

Chapter 4

External Possession in Korean

1 Introduction

We observed in the previous chapter that, a possessor of an object can be realised externally to the object in Japanese, but only under specific circumstances, namely when the predicate is a complex stative predicate. Moreover, the external possessor can appear only in the nominative. By contrast, in Korean, a language with remarkably similar syntax to Japanese, a possessor of an accusative object can be licensed externally in the accusative, as illustrated below. In each of the examples, the first accusative phrase is interpreted as a possessor of the following accusative phrase. Thus, in (1a) for instance, *John-ul* is the possessor of *tali-lul* ‘leg-Acc’.¹

- (1) a. Mary-ka John-ul tali-lul cha-ss-ta
Mary-Nom John-Acc leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
‘Mary kicked John’s leg.’ (Cho 1992: 15)
- b. Nay-ka Yumi-lul paym-ul ayli-ess-ta
I-Nom Yumi-Acc cheek-Acc hit-Past-Decl
‘I hit Yumi on the cheek.’ (Maling & Kim 1992: 48)
- c. John-i namu-lul kaci-lul cal-ass-ta
John-Nom tree-Acc branch-Acc cut-Past-Decl
‘John cut the tree on the branch’ (Yeon 1999: 221)

A possessive accusative phrase shares a number of properties with a possessive nominative phrase. It may be separated from its possessee argument by an adverbial, indicating that it is licensed syntactically as an independent constituent at the clausal level, as shown below by (2) for the example in (1). It may be alternatively marked with the genitive case marker *uy* and be realised internally to the projection of the

¹ The accusative marker is realised as *lul* if following a vowel and as *ul* elsewhere. Similarly, the nominative case marker is realised as *ka* after a vowel and as *i* elsewhere.

possessee argument. Its NP-internal position is illustrated in (3) by the impossibility of inserting an adverbial between the two phrases. Finally, a clause may contain an indefinitely large number of possessive accusative phrases, as (4) demonstrates. Recall from Chapter 2 that possessive nominative phrases also display all these properties.

- (2) Mary-ka John-ul ecey tali-lul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Acc yesterday leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl

- (3) Mary-ka [John-uy (*ecey) tali]-lul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Gen yesterday leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl

- (4) Mary-ka John-ul tali-lul oluncok-ul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Acc leg-Acc right.side-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary kicked the right side of John’s leg.’

Given the above syntactic similarities between possessive accusative phrases and possessive nominative phrases, it seems that the operation of re-association can be carried over to the possessive multiple accusative construction straightforwardly. In this chapter, I will argue that this is indeed the case. However, there is one crucial difference between the two types of possessive phrases. It is often observed that the external possessor of an object must be interpreted as ‘affected’ by the action described by the verb, and its possession relation to the object must be inalienable (J. H.-S. Yoon 1989, 1990). The implied affected reading is often psychological in nature when the possessor is animate. On the other hand, no comparable restrictions apply to the external possessor of a subject. The point is illustrated by the contrast in the grammaticality of the following pairs of examples. The ungrammaticality of the (a)-examples is usually attributed to the fact that the external possessor is not an inalienable possessor of the possessee or cannot be interpreted as affected by the eventuality the rest of the sentence describes. The (b)-examples, which contain an external possessor of a subject with the same possession relation, are grammatical.

- (5) a. *Mary-ka John-ul cha-lul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Acc car-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary kicked John’s car.’ (Yoon 1990: 503)
- b. John-i cha-ka khu-ta
 John-Nom car-Nom big-Decl
 ‘John’s car is big.’
- (6) a. *John-i Mary-lul moksoli-lul tul-ess-ta
 John-Nom Mary-Acc voice-Acc hear-Past-Decl
 ‘John heard Mary’s voice.’ (Yeon 1999: 219)
- b. Mary-ka moksoli-ka kop-ta
 Mary-Nom voice-Nom beautiful-Decl
 ‘Mary’s voice is beautiful.’

It is important to note that the term ‘affected’ should not be confused with the semantic notion of ‘affectedness’, which is often used to explain the distribution of direct objects in clauses as well as within DPs headed by argument-taking nouns (cf. Anderson (to appear) and references cited therein). In semantics, affected objects have the effect of delimiting, or binding in time, the event described by the verb (Tenny 1987). As a consequence, a sentence containing an affected object can be modified by *in* adverbials, which indicates that the event has an endpoint, but not by *for* adverbials, which independently delimits the event expressed by the verb (Dowty 1979, Vendler 1967). However, an external possessor of an accusative object is not affected in this aspectual sense, as illustrated by the following examples. It is possible to modify a sentence containing a possessive accusative phrase by a *for* adverbial, but not by an *in* adverbial. An external possessor of an object is therefore interpreted as ‘affected’ not in the aspectual sense, but in a more psychological sense, akin to notions such as inconvenience, misfortune or adversity.

- (7) a. Mary-ka han-si-gan-dongan John-lul tali-lul cha-ss-ta.
 Mary-Nom one.hour.for John-Acc leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary kicked John’s leg for an hour.’

- b. *Mary-ka han-si-gan-e John-lul tali-lul cha-ss-ta.
 Mary-Nom one.hour.in John-Acc leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary kicked John’s leg in an hour.’

A number of analyses have been proposed in the literature for the Korean possessive multiple accusative construction. However, the majority of them are primarily concerned with providing an explanation for the external possessor’s syntactic status as an argument at the clausal level and its interpretation as a possessor of another argument. As far as I am aware, no studies have examined the possible connection between the phenomenon of external possession, on the one hand, and the ‘affected’ reading and its absence when the possessee is a subject, on the other. The interpretation is simply stated as an independent constraint on the well-formedness of the possessive multiple accusative construction (Y.-J. Kim 1989, J. H.-S. Yoon 1989, 1990, Maling & Kim 1992, D.-I. Cho 1992, 1993, J.-M. Yoon 1997, S. Cho 1998, 2000).

In this chapter, I will first demonstrate that a possessive accusative phrase in Korean is licensed by the same operation as a possessive nominative phrase in Japanese, namely by re-association. It will be shown that application of re-association is not affected by the grammatical function of the possessee argument. The proposed approach makes a number of correct predictions concerning various properties of the construction, including object-hood of the external possessor and the possessee.

I will then argue that the ‘affected’ reading is a consequence of the operation of re-association applying to an internal argument of the verb. Recipients of the θ -roles in a verb’s θ -grid are generally considered to be participants in the eventuality expressed by the verb.² The semantic representations associated with the θ -roles usually provide information concerning the arguments’ participation in the eventuality. An external possessor of an object receives a re-associated θ -role which is contained in the verb’s θ -grid. It must therefore be construed as a participant in the eventuality. However, the semantic representation associated with the re-associated

² I use the term ‘eventuality’ throughout this chapter in the sense of Bach (1981, 1986), namely as encompassing all aspectual types, including states. Implications of the use of this term are discussed in Section 3.

θ -role does not contain any relevant information as to how the recipient of the θ -role should participate in the eventuality, since it is not related to the lexical meaning of the verb. I propose that this integration of the external possessor into the eventuality results in what is generally referred to as the ‘affected’ interpretation. Considering that it must be part of the eventuality, it seems only natural that it is somehow affected by it. I argue furthermore that the external possessor need not be in an inalienable possession relation with the object, contrary to a widely held view. It is a tendency, rather than an absolute requirement, following from the idea that an external possessor must be part of the eventuality and hence affected.

The absence of an obligatory affected interpretation of an external possessor of a subject is a consequence of the manner in which the distinction between internal θ -roles and external θ -roles are represented in the syntax. Following Neeleman & van de Koot (2002), I assume that it is represented by the idea that the verb’s θ -grid is not copied up beyond the verb’s maximal projection. An external θ -role is copied up on its own and is no longer in the verb’s θ -grid when it is assigned to the subject. As a result, the re-associated θ -role assigned to an external possessor of the subject is not part of the verb’s θ -grid. It therefore need not be interpreted as a participant in the eventuality and does not receive an ‘affected’ reading.

The chapter is organised as follows. The following section demonstrates that re-association is indeed involved in licensing an external possessor of an accusative object in Korean. Predictions made by the present analysis are also shown to be correct in this section. The ‘affected’ interpretation is examined in detail in Section 3. Section 4 considers alternative approaches offered in the literature and compares them with the proposed analysis. Concluding remarks are noted in Section 5.

2 The Licensing of a Possessive Accusative Phrase

2.1 The presence of *pro*

The similarities in the distribution between a possessive accusative phrase and a possessive nominative phrase observed above in (2)-(4) suggest that the two types of external possessors are licensed by the same operation, namely re-association. As discussed in detail in Chapters 1 and 2, however, the presence of a resumptive *pro* in the possessee argument is crucial in the possible application of the operation. This is

because its presence makes available a semantic representation that are appropriate for re-association. Recall that licensing of an argument involves two processes: θ -role assignment under sisterhood and replacement of the variable in the associated semantic representation. In the present study, θ -roles are considered to be labels for syntactic selectional requirements on arguments, such as categorial features. Assigning a θ -role to an argument therefore corresponds to satisfaction of the syntactic conditions of a θ -role by an argument under sisterhood. When an argument meets the requirements of a particular θ -role, it must also replace the variable contained in the semantic representation linked to that θ -role.

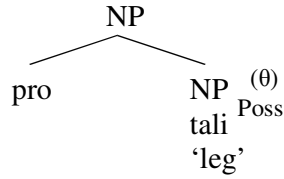
I assume that a possessor of a noun is assigned a θ -role with the *Possessor* semantics associated with it by the noun it modifies. Thus, the possessee NP *tali* ‘leg’ in (1a) has a θ -role in its argument structure, as shown in (8). Recall that *Poss* is a label for a more complex semantic representation. Assuming that *tali* ‘leg’ has the representation in (9a), *Poss* related to its θ -role refers to the representation in (9b).

(8) *tali* (θ)
 ‘leg’ Poss

(9) a. *tali* ‘leg’: $\lambda x \lambda y$ [leg (x) & Possessor (x , y)]
 b. Poss: $\lambda x \lambda y$ [Possessor (x , y)]

Pro is a legitimate syntactic object, which can function as a syntactic argument. As a result, it can satisfy the selectional conditions of the θ -role of the NP *tali* ‘leg’ under sisterhood. However, *pro* translates as a variable in the semantic representation. It therefore leaves the semantic representation associated with that θ -role still containing a variable. The relevant syntactic structure and its semantic counterpart are illustrated by (10a) and (10b), respectively. The *pro* is represented as the variable z . The resultant semantic representation, shown in (10b), is appropriate for re-association, because it contains a variable and a predicate which corresponds to a kind of semantic role that is usually linked to a θ -role.

(10) a.



b. $\lambda x \lambda y [\text{Possessor } (x, y)] (z) \rightarrow \lambda x [\text{Possessor } (x, z)]$

It turns out that a possessee object in Korean does contain a *pro* associated with its external possessor (cf. Cho 1992, 1993), as it is possible to realise it overtly, as illustrated by the following examples which correspond to those in (1).³

- (11) a. [?]Mary-ka John_i-ul [(ku_i-uy)tali]-ul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Acc he-Gen leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl (Cho 1992: 19)
- b. [?]Nay-ka Yumi_i-lul [(ku_i-uy)paym]-ul ayli-ess-ta
 I-Nom Yumi-Acc he-Gen cheek-Acc hit-Past-Decl
- c. [?]John-i namu_i-lul [(kukek_i-uy) kaci]-lul cal-ass-ta
 John-Nom tree-Acc it-Gen branch-Acc cut-Past-Decl

Like Japanese, Korean is a radical *pro*-drop language. An argument need not be overtly realised, if its content can be recovered from the context, as the examples in (12) demonstrate, where *e* indicates a gap (cf. Lee 1983).

- (12) a. *e* phathi-e ka-ess-ta
 party-to go-Past-Decl
 ‘I/you/he/she/we/they went to a party.’

³ Kitahara (1993) reports similar examples to those in (11) as ungrammatical. D.-I. Cho (1992, 1993) notes however that the acceptability of the example with an overt *pro* improves if the possessor is scrambled away from the *pro*, as (i) shows for (11a), and attributes the effect to Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981). Since some speakers find the examples in question grammatical, including some of my informants, I assume with Cho that the possibility of overtly realising it is subject to idiolectal variation.

(i) John_i-ul Mary-ka [ku_i-uy tali]-ul cha-ss-ta
 John-Acc Mary-Nom he-Gen leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl (Cho 1992: 19)

- b. *e e sa-ess-ta*
 buy-Past-Decl
 ‘I/you/he/she/we/they bought it/them.’

Moreover, a resumptive *pro* strategy of the type in Japanese observed in Chapter 2 is also available in Korean. A topic or a relativised NP can be associated with a position in an island and a *pro* associated with the displaced element can be spelled out, as exemplified below.

(13) *Topicalisation*

John_i-un [_{NP} [_{CP} Ø_j [_{TP} (ku_i-ka) e_j kaluch-n]] haksayng_j-tul]-i motwu
 John-Top he-Nom teach-Rel students-Nom all
 sihem-ey hapkyekhay-ss-ta
 exam-in succeeded-Past-Decl
 Lit.: ‘As for John, all the students (he) taught passed the exam’

(14) *Relativisation*

[_{NP} Ø_i [_{TP} [_{NP} Ø_j [_{TP} (ku_i-ka) e_j kaluchi-n] haksayng_j-tul]-i motwu sihem-ey
 he-Nom teach-Rel students-Nom all exam-in
 hapkyekha-n] John_i
 succeed-Rel John
 Lit.: ‘John, who all the students (he) taught passed the exam.’

(Y.-S. Kang 1986: 225)

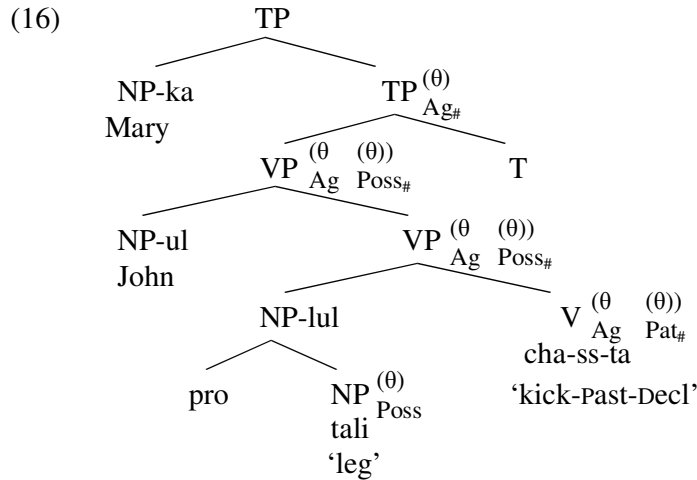
However, crucially, it is not the case that the island conditions do not hold in Korean. As in Japanese, the displaced element cannot be a PP. The point is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the following example, where the topic is a PP and is associated with a position internal to an island. The example serves to illustrate the absence of PP-*pro* in Korean.

- (15) *[_{PP} pwusan-eyse]_j-nun [_{TP} [_{NP} Ø_i [_{TP} e_i t_j o-n] haksayng]-i motwu
 Pwusan-from-Top came-Rel student-Nom all
 sihem-ey hapkyekhay-ss-ta
 exam-in succeeded-Past-Decl
 Lit.: ‘As for from Pusan, all students (from there) passed the exam.’

Thus, it seems that when a possessor of an object appears externally, a *pro* related to the external possessor is indeed present internally to the object, allowing an analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction in terms of re-association, to which I now turn.

2.2 Re-association

The presence of *pro* in the object suggests that the external possessor is licensed by re-association in an identical fashion to an external possessor of a subject. Specifically, the θ -role which is assigned to the NP headed by the object can be dissociated from its semantic representation and be re-associated with the representation, labelled *Possessor*, present in the NP. The re-associated θ -role is subsequently assigned to the external possessor. The example in (1) therefore has a representation like the following.⁴



In the above structure the possessee object *tali-lul* 'leg-Acc' is licensed as an internal argument of the verb in an ordinary fashion: it is assigned an internal θ -role by the verb and it replaces the variable contained in the associated semantic representation, labelled *Pat* (Patient). The external possessor of the object *John-ul*,

⁴ As I briefly noted in the introduction to this chapter, I will argue in connection with the affected reading that the verb's θ -grid is not copied beyond the maximal projection of the verb. Here I will simply assume this and defer discussion of the issue until Section 3.

‘John-Acc’ is base-generated in an adjoined position to VP.⁵ It is licensed syntactically as an internal argument of the verb, since the verb assigns it an internal θ -role. At the same time, however, it is construed as a semantic argument of the object, as the semantic representation associated with the re-associated θ -role is related to the lexical meaning of the object.

In terms of semantics, re-association is an operation that introduces a lambda operator. The variable z in the resultant representation in (10b) can therefore be bound by a newly introduced lambda operator, as shown in (17a). This yields a formula that can be applied to the possessive accusative phrase, as (17b) illustrates.

- (17) a. Re-association: $\lambda x [\text{Possessor}(x, z)] \rightarrow \lambda x \lambda z [\text{Possessor}(x, z)]$
 b. $\lambda x \lambda z [\text{Possessor}(x, z)] (\text{john}) \rightarrow \lambda x [\text{Possessor}(x, \text{john})]$

Since re-association is potentially a recursive operation, the NP headed by *tali* ‘leg’ could be an external possessor of another argument. This explains the possibility of an indefinite number of possessive accusative phrases, as we saw in (4). The proposed account makes further correct predictions. Considering that an external possessor and a possessee both receive an internal θ -role from the verb, they should behave like an object. I will discuss predictions concerning object-hood of the accusative phrases in the next subsection. In the remainder of this subsection, I will consider two predictions related to other properties of the construction.

Firstly, recall that a θ -role may be re-associated only with a semantic representation present in the argument which is assigned the θ -role. The definition of re-association is repeated below from Chapter 1.

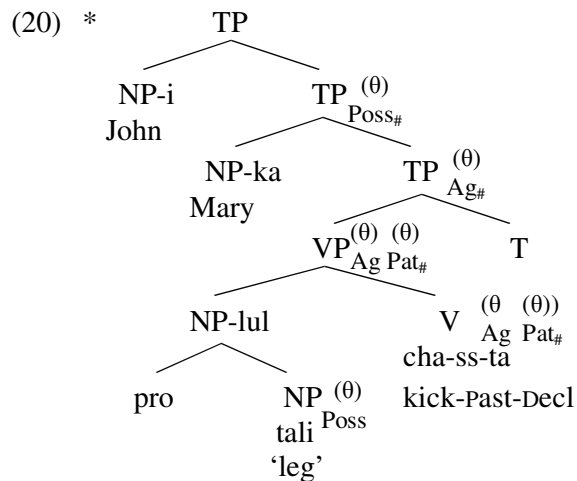
(18) *Re-association*

A θ -role can be re-associated with an appropriate part of the semantic representation of an argument that satisfies the θ -role.

⁵ I assume here without any discussion that a verb can license multiple occurrences of accusative case within its own maximal projection VP, as opposed to licensing each instance of the case in distinct maximal projections. This issue is discussed in Chapter 5, where I will come to the conclusion that the structure in (16) is indeed correct for multiple accusative case licensing.

It should therefore be impossible, for example, for a θ -role assigned to an argument other than the direct object to undergo re-association with a semantic representation present in the direct object. For instance, one prediction is that an external possessor of an object cannot be base-generated in a position above the subject and be licensed as an external argument of the verb. Similarly, it should be impossible to base-generate a possessor of a direct object above an indirect object and license it syntactically as an indirect object. Both of these instances involve re-association of a θ -role with a semantic representation which is not part of the semantic representation of the argument to which the θ -role is assigned. As the ungrammaticality of the examples in (19) shows, this prediction is correct. *John-i* ‘John-Nom’ and *ai-eykey* ‘child-Dat’ are intended to be understood as external possessors of the direct objects *tali-lul* ‘leg-Acc’ and *phal-ul* ‘arm-Acc’, respectively. The structure in (20) demonstrates this illegal instance of re-association for (19a).

- (19) a. **John-i* *Mary-ka* *tali-ul* *cha-ss-ta*
 John-Nom Mary-Nom leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary kicked John’s leg.’
- b. **Mary-nun* *ai-eykey* *uisa-eykey* *phal-ul* *kalikhi-ess-ta*
 Mary-Top child-Dat doctor-Dat arm-Acc show-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary showed the child’s arm to the doctor.’
- [cf. *Mary-nun* *uisa-eykey* *ai-lul* *phal-ul* *kalikhi-ess-ta*]
 Mary-Top doctor-Dat child-Acc arm-Acc show-Past-Decl]



Secondly, re-association makes no reference to the grammatical function of the possessee nor to the case of the constituents involved. The operation should therefore be able to apply to any argument as long as case is available for the external possessor. In particular, it should be possible to license a possessor of an indirect object externally, if an additional instance of dative case is permitted in the language. Since an indirect object is an argument and receives a θ -role from the verb, there appears to be no reason why its θ -role cannot be re-associated with a semantic representation present in that argument. The prediction is borne out. As the following example shows, a possessor of the indirect object, *Yumi* here, can be marked with the dative marker *eykey* and appear externally to the indirect object, *phal-ey* ‘arm-Dat’.⁶

- (21) Nay-ka Yumi-eykey (ecey) phal-ey cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta
 I-Nom Yumi-Dat yesterday arm-Dat shot-Acc give-Past-Decl
 ‘I gave Yumi a shot in the arm.’ (modified from Maling & Kim 1992: 42)

It is also possible in Japanese to license a possessor of an indirect object externally to the argument in the dative, as exemplified below.

- (22) John-ga Mary-ni ude-ni tyuusya-o ut-ta
 John-GA Mary-Dat arm-Dat shot-Acc give-Past
 ‘John gave Mary a shot in the arm.’

In fact, an external possessor should be able to bear any case that the language makes available. The indirect object of some ditransitive verbs in Korean can be realised in dative case as well as accusative case, as shown by (23).

- (23) Nay-ka Yumi-eykey/lul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta
 I-Nom Yumi-Dat/Acc shot-Acc give-Past-Decl
 ‘I gave Yumi a shot.’ (Maling & Kim 1992: 42)

⁶ The dative marker is realised as *eykey* if the referent of the NP it marks is animate and as *ey* if inanimate.

Thus, it is predicted that an external possessor of an indirect object and the indirect object may agree or differ in the case they bear, which is true.⁷ In (21) above and (24a) below, the possessor and the possessee agree in case, while in (24b) and (24c), they are marked with different cases. This demonstrates clearly that re-association is indeed independent of what case the possessee or the external possessor bears.

- (24) a. Nay-ka Yumi-lul phal-ul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta (Acc-Acc, Acc)
 I-Nom Yumi-Acc arm-Acc shot-Acc give-Past-Decl
 b. Nay-ka Yumi-lul phal-ey cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta (Acc-Dat, Acc)
 I-Nom Yumi-Acc arm-Dat shot-Acc give-Past-Decl
 c. Nay-ka Yumi-eykey phal-ul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta (Dat-Acc, Acc)
 I-Nom Yumi-Dat arm-Acc shot-Acc give-Past-Decl
(Maling & Kim 1992: 42)

Let us now turn to predictions related to object-hood of the possessee direct object and its external possessor.

2.3 Object-hood of the external possessor and the possessee

The proposed analysis predicts that both the external possessor and the possessee should display properties related to object, since they are each assigned an internal θ -role by the verb. Here, I discuss six pieces of evidence suggesting that the prediction is correct. Firstly, only nominative or accusative arguments can host a floating quantifier in Korean (cf. Shibatani 1977b, Gerds 1987, Hong 1990). The examples in (25) demonstrate that both an external possessor and a possessee can host a floating quantifier, clearly indicating their syntactic status as an argument (Chun 1986, O'Grady 1991, Yeon 1999). In (25a), the floating quantifier *seys-ul* 'three-

⁷ As in the Japanese stative construction with complex predicates, where the object can appear either with accusative or nominative case, it may be that a different structure is involved depending on which case the indirect object carries. Thus, it may not be entirely accurate to predict that the external possessor and the indirect object may differ in case from the observation in (23). However, the important point is the fact that they can differ in case, as in (24b-c), shows that, where different case is available, the external possessor need not agree in case with its possessee.

Acc' is related to the possessive accusative phrase *haksayng-ul* 'student-Acc', while in (25b), it refers to the possessee *tali-lul* 'leg-Acc'.

- (25) a. Kay-ka haksayng-ul seys-ul tali-lul mul-ess-ta
dog-Nom student-Acc three-Acc leg-Acc bite-Past-Decl
'the dog bit three students on the leg.'
(O'Grady 1991: 71)
- b. John-un kemi-lul tali-lul seys-ul ppop-ass-ta
John-Top spider-Acc leg-Acc 3-Acc pull.out-Past-Decl
'John pulled out three of a spider's legs.'

A second prediction concerns resultatives. Resultatives in Korean, like in many other languages, are object-oriented (cf. Simpson 1983, Kim & Maling 1997, Wechsler & Noh 2001). Both the external possessor and the possessee should thus be able to act as the subject of a resultative predicate. This is indeed true. In (26a), the external possessor *Mary-lul* is interpreted as becoming pretty as a result of having her hair cut, while in (26b), the possessee *tali-lul* 'leg-Acc' rather than any other part of John's body, is understood to have become bruised as a result of Mary's kicking it.

- (26) a. John-un Mary-lul yeppu-key meli-lul kkak-ass-ta
John-Top Mary-Acc pretty-Comp hair-Acc cut-Past-Decl
'John cut Mary's hair pretty.'
- b. Mary-ka John-ul tali-lul mengtul-key cha-ss-ta
Mary-Nom John-Acc leg-Acc bruised kick-Past-Decl
'Mary kicked John's leg until the leg is bruised.'

Thirdly, if the external possessor is licensed as an object of the verb, it should be able to function simultaneously as an external possessor and a thematically selected direct object in a coordinate construction. In other words, it should be possible to coordinate its possessee and the verb with another transitive verb. As the following example shows this is indeed true.

- (27) John-un Mary-lul yeppu-key [meli-lul kkak-(ass)]-ko [iphi-ess-ta]
 John-Top Mary-Acc pretty-Comp hair-Acc cut-Past -and dress-Past-Decl
 'John cut Mary's hair and dressed her and as a result Mary looks pretty'

In the above example, the resultative is inserted in order to ensure that the coordination does not have a structure like the following, where the direct object in the second conjunct is realised as *pro*, referring to the external possessor in the first conjunct. Recall that Korean is a radical *pro*-drop language, allowing such analysis of the sentence.

- (28) John-un [Mary-lul meli-lul kkak-(ass)]-ko [pro iphi-ess-ta]
 John-Top Mary-Acc hair-Acc cut-Past -and dress-Past-Decl

The presence of the resultative *yeppu-key* ‘pretty-Comp’ in (27) allows a reading where Mary becomes pretty as a result of both John’s cutting her hair and his dressing her. This reading ensures that *Mary-lul* is licensed as the direct object of the verb in the second conjunct, *iphi-ess-ta* ‘dress-Past-Decl’. Indeed, this reading is available for the example.

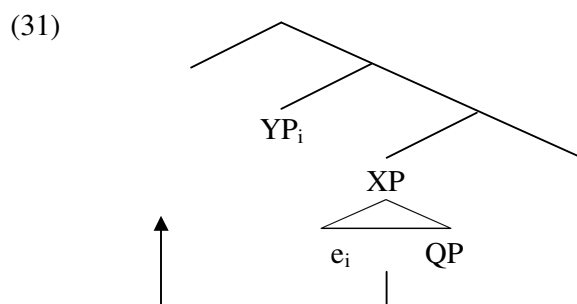
Fourthly, internal arguments are generally thematically selected by the verb. This is because the θ -roles assigned to them are usually associated with semantic representations which are related to the lexical meaning of the verb. The possessee should therefore be thematically selected by the verb. By contrast, the semantic representation associated with the θ -role assigned to an external possessor is not related to the lexical meaning of the verb. Thus, the verb should not thematically select an external possessor. One prediction that follows from such considerations is that the semantic / pragmatic relation between the external possessor and the verb need not be identical to that between the possessee and the verb. As Maling & Kim (1992) observe, this is indeed true. (29a) does not entail that the hen is plucked. Similarly, in (30a), it is the hair that is cut and not Yenghi. That the thematic selection indeed holds only for the possessee is demonstrated by the ungrammatical (b)-examples, in which the possessee argument is omitted. It was noted in Chapter 2 that this characteristic was true of the possessive multiple nominative construction too.

- (29) a. Cheli-nun talk-ul thel-ul ppop-ass-ta
 Cheli-Top chicken-Acc feather-Acc pull.out-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheli pulled out the chicken’s feather.’

- b. *Cheli-nun talk-ul ppop-ass-ta
 Cheli-Top chicken-Acc pull.out-Past-Decl (Maling & Kim 1992: 58)

- (30) a. Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul meli-lul kkak-ass-ta
 Cheli-Top Yenghi-Acc hair-Acc cut-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’s hair.’
 b. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul kkak-ass-ta
 Cheli-Top Yenghi-Acc cut-Past-Decl (modified from J. H.-S. Yoon 2001: 5)

A fifth prediction involves passivisation. It is a typical property of objects that they can be passivised. The present analysis predicts that an external possessor and a possessee show contrasting behaviour with respect to this operation due to independent factors concerning the nature of movement and the constituents involved. Barrs (1986) observes that if a constituent containing a gap moves to a position higher than the antecedent of the gap, the antecedent cannot be interpreted in the gap position for its scopal construal. In other words, in the following structure, YP cannot be interpreted as being in the scope of QP, if XP is fronted (cf. also Boeckx 2001, Sauerland & Elbourne 2002, van de Koot 2004)⁸.



The following pair of examples illustrates this point. *Some young lady* corresponds to YP in the above structure and *every senator* to QP in XP. In (32a), the constituent containing *every senator* is not moved. *Some young lady*, which is moved out of this constituent, can be interpreted in its base position for scope, as it can take

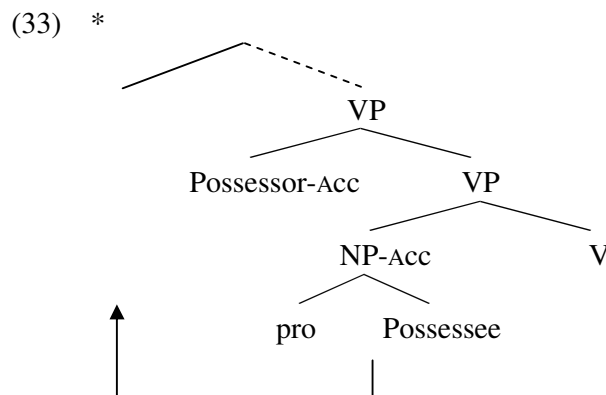
⁸ The authors vary significantly in explaining Barrs’s generalisation. For the purpose of the discussion in the main text, however, it is only necessary that the generalisation is true. I will therefore not examine the proposed analyses here.

narrow scope with respect to the universal quantifier. In (32b), on the other hand, the constituent containing *every senator* is moved to a position higher than *some young lady* and the indefinite can no longer be in the scope of the universal.

- (32) a. [_{YP}Some young lady]_i seems [_{t_i} to be likely
[_{XP} _{t_i} to dance with every senator]]
some > every; every>some
- b. [_{XP}How likely _{t_i} to dance with every senator]_j
does [_{YP} some young lady]_i seem to be _{t_j}?
some > every; *every>some

Sauerland & Elbourne (2002) show that this generalisation is true also for binding of a binomial *each* by a plural antecedent and licensing of Negative Polarity Items.

Returning to the Korean multiple accusative construction, the structure I have proposed in (16) is equivalent to that in (31). A possessee contains a *pro*, a gap, which is related to a position external to the maximal projection that contains it. Thus, if a possessee is passivised, it is not possible to access *pro* in the possessee's base position for the interpretation of the external possessor. Consequently, the information that the possessee's θ -role is assigned to an item which translates as a variable in the semantics is unavailable in the possessee's base-position. The θ -role assigned to the possessee should therefore not be able to undergo re-association with the appropriate semantic representation to provide a θ -role for the external possessor, rendering the derivation to crash, as illustrated below.



On the other hand, no such gap is present in the external possessor and hence its passivisation should be possible. The predictions are borne out. An external possessor can be passivised, as (34a) shows, while a possessee cannot undergo the same operation, as demonstrated by (34b) (Kang 1986, Kim 1989, Yeon 1999).

- (34) a. Mary_i-ka John-hanthey t_i son-ul puthcap-hi-ess-ta
 Mary-Nom John-by hand-Acc catch-pass-Past-Decl
 ‘Mary was caught by the hand by John.’
- b. *son_i-i John-hanthey Mary-lul t_i puthcap-hi-ess-ta
 hand-Nom John-by Mary-Acc catch-pass-Past-Decl
 Lit.: ‘The hand was caught Mary by John.’ (Kang 1986: 102)

In fact, the above observed contrast should not be limited to passivisation, but should also obtain for other movement operations, since the trigger for the movement of the possessee makes no difference for the configuration in (33). As the following examples illustrate, this prediction is correct for topicalisation, relativisation and scrambling. The (a)-examples involve movement of an external possessor, while the ungrammatical (b)-examples illustrate the same movement by a possessee (Kang 1986, Kim 1989, H. J.-S. Yoon 1989, 1990, J.-M. Yoon 1997, Yeon 1999).⁹

(35) *Topicalisation*

- a. Haksayng-un kay-ka tali-lul mul-ess-ta
 student-Top dog-Nom leg-Acc bite-Past-Decl
 ‘The dog bit the student on the leg.’
- b. *tali-un kay-ka haksayng-ul mul-ess-ta
 leg-Top dog-Nom student-Acc bite-Past-Decl (Yeon 1999: 214-15)

⁹ A nominative possessee in Japanese also displays a similar distributional behaviour. It cannot be relativised or scrambled, as (i) and (ii) show, respectively. However, for reasons unknown to me, it may undergo topicalisation, as in (iii).

(i) *[usagi-ga nagai] mimi (ii) *mimi-ga usagi-ga nagai (iii) mimi-wa usagi-ga nagai
 rabbit-GA long ear ear-GA rabbit-GA long ear-Top rabbit-GA long

(36) *Relativisation*

- a. [CP Ø_i [TP Chelswu-ka e_i kaci-lul cal-un] namwu

Chelswu-Nom branch-Acc cut-Comp tree

‘The tree that Chelswu cut the branches of’

- b. *[CP Ø_i [TP Chelswu-ka namwu-lul e_i cal-un] kaci¹⁰

Chelswu-Nom tree-Acc cut-Comp branch

Lit.: ‘The branch that Chelswu cut from the tree.’ (J.-M. Yoon 1997: 246)

(37) *Scrambling*

- a. John_i-ul Mary-ka t_i tali-ul cha-ss-ta

John-Acc Mary-Nom leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl

- b.* tali_i-lul Mary-ka John-ul t_i cha-ss-ta

leg-Acc Mary-Nom John-Acc kick-Past-Decl

(cf. J. H.-S. Yoon 1990: 505)

Some researchers have concluded from these observations that the external possessor is an argument of the verb and that the possessee is not (Kim 1989, O’Grady 1991).¹¹ However, considering that the possessee does behave like an object in being able to host a floating quantifier (cf. (25b)), act as the subject of a resultative predicate (cf. (26b)) and be thematically selected by the verb (cf. (29)-(30)), this conclusion seems unlikely to be correct.

Finally, the presence of a variable within the projection headed by a possessee has the effect that the possessee cannot be referential. This is because part of its reference is determined by an element external to the possessee’s projection. It is

¹⁰ Tomioka & Sim (2005) claim that a similar example to (36b) is grammatical. However, all my informants find relativisation of a possessee ungrammatical in accordance with the general consensus in the literature. I will therefore assume here that it is ungrammatical.

¹¹ The topicalisation and the relativisation data such as (35a) and (36a) are often employed to demonstrate object-hood of the external possessor. However, it is unclear to me why the possibility of relativisation and topicalisation determine argument-hood of a particular constituent. Non-arguments may be relativised and topicalised, as (i) and (ii) show, respectively. (cf. H.-M. Sohn 1994: 68, 192)

(i) [NP [CP Ø_i [TP nay-ka e_i kongpwuhan-un]] tosekwani] (ii) cikum-un motwu-ka pappu-ta
 I-Nom study-comp library now-Top all-Nom busy-Decl
 ‘The library where I study.’ ‘Now, everybody is busy.’

generally not possible for a non-referential expressions to be modified by an appositive adjective (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992 and references cited there). Accordingly, modification of a possessee with an appositive adjective should be disallowed, which is true, as the ungrammaticality of the example in (38a) shows. An external possessor, on the contrary, contains no such variable, hence should be able to tolerate such modification, which is also true, as the example in (38b) illustrates (cf. Y.-J. Kim 1989, J. H.-S. Yoon 1989, 1990, J.-M. Yoon 1997).

- (38) a. *[?] Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul [yeppun elkwul]-ul chi-ess-ta
 Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Acc pretty face-Acc hit-Past-Decl
 ‘Chelswu hit Yenghi’s face, which is pretty.’ (J.-M. Yoon 1997: 246)
- b. Yumi-ka [chakhan Inho]-lul meli-lul ttayli-ess-ta
 Yumi-Nom kind Inno-Acc head-Acc hit-Past
 ‘Yumi hit Inho, who is kind, on the head.’ (Y.-J. Kim 1989: 451)

In sum, re-association allows a uniform account of external possession, regardless of the grammatical function of the possessee. In addition to capturing numerous properties of possessive nominative phrases, which were discussed in Chapter 2, the present analysis captures a number of properties of the external possessor of an object, including its syntactic, but not semantic, status as an internal argument of the verb. The literature offers some alternative approaches to accounting for some of the properties observed in this section. They are discussed and compared with the present analysis in Section 4. In the next section, I will demonstrate that the obligatory affected reading associated with an external possessor of an object and the lack of such reading for an external possessor of a subject follows from the present analysis.

3 Affectedness

3.1 (The absence of) the affected reading

As observed in the introduction to this chapter, the external possessor of an object is interpreted as ‘affected’. I propose that this reading is a consequence of the manner

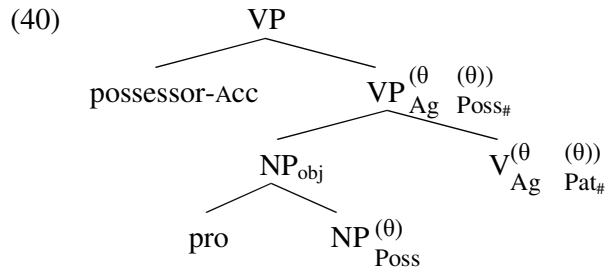
in which language represents information related to participants of the eventuality expressed by the verb. I will first discuss how the affected reading arises for an external possessor of an object and subsequently why no such interpretation obtains for an external possessor of a subject.

Recipients of the θ -roles in a verb's θ -grid are generally considered to correspond to participants in the eventuality expressed by the verb. The semantic representation associated with θ -roles provide instructions as to how they participate in the eventuality. Thus, in the following sentence, *John's dog* and *Mary's hamster* are construed as participants in an eating event, since the verb *eat* has a θ -grid as indicated in (39b), and the θ -roles are assigned to these constituents. They are furthermore interpreted as *Agent* and *Theme* in the eventuality, respectively, as specified by the associated semantic representations. *John* and *Mary* are not understood as participants, because they do not receive a θ -role from the verb.

(39) a. John's dog ate Mary's hamster.

b. eat (θ (θ))
 Ag Th

An external possessor of an object is assigned a re-associated θ -role, which is contained in the verb's θ -grid. (40) represents a relevant part of the structure.



As a consequence, the external possessor must be understood as a participant in the eventuality expressed by the verb. However, in the above structure, the semantic representation linked to the re-associated θ -role does not have its source in the lexical meaning of the verb, but of the possessee argument. It therefore provides no relevant information concerning the possessor's participation in the eventuality. I propose that the affected reading obtains under such a circumstance due to pragmatics. Considering that the external possessor must be part of the eventuality,

in the absence of any specific information, it seems only natural that it is interpreted as somehow involved in the eventuality, and hence ‘affected’ by it. In other words, the external realisation of a possessor of an object is a linguistic representation of the speaker’s view of the world in which the possessor is part of the eventuality expressed by the rest of the sentence.

Whether or how an external possessor can be conceived of as being part of the eventuality varies depending on the speaker’s concept of an eventuality. ‘Affected’ is a vague interpretation related to our knowledge of the world and should not be defined in terms of grammatical, well-defined semantic roles, such as *Affected*, as has been proposed on several occasions (cf. Borer & Grodzinsky 1986, Authier & Reed 1992, Tomioka & Sim 2005). Relevant factors influencing the likelihood of an external possessor’s integration into an eventuality seem to include notions such as inalienability, cognitive contiguity and adversity (cf. Shibatani 1994, Yeon 1999).

The adversity reading generally associated with an external possessor therefore is not inherent in the construction. Nothing in the assumption that the external possessor must be part of the eventuality forces it to be also interpreted as *adversely* affected by the eventuality. Instead, it results from the nature of the eventuality of which the possessor is part and our knowledge of the world. If the eventuality involves kicking one’s leg, pragmatic considerations would dictate that the simplest way in which the possessor of the leg can be conceived of as being part of the eventuality is by being adversely affected by it. I will illustrate in the next subsection that given appropriate lexical items, a ‘positively affected’ reading is possible for an external possessor of an object. Similarly, the inalienable possession relation implied in most instances of the possessive multiple accusative construction is not inherent in the construction. It is a consequence of the fact that the external possessor must be a participant in the eventuality. If someone is part of a *kicking-a-leg* event, and is construed as a possessor of *leg*, it seems most natural to interpret that person as an inalienable possessor of *leg*. I will also show in the next subsection that the observed inalienable possession relation is indeed not absolute, but merely a tendency.

Why then are external possessors of a subject not affected? Since they are also assigned a re-associated θ -role by the verb, it appears that a comparable restriction on the interpretation should hold for these possessors. I propose that the contrast follows from an independent property of language, namely the necessity to distinguish external θ -roles from internal θ -roles.

Since at least Williams (1980), external θ -roles have been distinguished from internal θ -roles in various ways. The distinction is necessary, because external arguments and internal arguments display fundamentally different properties (cf. Marantz 1984, Grimshaw 1990, Kratzer 1996). One such property is that a predicate may license multiple internal arguments, but no more than one external argument. A widely adopted practice is to employ a θ -grid to represent the relevant distinction. It allows the θ -roles of a predicate to be ordered and therefore the external θ -role to be identified in a defined manner, for example, as the θ -role occupying a particular position in the grid. Neeleman & van de Koot (2002) propose an alternative way in which this distinction can be represented in the syntax. They assume a rather different system of establishing syntactic dependencies, including θ -role assignment, from what is conventionally adopted, but the basic idea can be described as follows.¹²

Instead of a θ -grid, Neeleman & van de Koot postulate an ordering tier, which is part of the lexical property of a predicate. By assumption, two θ -roles cannot be distinguished from each other unless at least one of them is linked to a position in the tier. As a result, all but one of the θ -roles of the predicate must each be linked to a distinct position in the tier. The tier also contains categorial features of the predicate. Thus, a ditransitive verb contains information such as the following. The θ -roles linked to the positions indicated as 1 and 2 are the internal θ -roles, while the unlinked θ -role is the external θ -role.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 (41) & & \{\theta \ \theta \ \theta\} \\
 & & \quad | \quad | \\
 \text{ordering tier: } & <+V, -N & \quad 1 \ 2>
 \end{array}$$

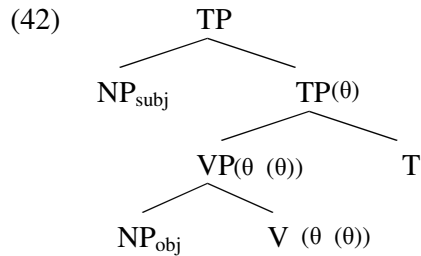
The information in (41) is copied up the tree in a manner that is consistent with economy considerations. Thus, only unassigned θ -roles are targeted by copying. In

¹² Neeleman & van de Koot's (2002) proposal outlined here uses slightly different terminology from their work, so that the main idea can be explained without going too much into the details of their overall system. For instance, they argue that syntactic dependencies such as θ -role assignment, binding, movement, and the licensing of negative polarity items, are viewed as 'functions', which are copied up the tree and are satisfied by an appropriate item under domination. Thus, a θ -role is a function introduced by the verb and is satisfied by an appropriate argument. I refer the reader to the original work for further details.

assigning the internal θ -roles, the ordering tier must also be copied up, as the θ -roles would otherwise not be distinguished. As the ordering tier contains categorial features, copying of the tier to the dominating node equates to categorial projection. In other words, a node that contains the ordering tier in (41) must be either the verb, i.e. V^0 , or a projection of the verb.

Once the internal θ -roles are assigned, however, the ordering tier need not be copied any further, as there is only one unassigned θ -role, the external θ -role. The external θ -role is therefore copied up on its own. This in turn implies that the node to which the external θ -role is copied is not a projection of the verb, but must be a projection of some other head. The authors demonstrate that the proposal has a number of empirical consequences, which I will not discuss here, as they are not directly relevant to the issues at hand.

Translating this Neeleman & van de Koot's idea into the current framework, I argue that a verb's θ -grid is not copied up beyond the verb's maximal projection. An external θ -role is copied up on its own without any information related to the internal organisation of the θ -grid. The point is illustrated below.



Although the external θ -role is no longer part of the verb's θ -grid when it is assigned to the subject, the subject is still interpreted as a participant in the eventuality expressed by the verb. This is because the semantic representation associated with the θ -role is related to the lexical meaning of the verb. It thus gives information as to how the subject participates in the eventuality. In licensing an external possessor of the subject, the external θ -role undergoes re-association with a semantic representation present in the subject. In other words, the semantic representation linked to the re-associated θ -role, which the external possessor of the subject receives, does not provide relevant information concerning its participation in the eventuality. However, the re-associated θ -role is no longer in the verb's θ -grid.

Consequently, the external possessor need not be construed as a participant in the eventuality and hence receive an affected reading.

Thus, the contrast in the interpretation of an external possessor of an object and that of a subject is a consequence of an independent property of language. The approach advocated here has implications for what kinds of interpretations are available for an external possessor, to which I now turn.

3.2 Possible interpretations of an external possessor

The proposed approach to (the absence of) the affected reading of an external possessor makes four predictions, particularly in relation to the range of possible interpretations an external possessor of an object may receive. Firstly, the claim that the adversity reading results from the nature of the eventuality involved and our knowledge of the world predicts that given appropriate lexical items, an external possessor of an object may be positively affected or not be psychologically affected at all. This prediction is borne out. Thus, in (43), Mary is readily understood to be positively affected by the doctor curing her arm, while in (44), since a shovel is an inanimate entity, there is no sense in which it is psychologically affected.

- (43) uisa-ka Mary-lul phal-ul kochi-ess-ta
 doctor-Nom Mary-Acc arm-Acc cure-Past-Decl
 'The doctor cured Mary's arm.'

- (44) Chelswu-ka sap-ul caru-lul cap-ass-ta
 Chelswu-Nom shovel-Acc handle-Acc grab-Past-Decl
 'Chelswu grabbed the handle of the shovel.' (Tomioka & Sim 2005: 279)

Secondly, the present approach predicts that as long as the external possessor can be construed as part of the eventuality, its possession relation with the object need not be inalienable, contrary to what is widely assumed. Indeed, inalienable possession seems to be a strong tendency rather than an absolute requirement. The example in (45) is acceptable as long as Swuni is wearing the dress, thereby being conceived of as being part of the eventuality expressed by the verb. Yeon (1999) notes that the contrast in (46) reflects our knowledge of the world in that it is easier

to perceive Mary being part of a scolding event if her only son is the patient than if her teacher is the patient.

- (45) Cheli-ka Swuni-lul chimacalak-ul pwutcap-ass-ta
 Cheli-Nom Swuni-Acc dress.train-Acc catch-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheli caught the train of the dress that Swuni is wearing.’ (J. H.-S. Yoon 2001: 6)

- (46) John-i Mary-lul ?sensayng-ul / oyatul-ul ttayli-ess-ta
 John-Nom Mary-Acc teacher-Acc / only son-Acc hit-Past-Decl
 ‘John hit Mary’s teacher / only son.’ (Yeon 1999: 225)

On the other hand, no such interpretational restriction obtains for the external possessor of a subject. In (47), Swuni need not be wearing the dress and in (48), the possessee can be *sensayng* ‘teacher’ or *oyatul* ‘only son’, without any effects on the acceptability.

- (47) Swuni-ka chimacalak-i kil-ta
 Swuni-Nom dress.train-Nom long-Decl
 ‘It is Swuni whose train of the dress is long.’

- (48) Mary-ka sensayng-i / oyatul-ka cwuk-ess-ta
 Mary-Nom teacher-Nom / only son-Nom die-Past-Decl
 ‘It is Mary whose teacher / only son died.’

A third prediction is that licensing an external possessor of an object is almost impossible if the predicate is stative. This is because stative sentences describe a relation among participants which holds true during the period of time specified by the context. It is extremely difficult to introduce a new participant into such a situation. The ungrammaticality of the following example illustrates that this is indeed true.

- (49) *Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul elkwul-ul cohaha-n-ta
 Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Acc face-Acc like-Pres-Decl
 ‘Chelswu likes Yenghi’s face.’ (J.-M. Yoon 1997: 250)

Nevertheless, if an external possessor can be construed as being a participant in a stative situation expressed by the sentence, the acceptability improves drastically, as (50) shows. Liking someone's personality is usually synonymous with liking that person. Thus, the possessor of the personality can be readily interpreted as being part of the state in which the speaker likes the particular personality. By contrast, in (49) above, it is difficult to interpret Yenghi being a participant in the state in which Chelswu likes a particular face, which happens to belong to Yenghi.

- (50) Nay-ka Swuni-lul sengkyek-ul coaha-n-ta
 I-Top Swuni-Acc personality-Acc like-Pres-Decl
 'I like Swuni's personality.' (Choo 1994: 129)

Finally, the proposed analysis correctly predicts the well-known observation that the acceptability of an external possessor of an object is subject to great variation among speakers, particularly when the predicate is of 'low impact', such as *see* and *draw*, like the following. Whether the external possessor can be part of an eventuality depends on the speaker's view of the eventuality.

- (51) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul elkul-ul po-ass-ta
 Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Acc face-Acc see-Past-Decl
 'Chelswu saw Yenghi's face.' (J.-M. Yoon 1997: 250)

Importantly, there is a general consensus that if an adverbial is inserted, which makes it easier for the possessor to be construed as being part of the eventuality, the acceptability improves. Thus, the above sentence sounds much more acceptable with the insertion of adverbials such as *ttwulecikey* 'hard', as illustrated below.

- (52) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul elkul-ul ttwulecikey po-ass-ta
 Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Acc face-Acc hard see-Past-Decl
 'Chelswu looked at Yenghi's face hard [enough to make a hole in it].'
 (modified from J.-M. Yoon 1997: 252)

In sum, the affected interpretation for an external possessor of an object arises, because this constituent is assigned an internal θ -role by the verb, but lacks any

specific instruction on its participation in the eventuality. The most natural manner in which a speaker can construe such an argument as being part of an eventuality is if it is affected by the eventuality. The proposed account correctly predicts the pragmatic influence on the possibility of various interpretations of an external possessor of an object. The absence of a comparable reading for an external possessor of a subject is a consequence of the necessity to distinguish external θ -roles from internal θ -roles. The θ -role which is assigned to an external possessor of a subject is not part of the verb's θ -grid and hence it need not be interpreted as part of the eventuality.

Before concluding this chapter, the next section examines several alternative analyses to both licensing an external possessor of an object and to its affected reading.

4 Alternative Analyses

4.1 Alternative approaches to the licensing an accusative external possessor

The literature offers three different approaches to the syntax of the possessive multiple accusative construction in Korean. I will discuss them in turn. Firstly, as in the case of Japanese, there have been attempts to explain the construction in terms of possessor raising, where an accusative possessor originates within the DP headed by the possessee and moves to a position where its accusative Case can be assigned / checked (Kitahara 1993, S. Cho 1998, 2000),¹³ as illustrated below.

(53) [_{VP} possessor_i-Acc [_{VP} [_{DP} t_i possessee] -Acc V]

In contrast to the proposal for the possessive multiple nominative construction, the posited movement is not out of a subject and therefore does not violate the island conditions. However, there are reasons to reject this approach. Most notably, J. H.-S. Yoon (2001) and Tomioka & Sim (2005) observe that certain idiomatic expressions

¹³ The authors differ in the precise position in which accusative Case is assigned / checked. Kitahara (1993) argues that accusative Case on the possessor can be assigned in SpecDP, although it may subsequently move out of DP for reasons other than Case. S. Cho (1998, 2000) proposes that the relevant positions for accusative Case checking are SpecAgrOP and SpecvP for the external possessor and the possessee, respectively.

are possible only when the possessor appears in the accusative. While idiomatic readings are sometimes lost under movement, they are not generally obtained as a result of movement. Moreover, the movement is still from a case position to a case position, which is generally prohibited (D.-I. Cho 1992, 1993). A movement approach appears therefore unlikely to be correct.

A second alternative analysis is in terms of θ -identification in the sense of Higginbotham (1985) (J. H.-S. Yoon 1989, 1990, Maling & Kim 1992, O'Grady 2002). According to Higginbotham (1985), θ -role assignment is achieved by two separate processes: a verb θ -marks an argument and the argument in turn θ -binds the relevant position in the verb's argument structure. Verbs θ -mark only saturated arguments, which contain no unassigned θ -role in its θ -grid. However, a possessee argument contains an unassigned θ -role, because its argument, the possessor, is not realised internally to the projection headed by the possessee. As a consequence, the proponents of this alternative approach claim, a possessee argument is unsaturated and cannot be assigned a θ -role by the verb. Under such a circumstance, the unassigned θ -role in the possessee's θ -grid and that in the verb's θ -grid can be 'identified', with the effect that the recipient of the identified θ -role is interpreted as a semantic argument of both the verb and the possessee.

This approach captures the intuition that the possessee and the verb form some kind of a complex predicate and takes the external possessor as its argument. Since the identified θ -role is assigned by the verb, it follows that the external possessor behaves like an object of the verb and through θ -identification, its semantic relation with the possessee is accounted for. Moreover, unsaturated arguments are non-referential. It is general properties of non-referential elements that they do not tolerate appositive modification and cannot undergo movement operations, explaining some of the properties observed in Section 2.3 (cf. (34)-(38)). However, according to this analysis, an external possessor has the same semantic / pragmatic relation to the verb as the possessee does to the verb.¹⁴ As we saw in (29) and (30), this is not true.

¹⁴ Maling & Kim (1992) propose a complex manner in which the possessor and the possessee are assigned θ -roles in terms of θ -marking, θ -binding and θ -identification. However, the end result still seems to imply that the possessor and the possessee have the same thematic relation to the verb, since they together θ -bind the open position in the verb's θ -grid.

A third alternative also involves a thematic operation, according to which the possessee's θ -role for the external possessor is inherited by the verb's θ -grid (D.-I. Cho 1992, 1993, J.-M. Yoon 1997).¹⁵ J.-M. Yoon implements this idea in terms of Higginbotham's system of θ -role assignment. He assimilates the thematic operation to Function Composition, which is advanced in much work in Categorical Grammar and also in Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) and Williams (1994), in the sense that the verb combines with the possessee and they form a complex predicate which licenses the external possessor as its complement. This approach is very similar to the proposed account in that the verb thematically selects the possessee and the possessor is assigned a θ -role which is linked to the lexical meaning of the possessee.

The selectional restriction by the verb on the possessee argument alone is therefore explained. The observations concerning the impossibility of moving the possessee and modifying it with an appositive adjective are also captured by virtue of its unsaturated status, as in the θ -identification approach above. However, J.-M. Yoon (1997) claims explicitly that a *pro* cannot be present in the possessee, as it would render the possessee referential. However, as we saw in Section 2.1, it is possible to overtly realise a *pro* associated with an external possessor. J.-M. Yoon's claim therefore seems untenable. Moreover, this approach makes some incorrect predictions concerning the general characteristics of the possessor and the possessee. Firstly, it should be possible for a possessee to be an adjunct. Nothing appears to prevent an unassigned θ -role contained in an adjunct to be inherited by the verb's θ -grid. As in Japanese, the prediction is not borne out, as the example in (54) shows.

- (54) *Mary-ka cip-i/ul/ey/eyse cipwung-eyse John-ul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom house-Nom /Acc/Dat/on roof-on John-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 Intended: 'Mary kicked John on the roof of the house.'

A second incorrect prediction is that the external possessor can be a PP, since there is no categorial restriction on the recipient of the θ -role that is inherited. It is difficult to test this prediction if the possessee is an object, since the external

¹⁵ D.-I. Cho's (1992, 1993) analysis is not quite as specific as J.-M. Yoon's (1997) about how an external possessor is assigned a θ -role. The former simply states that a θ -role contained by the possessee is 'compositionally' assigned to the external possessor by the possessee and the verb.

possessor must be construed as ‘affected’. It does not make sense to talk of a PP being ‘affected’, because PPs generally refer to concepts related to space or time. Instead, assuming that the same operation derives an external possessor of a subject, the prediction can be tested with a possessive multiple nominative construction. We saw in Chapter 2, that PPs cannot be licensed as an external possessor of a subject in Japanese. The relevant example is repeated.

- (55) *Tokyo-kara-ga zyosee-ga yoku wara-u
 Tokyo-from-ga woman-ga often laugh-pres
 Lit.: ‘*It is from Tokyo that women often laugh.’

Recall that according to the proposed analysis in terms of re-association, the ungrammaticality of the above example in (55) is a consequence of the general absence of PP-*pro* in Japanese. The presence of *pro* provides the semantic representation appropriate for re-association. Thus, if there is no PP-*pro*, no appropriate semantic representation would be present in the possessee argument and no re-associated θ -role can be created. Thus, it is predicted that a PP cannot be interpreted as a semantic argument of a subject.

We have already observed that in Korean too, there is no *pro* related to PP (cf. Section 2.1). As predicted by the analysis in terms of re-association and contrary to the prediction made by the alternative, it is not possible for an external possessor to be a PP in Korean, as shown below.

- (56) *Barcelona-eyse-ka sanay-ka cwuk-ess-ta
 Barcelona-from-Nom man-Nom die-Past-Decl
 Intended: ‘A man from Barcelona died.’

Finally, the alternative wrongly predicts that more than one semantic argument of the possessee can be licensed externally. This is because nothing in the operation appears to prevent more than one θ -role of the possessee being inherited by the verb’s θ -grid. However, again, it seems impossible to test this prediction with the possessive multiple accusative construction. It is extremely difficult to obtain an example in which two accusative possessive phrases are independently interpreted as possessors of the same possessee argument and as participants in the eventuality

described by the rest of the sentence. On the other hand, the prediction can be tested with a possessive multiple nominative construction, as an external possessor of a subject is not constrained by a comparable restriction on its interpretation. We saw in Chapter 2 that this prediction is not borne out in Japanese. The same observation obtains in Korean. (57a) shows that it is possible to license two semantic arguments of the deverbal noun *phakoy* ‘destruction’ NP-internally. (57b) and (57c) each demonstrate that the two arguments may be realised externally individually. However, as (57d) illustrates, it is not possible to license the two semantic arguments externally to the subject simultaneously.

- (57) a. Roma-in-tul-uy tosi-uy phakoy-ka mwuseu-ess-ta
 Rome-people-Pl-Gen city-Gen destruction-Nom terrible-Past-Decl
 ‘The Roman’s destruction of the city was terrible.’
 b. Roma-in-tul-i tosi-uy phakoy-ka mwuseu-ess-ta
 Rome-people-Pl-Nom city-Gen destruction-Nom terrible-Past-Decl
 c. tosi-ka (*Roma-in-tul-uy) phakoy-ka mwuseu-ess-ta¹⁶
 city-Nom Rome-people-Pl-Gen destruction-Nom terrible-Past-Decl
 d. *Roma-in-tul-i tosi-ka phakoy-ka mwuseu-ess-ta
 Rome-people-Pl-Nom city-Nom destruction-Nom terrible-Past-Decl

In the proposed account, the effect follows from the idea that the θ -role assigned to the possessee argument undergoes re-association with an appropriate semantic representation present in the possessee argument. Consequently, even if a semantic representation related to more than one argument is available for re-association, there is never more than one θ -role available for re-association.

One common feature that all the three alternative analyses share is that the affected interpretation of an external possessor of an object is postulated as a separate constraint on the construction. As we saw above, there are numerous

¹⁶ Unlike Japanese, it is not possible to realise the agent of the deverbal noun NP-internally, if the theme of the same deverbal noun is realised externally. This is perhaps due to the fact that it violates the order in which θ -roles must be assigned: a theme θ -role is usually assigned prior to an agent θ -role, since the latter is more prominent than the former in Grimshaw’s (1990) terms. However, the main point of the example is that it is possible to license the theme argument externally to the projection headed by the deverbal noun.

similarities between an external possessor of a subject and that of an object, inviting a uniform analysis of the two types of possessive phrases. If the two types of possessive phrases are derived by the same thematic operation, it is strange that only one type is subject to a restriction on its interpretation.

4.2 An alternative approach to affectedness

Tomioka & Sim (2005) propose an alternative approach, in which a phonologically null verb, *v*, with the semantic meaning ‘affect’ is posited.¹⁷ This functional head is located above VP containing the possessee and the lexical verb. An external possessor is base-generated in the specifier position of this functional head and receives an affected θ -role from the functional head. VP and vP each represent an event.¹⁸ The event corresponding to VP is a material part of the event represented by vP. Thus, in sentences such as (1), the *kicking-the-leg* event is a material part of the *affecting-John* event. In other words, (1) is interpreted as ‘Mary affected John by kicking the leg.’

This alternative appears to be similar to the proposed approach in that it integrates the external possessor as a participant in the event expressed by the sentence. However, a general problem with this kind of compositional approach is that it predicts that the two events can be modified separately. As the following example illustrates, it is not possible to modify the *affecting* event independently from the *kicking-the-leg* event. The fact that such modification does not result in semantic anomaly is shown by the grammaticality of the English translation.

- (58) *Mary-ka ppalli John-ul seoseohi tali-lul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom quickly John-Acc slowly leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 Intended: ‘Mary quickly annoyed John by slowly kicking his leg.’

¹⁷ Pytkänen (2002) discusses the affectedness and possession interpretation in an external possession construction in Hebrew and offers a similar analysis to Tomioka & Sim’s (2005), in which an external possessor is licensed in a functional projection whose head denotes the meaning ‘source’.

¹⁸ For Tomioka & Sim (2005), the crucial notion is ‘event’ rather than ‘eventuality’ in the sense that states are excluded (Changyong Sim, p.c.). This assumption is problematic, because external possessors of objects are allowed in stative sentences, as we saw in Section 3.2.

Moreover, the semantic content of the functional head seems to be arbitrary. It is unclear why it should be *affected*, rather than, for instance, *seen*, yielding an interpretation in which John was seen by Mary while she was kicking his leg.

In addition, the authors claim that the tendency for the inalienable possession relation is due to pragmatic factors. However, it is unclear how this property follows from the proposal. No *pro* is postulated internal to the possessee's projection. One can conceive of a variety of ways in which an argument can be affected by the event described by the lower VP without the affected argument being an inalienable possessor of the object of the lexical verb. In particular, the proposal would incorrectly predict that examples like the following is grammatical, where John is understood to be affected by Mary kicking Bill's leg.

- (59) *Mary-ka John-ul Bill-uy tali-lul cha-ss-ta
 Mary-Nom John-Acc Bill-Gen leg-Acc kick-Past-Decl
 Intended: 'Mary affected John by kicking Bill's leg.'

Finally, the absence of a comparable reading for an external possessor of a subject is difficult to explain on this approach, as in the other alternative approaches discussed in the previous section. There appears to be no obvious reason why another functional head with the semantic content 'affect' cannot be posited, in whose specifier an external possessor of a subject is base-generated. It seems desirable to be able to derive the affected reading and its absence for relevant types of external possessor from the characteristics of the construction and their interaction with other independent general properties of language.

5 Concluding Remarks

I argued in this chapter that the operation of re-association developed in Chapter 1 and applied to the possessive multiple nominative construction in Japanese in Chapter 2 can be easily carried over to account for the possessive multiple accusative construction in Korean. This uniform account of the two constructions is highly desirable considering the fact that a possessive nominative phrase and a possessive accusative phrase share a number of properties. It was shown that re-association also

accounts for various properties specific to the possessive multiple accusative construction in Korean, including the impossibility of licensing an external possessor bearing a different grammatical function from that of the possessee, object-hood of the external possessor and the possessee and their contrasting behaviour with respect to movement operations and appositive modification.

In Section 3, I proposed that the affected reading associated with the external possessor of an object is a result of licensing the external possessor in terms of re-association. The verb assigns it a re-associated θ -role which is present in the verb's θ -grid and hence it must be interpreted as a participant in the eventuality described by the verb. However, since the semantic representation associated with the re-associated θ -role provides no information regarding its participation in the eventuality, the affected reading arises due to pragmatic considerations. The absence of a comparable interpretation for an external possessor of a subject is attributed to the necessity in grammar to distinguish external θ -roles from internal θ -roles. It was assumed that the verb's θ -grid is not copied up beyond the verb's maximal projection. Consequently, an external possessor of a subject is not assigned a θ -role which is in the verb's θ -grid. It therefore need not be conceived of as being a participant in the eventuality and be interpreted as affected.

Several alternative approaches offered in the literature were also considered and their respective problems pointed out. One unattractive feature which they all share is that it is difficult to explain the contrast in the interpretation between possessive nominative phrases and possessive accusative phrases. Considering the number of striking similarities in their behaviour, it seems desirable that they are uniformly licensed by the same operation syntactically and that the difference in their interpretation is a consequence of the interaction between the operation and other independent properties of language, as proposed here.

So far in this thesis, it has been assumed that projection of multiple specifiers within one particular projection is involved in licensing more than one phrase with identical case-marking, TP for the nominative and VP for the accusative. However, theoretical considerations suggest that case on the various types of nominative and accusative phrases we have examined is not necessarily licensed in the same structural configuration. The nature of the phrase to be licensed plays a crucial role in determining the appropriate structure. The next chapter investigates this issue.