

Chapter 6

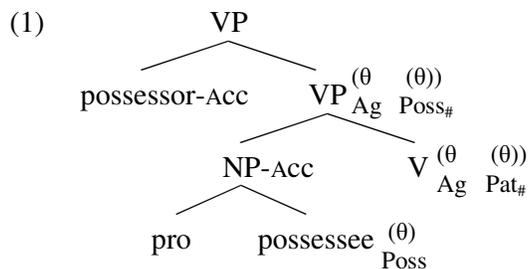
Conclusion

1 Summary

In this thesis I sought to provide a uniform account of the phenomenon of external possession in Japanese and Korean. I argued that a universally available operation called ‘re-association’ allows a semantic argument of another argument to be licensed as a syntactic argument of the verb at the clausal level.

The core of the operation of re-association was developed in Chapter 1. The operation allows a θ -role assigned to an argument to be dissociated from its semantics and be re-associated with a distinct semantic representation present in that argument. A semantic representation is appropriate for re-association, if it contains a variable and in which the predicate corresponds to the kind of semantic role that is usually linked to a θ -role, such as *Agent* and *Patient*. The re-associated θ -role is subsequently assigned by the verb to another constituent at the clausal level. As a result, this constituent is licensed syntactically as an argument of the verb, but is semantically construed as an argument of another argument.

In the case of external possession, I proposed that the possessee argument contains a resumptive *pro* internally to the projection it heads. The possessee can assign a θ -role to the *pro*, but the semantic representation associated with the θ -role, in which the predicate is *Possessor*, will still contain a variable, since *pro* translates as a variable in the semantics. Consequently, a semantic representation appropriate for re-association becomes available in the possessee. The re-associated θ -role is assigned by the verb to the external possessor, which is base-generated as a distinct constituent at the clausal level. This ensures its syntactic status as an argument of the verb and its semantic interpretation as a possessor of another argument. The following structure illustrates the licensing of an external possessor of an object. *Poss* is a label for a semantic representation which is relevant for interpreting the recipient of the associated θ -role as the possessor of the possessee argument.



In Chapter 2, the operation was applied to the possessive multiple nominative construction in Japanese, in which a possessor of a nominative subject is realised in the nominative externally to the projection headed by the subject. In this construction, the θ -role assigned to the verb's external argument undergoes re-association. Thus, the re-associated θ -role assigned to the external possessor is an external θ -role, explaining the widely noted observation that it behaves like a subject. I demonstrated that reference to θ -roles in the operation deriving the construction was crucial in accounting for various restrictions on the nature of the external possessor as well as the possessee.

In the ensuing two chapters, the possessive multiple nominative construction was contrasted in two aspects with different constructions. Chapter 3 examined other types of multiple nominative constructions in Japanese: the adjunct multiple nominative construction and the stative construction. I showed that re-association is not required to license every kind of multiple nominative construction and proposed separate analyses for the two constructions. Moreover, I proposed an interpretational rule concerning focus, which provided a uniform account of the obligatory focus reading of the first *ga*-phrase in all the three types of multiple nominative constructions.

In Chapter 4, the possessive multiple nominative construction was contrasted with an instance of external possession in Korean, in which a possessor of an accusative object appears in the accusative externally to the object. I showed that the construction can also be accounted for straightforwardly in terms of re-association. A θ -role assigned to the accusative object undergoes re-association and a base-generated external possessor is assigned the re-associated θ -role by the verb. The fact that an affected reading obligatorily obtains for an external possessor of an object, but not for that of a subject, was shown to follow from the difference in the grammatical function of the possessee.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I discussed some theoretical implications of licensing multiple phrases bearing identical case-marking. There are *a priori* two possible licensing configurations, one involving multiple specifier positions within one maximal projection, while the other contains multiple copies of the licensing head. I argued that only the multiple specifiers configuration conformed to the Universal Base Hypothesis, but that there was in fact no compelling reason for incorporation of this hypothesis into the theory of grammar. I subsequently concluded that both constructions were required and the nature of the phrase to be licensed determined which configuration is employed. Implications of this approach for the presence of verb movement in Japanese were also discussed.

There are some related issues which may suggest directions for future research. In particular, implications of the claim that re-association is universally available could be elucidated in two respects. Firstly, the typology of external possession, and more precisely the rarity of multiple nominative and accusative constructions among the world's languages as forms of external possession, could perhaps be offered in terms of Case-theory. Secondly, the domain of application of re-association could be explored, since there are other instances which appear to be easily explained in terms of re-association, most notably light verb constructions in Italian. In the remainder of this chapter, I will offer some speculations on these issues in turn.

2 Cross-linguistic Variation in External Possession

I argued in this thesis that the operation of re-association is available universally. If this is indeed the case, why is external possession not attested in every language in the forms attested in Japanese and Korean? I suggest that the phenomenon of external possession itself is universal, but its form is perhaps determined by case properties of each language.¹ Thus, languages which disallow multiple occurrences of nominative and accusative phrases do not license external possessors in the nominative and the accusative.

Initial support for this suggestion comes from the observation that in Japanese, for which, as we saw, re-association is evidently operative, an external possessor of

¹ Yoon (1989, 1990) makes a similar suggestion.

an object is not permitted in the accusative. This is because multiple accusative phrases are independently prohibited by the so-called ‘Double *O* Constraint’ (Harada 1973). However, as we witnessed in Chapters 3 and 4, when case is available, namely when the predicate is stative or when the object appears in the dative, a possessor of the object may be realised externally.

Furthermore, we observed in Chapter 1 that languages such as Hebrew, German and Spanish make available dative Case for the purpose of marking an extra argument, permitting a possessor of an object to appear in the dative. External possession involving direct object seems to be the most attested type (Payne & Barshi 1999). Thus, if a language has an appropriate means to license an additional argument in the clause, external possession seems to be possible.

However, the question still remains regarding the remarkable rarity among the world’s languages of multiple nominative or accusative constructions as forms of external possession. Here, I will make some speculations as to whether the possibility of the constructions can be linked to some other peculiarities of the languages that permit them.

To the best of my knowledge, Korean is the only language that permits both external possessor and the possessee to be marked with accusative case. Korean also has the rare property of allowing both indirect object and direct object of a ditransitive verb to be realised in the accusative. Obviously, the language independently allows two internal arguments to be marked in the same case. Since external possessors behave like arguments of the verb, it is perhaps to be expected that those that are related to accusative objects can be marked in the accusative. Note that this property is different from instances in which a language has a verb that obligatorily selects two internal arguments in accusative case, such as *lehren* ‘teach’ in German, which we observed in Chapter 3 (example (44)). In Korean, the marking of the indirect object with the accusative marker is optional, which suggests that the case is available if required, but need not be assigned / checked.

Multiple nominative constructions are also rarely attested. Besides Japanese and Korean, Modern Standard Arabic and Chickasaw, a Western Muskogean language, exhibit external possession by means of multiple nominative phrases, as the following examples illustrate. Moreover, in these languages, the nominative external possessors exhibit subject-like properties (cf. Doron 1996, Doron &

(4) *Japanese*

kitahankyuu-ga anettai-ga usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
 N.Hemisphere-GA subtropics-GA rabbit-GA ear-GA long-PRES

‘It is the Northern Hemisphere, where rabbits in the subtropics have long ears.’

(5) *Korean*

mwunmeyngkuka-ka namca-ka swumeyng-i kil-ta
 developed country-Nom male-Nom life-span-Nom long-DECL

‘As for developed countries, as for males, their life-span is long.’

(Heycock & Lee 1989: 782)

(6) *Modern Standard Arabic*

xaalid-un_i uxt-u_j-hu_i sadiiq-u-haa_j raʔaa saalim-an
 Khalid-Nom sister-Nom-his friend-Nom-her saw Salim-Acc

‘Khalid, his sister's friend saw Salim.’

(7) *Chickasaw*

Jan-at in-kan-aat im-ofi'-at iyy-aat hishi'-at
 Jan-Nom Dat-friend-Nom Dat-dog-Nom leg-Nom hair-Nom
 ibiitop-at lowa-tok
 end-Nom burn-Perf

‘The ends of the hair on Jan’s friend’s dog’s legs are burnt.’ (Munro 1999: 268)

Secondly, the four languages all have constructions in which a non-subject argument is marked with nominative case. Again, we have already seen this characteristic for Japanese in the stative construction examined in Chapter 3. Korean exhibits a similar construction in which the object appears in the nominative, while the subject can bear the nominative case marker or the dative case marker or both, as shown by the example in (9).³ The Modern Standard Arabic and Chickasaw examples in (10) and (11) show that objects that bear accusative case may be marked with nominative case when fronted. Although fronted nominative objects in Modern

³ In addition, Korean allows adjuncts to be marked with the nominative case marker *ka/i*, as in the Japanese adjunct multiple nominative construction. See Whitman (2000), Schütze (2001) and Yoon (2004) for further discussion.

Standard Arabic have traditionally been analysed as an instance of left-dislocation (Demirdache 1989, Fassi Fehri 1993), there seems to be some evidence that they are licensed clause-internally (Doron & Heycock 1999). For Chickasaw, Munro (1984, 1999) has claimed that fronted nominative objects assume syntactic subject status.

(8) *Japanese*

John-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u.
 John-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
 ‘It is John who understands Japanese.’

(9) *Korean*

haksaeng-til-eyekey/-i/-eykey-ka ton-i philyoha-ta
 student-Pl-Dat /-Nom/-Dat-Nom money-Nom need-Decl
 ‘The students need money.’ (Gerds & Youn 1988: 160)

(10) *Modern Standard Arabic*

a. yuqa:bilu T-Tulla:b-u hind-an
 meet(3M) the-students(M)-Nom Hind(F)-Acc
 ‘The students are meeting Hind.’
 b. hind-un yuqa:bilu-ha T-Tulla:b-u
 Hind(F)-Nom meet(3M)-her the-students(M)-Nom
 (Doron & Heycock 1999: 70)

(11) *Chickasaw*

a. Chihoow-aat ihoo-a im-oktani-tok
 God-Nom woman-Acc Dat-appear-Perf
 ‘God appeared to the woman.’
 b. Ihoo-at Chihoow-aat im-oktani-tok
 woman-Nom God-Nom Dat-appear-Perf (Munro 1999: 263)

A third similarity shared at least by three of the languages is that pronouns need not be spelled out. More precisely, Japanese, Korean and Chickasaw are radical *pro-drop* languages in the sense that pronouns are seldom expressed, regardless of

their grammatical function in the sentence.⁴ This property was demonstrated for Japanese and Korean in Chapters 2 and 4, respectively. Munro (1999) reports that Chickasaw pronouns are also rarely overt. Thus, given an appropriate context, the following example is perfectly grammatical.

(12) *Chickasaw*

Liyohli

chase

‘It/he/she is chasing it/he/she.’

(Munro 1999: 252)

Finally, all the four languages have a distinct, non-fusional, particle for nominative case, which is cross-linguistically extremely uncommon. This is illustrated below by the case-paradigms for the four languages.

(13) *Case paradigms*⁵

	Japanese	Korean	Chickasaw	Modern Standard Arabic
nominative:	-ga	-ka/i	-at	-u
accusative:	-o	-lul/ul	-a	-a
dative:	-ni	-ey/eykey	-ak	--
genitive:	-no	-uy	--	-i

One possible generalisation which emerges from the above observations is that a separate particle for nominative case in a language is a prerequisite for allowing the

⁴ The situation in Modern Standard Arabic is more complicated. Predicates show enriched agreement when arguments are null, which has led some researchers to conclude that Modern Standard Arabic and some dialects of Arabic, such as Moroccan Arabic, are *pro*-drop languages of the Italian type. Fassi Fehri (1993) argues, however, that at least in Modern Standard Arabic, pronouns in fact are incorporated into the verb in such instances rather than realised as null.

⁵ DP-internal possessors in Chickasaw are not marked and the dative case marker has been described as a marker for oblique case in the literature (Munro & Willmond 1994). Modern Standard Arabic lacks a marker for dative case. Prepositions are used to mark arguments in relevant contexts instead (cf. Fassi Fehri 1993).

occurrence of multiple nominative constructions in that language.⁶ If this generalisation is correct, it explains the non-existence of multiple nominative constructions in most of the world's languages, since cross-linguistically, nominative case is rarely expressed by a separate particle. The radical *pro*-drop nature of three of the languages may also be correlated with the fact that cases are expressed by distinct particles in these languages. Neeleman & Szendrői (2004) claim that a language will exhibit radical *pro*-drop if pronominals have an invariant form across all cases and case particles simply attach to them.

3 Extending Re-association

Let us now consider what other types of constructions may be explained in terms of re-association. If re-association is indeed a universally available operation, it is expected that its domain of application would not be limited to external possession. In this section, I suggest that it might be extended to light verb constructions in Italian.

Samek-Lodovici (2003) observes that in Italian light verb constructions, there is a correlation between the number of arguments a deverbal noun has and the choice of the light verb selected. Thus, if a deverbal noun has two thematic arguments, the light verb, *dare*, whose heavy counterpart means 'to give' and licenses three arguments, is chosen, while if the noun has one thematic argument, the light verb, *fare*, whose heavy counterpart has the meaning 'to make' and has two arguments, is selected. The point is illustrated below. In (14a), the deverbal noun, *strizzata* 'squeezing', has two arguments, an agent and a theme, and the light verb *dare* must act as the light verb. On the other hand, in (14b), the deverbal noun *risata* has an

⁶ Heycock & Doron (2003) argue that Hebrew also exhibits a multiple nominative construction, as shown in (i).

(i) im be'emet dani ha-xavera Selo mi-carfat, ex ze Se hu af pa'amlohaya Sam
if really Dani the-girlfriend his from-France how it that he never not was there

'If indeed Dani's girlfriend is from France, how come he was never there?' (Heycock & Doron 2003: 97)
Hebrew does not have a distinct marker for nominative case and therefore appears to be one potential counterexample for the proposed generalisation.

unergative verb as its base, licensing only one argument, and the light verb *fare* must be selected.

- (14) a. I ragazzi hanno dato/*fatto una strizzata ai panni
 the boys have given/made a squeezing to-the clothes
 ‘The boys squeezed the clothes.’
 b. Gianni ha fatto/*dato una risata
 John has made/given a laughing
 ‘John laughed.’ (modified from Samek-Lodovici 2003: 853)

Samek-Lodovici offers an analysis based on thematic operations rather similar to re-association. Briefly, he argues that variables in the argument structure are associated with variables in the lexical conceptual structure (LCS) of the predicate by LCS-links, which are represented as indices on the variables. Thus, a verb like *freeze* has an argument structure and an LCS-representation like the following.

- (15) a. freeze (x_i (y_j))
 b. LCS: CAUSE (W_i , (BECOME (Z_j , ICE)))

Light verb formation involves an operation called *index erasure*, where the indices on the variables in the argument structure are erased, as shown below for the verb *dare*. The resultant structure retains the valency of the predicate, but not the meaning associated with each argument variable.

- (16) *Index erasure*
 a. Before: dare (u_i (v_j (w_k)))
 b. After: dare_{light} (u (v (w)))

The above light verb then combines with a deverbal noun, and by the operation of *index transfer*, the indices of the argument variables in the noun’s argument structure are transferred to the index-less variables in (16b). The process is illustrated below for the example in (14a). Samek-Lodovici claims that nominalization involves suppression of the external argument of the base verb, indicated by angled brackets on the relevant variable, and insertion of an event-referring argument, which acts as

the external argument of the derived nominal. The event index is always transferred to the least prominent argument variable in the light verb's argument structure, which is assigned to the deverbal nominal.

(17) *Index transfer*

- a. Before: $\text{dare}_{\text{light}} \quad (\text{u} \ (\text{v} \ (\text{w}))) \quad + \quad \text{strizzata} \quad (\text{z}_{\text{ev}} \ (\langle \text{x} \rangle_{\text{i}} \ (\text{y}_{\text{j}})))$
 b. After: $\text{dare}_{\text{light}} \quad (\text{u}_{\text{i}} \ (\text{v}_{\text{j}} \ (\text{w}_{\text{ev}}))) \quad + \quad \text{strizzata} \quad (\text{z}_{\text{ev}} \ (\langle \text{x} \rangle_{\text{i}} \ (\text{y}_{\text{j}})))$

A deverbal noun which has only two argument variables such as *risata* 'laughing', one event-referring and one thematic, cannot combine with the light verb *dare*. This is because the light verb's argument structure contains three index-less variables, yet the noun has only two variables, leaving one of the verb's argument variables index-less and hence uninterpretable. Since the light verb retains the argument structure, the observed correlation between the valency of the deverbal noun and the choice of the light verb follows naturally from this analysis.

However, a potential problem arises from the idea that the deverbal noun retains its argument structure and the associated LCS after index-transfer. It is unclear how arguments of the noun can be prevented from being realised twice, once DP-internally, and once as syntactic arguments of the light verb. Such sentence is ungrammatical, as demonstrated below in (18a), where the internal argument of the deverbal noun is realised internally to the projection headed by the noun, as well as externally to the noun. The sentence remains ungrammatical even if one of the arguments is realised as the dative clitic *gli*, avoiding any oddity in repeating the same lexical item, as shown in (18b).

- (18) a. *Gianni ha dato [una strizzata dei panni] ai panni
 John have given a squeezing of-the clothes to-the clothes
 'John squeezed the clothes.'
 b. *Gianni gli ha dato [una strizzata dei panni]
 John to-them have given a squeezing of-the clothes

An alternative analysis of the construction may be offered in terms of re-association, which would retain the attractive part of Samek-Lodovici's analysis, while avoiding the above potential problem. It is well-known that nouns need not

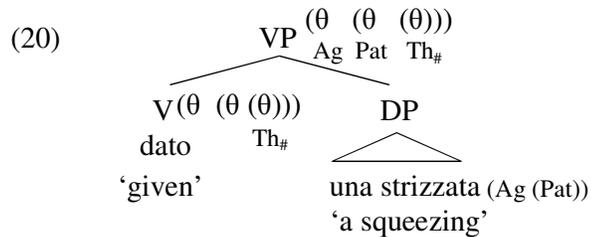
always realise their arguments (Grimshaw 1990). Thus, the following example implies that there is someone or something that washes and something that is washed.

(19) We always leave the washing until we run out of clean clothes.

This observation suggests that the noun's θ -grid need not be present in the syntax, as the arguments are not syntactically realised. However, the noun's lexical conceptual structure must be accessible in the above example, since the referents of the arguments are clearly provided by the context.

Perhaps, another way of providing referents for the arguments is in terms of re-association. In terms of the theory developed in this thesis, when arguments of a noun are not realised DP-internally, the semantic representations corresponding to the arguments each contain a variable. Such representations are appropriate for re-association. Moreover, Samek-Lodovici's index-erasure in light verb formation can be translated into the present framework as dissociation of semantic representations from θ -roles. Considering that languages permit only few verbs to function as light verbs and the choice of the verbs is language-specific, this kind of dissociation must be relatively restricted.

In particular, desired effects with respect to the Italian constructions seem to follow if we assume that all θ -roles but the least prominent in the verb's θ -grid are dissociated from their semantic representations. The least prominent θ -role is then assigned to the deverbal noun, licensing it as an argument of the verb, and the other dissociated θ -roles are re-associated with semantic representations present in the noun. Thus, the example in (14a) might have a derivation like the following. The semantic representation associated with the least prominent θ -role in the resulting θ -grid on VP, labelled *Theme*, is related to the lexical meaning of the verb, while the representations associated with the other two θ -roles, labelled *Agent* and *Patient*, are related to the lexical meaning of the noun.



The potential problem of realising the noun's arguments twice does not arise under the re-association approach. Since the noun's semantic arguments are not linked to θ -roles in the noun's θ -grid, they cannot be realised internally to the noun's projection, accounting for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (18).

There are obviously some repercussions of extending re-association to this type of light verb constructions. One consequence is that the definition of re-association as proposed in Chapter 1, repeated below, must be reformulated.

(21) *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.

In the light verb constructions, the θ -role assigned to the deverbal noun does not undergo re-association. It is the other θ -roles in the same θ -grid that are re-associated with parts of the semantic representation of the noun.⁷ Thus, re-association does not appear to be limited to the θ -role which is assigned to the argument. It can also affect other θ -roles in the θ -grid if they are dissociated.

Finally, some remarks on other kinds of light verb constructions are in order. It is well-known that Japanese and Korean also have light verb constructions. Examples are provided below for Japanese.

- (22) a. John-wa Mary-ni hanasi-o si-ta
 John-Top Mary-to talk-Acc do-Past
 'John talked to Mary.'

⁷ Recall that I am referring to part of the semantic representation that is associated with a θ -role as an independent semantic representation for convenience (cf. Chapter 1 Section 3.2)

- b. John-wa murabito-ni [ookami-ga kuru-to] keekoku-o si-ta
 John-Top villager-to wolf-Nom come-Comp warn-Acc do-Past
 ‘John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.’

(Grimshaw & Mester 1988: 207)

However, it seems that these are of different nature from the Italian type discussed above and that the operation of re-association is not responsible for their formation. Firstly, there exists only one light verb, *suru* and there appears to be no correlation between the valency of the deverbal noun and the possibility of forming the construction. Thus, it is not the case that only nouns with two thematic arguments can combine with *suru*, as is evident from the above examples. (22a) contains the noun *hanasi* ‘talk’, which has two arguments, while in (22b), the noun *keekoku* ‘warn’ has three arguments. It appears that the light verb lacks an argument structure entirely and what may be licensed as its syntactic arguments is determined by the argument structure of the deverbal noun, as has been suggested by Grimshaw & Mester (1988), Saito & Hoshi (2000) and Samek-Lodovici (2003). Consequently, re-association, which makes reference to the argument structure of both the light verb and the deverbal noun, cannot be part of the process of deriving the construction.

4 Concluding Remarks

The aim of this thesis was to provide a uniform account of the syntax of external possession in Japanese and Korean. I argued that the basis of the phenomenon is rooted in θ -theory. The thematic operation called ‘re-association’ enables the external realisation of possessors regardless of the grammatical function of the possessee. The contrast in the interpretation of an external possessor of a subject and that of an object was shown to follow from the interaction of the operation with other independent properties of language. Moreover, I examined further types of multiple nominative constructions in Japanese and demonstrated that such constructions and the phenomenon of external possession are independent of each other, as the former does not necessarily involve re-association.