**Mary-ka** *peptay-ey*
 teacher-Nom Mary-Gen mother-Dat/Acc **Mary-Nom** law.school-to
ka]-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ta.
 go-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

'The teacher persuaded Mary's mother that Mary should go to law school.

PRO Analysis (cont'd)

- A similar example (cf. backward control in Monahan 2003): the overt subject of the embedded clause must be nominative.

(7) *sensayngnim-i* ----- *[[Mary-ka peptay-ey ka]-tolok] seultukhay-ss-ta.*
 teacher-Nom Mary-Nom law school-to go-Comp

(roughly) 'The teacher persuaded Mary to go to law school.'

- So PRO is not appropriate for the null subject in the embedded clause.

Movement Analysis

- Movement analysis of object control (Hornstein 1999; Kwon & Polinsky 2006)

(8) *Jane-i Minswu_j-eykey/-lul [Minswu_j-ka ttena-tolok]*
 Jane-Nom Minswu-Dat/Acc Minswu-Nom leave-Comp
seltukhay-ss-ta.
 persuade-Pst-Dec

‘Jane persuaded Minswu to leave.’

- The subject of the *tolok*-clause is moved to the object position in the matrix clause, and the tail of the A-chain is unpronounced.
- How can it account for **case difference** between the accusative/dative object and the nominative subject?

Movement Analysis (cont'd)

- Two overt NPs: How can the movement analysis derive the following?

(9) *sensayngnim-i Mary-uy emeni-eykey/lul [[Mary-ka peptay-ey*
 teacher-Nom Mary-Gen mother-Dat/Acc Mary-Nom law.school-to
ka]-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ta.
 go-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

'The teacher persuaded Mary's mother that Mary should go to law school.'

Semantic Analysis

- *Pro*-based semantic analysis (Cormack and Smith 2004):

(10) *Jane-i Minswu_j-lul [pro_j ttena-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ta.*
 Jane-Nom Minswu-Acc leave-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

'Jane persuaded Minswu to leave.'

- The meaning postulate is posited to ensure the co-indexation:

(11) Meaning postulate 1: For all s, x, y , if 'PERSUADE s y x ' holds then y is Agent in Event s (s is the Event argument of PERSUADE, y the persuade, x the persuader, where x and y are individuals).

Semantic Analysis (cont'd)

- However, co-indexation is not necessary as shown below.

(12) *sensayngnim-i Mary-uy emeni-eykey/lul [[Mary-ka peptay-ey*
 teacher-Nom Mary-Gen mother-Dat/Acc Mary-Nom law.school-to
ka]-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ta.
 go-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

'John persuaded Marys mother that Mary should go to law school.'

Interim Summary

- PRO analysis: Nominative case of the subject in the *tolok*-clause
- Movement analysis:
 - 1 case alternation
 - 2 two overt NPs
 - 3 no overt NPs
- *Pro*-based semantic analysis: Meaning Postulate
- Interim conclusion: no empty category is appropriate for analysis of the *seltukha*-construction in Korean, though it looks similar to *pro*-drop.

Two Overt NPs

- Co-indexation is not required.

[Context: There are **two people whose names are both Minji** in the same class. They are close friends. $Minji_k$ does not want to attend school anymore. The teacher tried to persuade $Minji_k$ to come to school again, but failed. So the teacher talked to $Minji_j$ in order to make $Minji_j$ to persuade $Minji_k$ to come to school again.]

- (13) *sensayngnim-un Minji_j-eykey/lul [Minji_k-ka tasi hakkyo-ey*
 teacher-Top Minji-Dat/Acc Minji-Nom again school-to
o-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ta.
 come-Comp persuade-Pst-Dec

‘The teacher persuaded $Minji_j$ that $Minji_k$ should come to school again.’

One Overt NP

- Co-indexation is not required.

Q: *Why did Mary go to law school?*

- (14) *Mary emeni-nun Mary-ka uytay-ey ka-ki-lul*
 Mary mother-Top Mary-Nom medical.school-to go-Nom-Acc
wenhay-ss-ciman, sensayngnim-i Mary emeni-eykey/lul [----
 want-Pst-but teacher-Nom Mary mother-Dat/Acc
peptay-ey ka-tolok] seltukhay-ss-ketun.
 law.school-to go-Tolok persuade-Pst-Dec

(lit.) 'Mary's mother wanted Mary to go to medical school, but the teacher persuaded Mary's mother that Mary should go to law school.'

No Overt NP

- Co-indexation is not required.

Q: *What did the teacher say to Mary's mother? Why did Mary go to law school?*

- (15) *Mary emeni-nun Mary-ka uytay-ey ka-ki-lul*
 Mary mother-Top Mary-Nom medical.school-to go-Nom-Acc
wenhay-ss-ciman, sensayngnim-i [---- *peptay-ey ka-tolok*]
 want-Pst-but teacher-Nom law.school-to go-Tolok
seltukhay-ss-ketun.
 persuade-Pst-Dec

(lit.) 'Mary's mother wanted Mary to go to medical school, but the teacher persuaded Mary's mother that Mary should go to law school.'

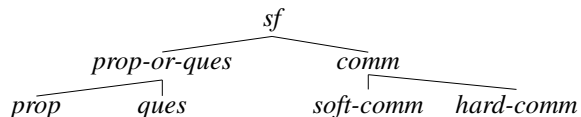
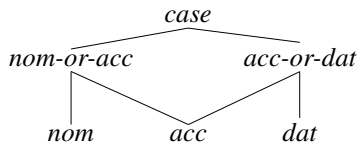
Summary

- No empty category (PRO, *pro*, or trace) is appropriate for the understood subject of the *tolok*-clause in *seltukha*-construction.
- Rather, the matrix object and the subject of the *tolok*-clause are independently licensed by the relevant predicates, and they are optional:

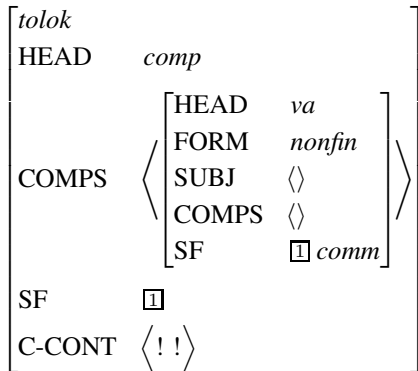
(16) NP-Nom (NP_{*i*}-Dat/Acc) [[[NP_{*i/j*}-Nom) ... V]-*tolok*] *seltukha*-

- But when the two NPs refer to the same individual, they tend not to appear right next to each other, since it sounds redundant (Anti-redundancy Hypothesis).
- So the *seultukha*-construction is not a control construction, though it often has an interpretation like an object control construction in certain contexts.

Type Hierarchies



tolok



seltukha-

<i>seltukha</i>	
HEAD	<i>verb</i>
SUBJ	$\langle \langle \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \rangle \rangle$
COMPS	$\left\langle \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \\ \text{LIGHT} & - \\ \text{CASE} & \textit{acc-or-dat} \\ \text{INDEX} & \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] , \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \textit{comp} \\ \text{LTOP} & \boxed{3} \\ \text{XARG} & \boxed{4} \\ \text{SF} & \textit{soft-comm} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle$
RELS	$\langle \langle \begin{array}{ll} \text{ARG1} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{ARG3} & \boxed{5} \end{array} \rangle \rangle$
HCONS	$\langle \langle \begin{array}{ll} \textit{qeq} & \\ \text{HARG} & \boxed{5} \\ \text{LARG} & \boxed{3} \end{array} \rangle \rangle !$

Tree Derivations (*pro*-drop)

- Two overt NPs: an ordinary derivation
- One overt NP
 - when missing the embedded subject: *head-opt-subj-rule*
 - when missing the object in the main clause: *head-opt-comp-rule*
- No overt NP: both *head-opt-subj-rule* and *head-opt-comp-rule*

Judgments

Someone says:

Even in English, it is rather marginal, but nevertheless grammatical, to say that “**John persuaded me that my family should leave this country**”, where “persuade” has a meaning akin to “suggest to”.

- (17)
- a. I **persuaded** her to see a doctor.
 - b. He **convinced** me that he was right.
 - c. I **persuaded** her to see a doctor.
 - d. I **convinced** her to see a doctor.

Implementation of *tolok*

- The complementizer *tolok* is a **clitic**. Do we have a standard method of handling the clitics in our formalism?
- The complementizer *tolok* is assumed to be **semantically empty** and impose [SF *comm*] on its complement in order to avoid a redundancy in the formalism. Is there any complementizer that has **its own predicate value** in other languages?
- The complementizer *tolok* takes a **non-finite** clause as its complement. Is it on a right direction in implementation?
 - *whether*: [FIN *bool*] (*I haven't decided whether to go or stay.*)
 - *for*: [FIN *-*] (*John would like very much for Mary to win.*)