The Syntax of Case-Marked Possessors in Korean[*]

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1. Possessor Ascension "Effects".

In Korean there are clauses like (1b) and (2b), where the first NOM or ACC nominal is given a semantic interpretation similar to the GEN nominal in (1a) and (2a).

(1) a. Swuni -**uy**   elkwul -i   yeyppu-ta.
     S.   -GEN   face   -NOM   pretty -ind
     'Sooni's face is pretty.'

   b. Swuni -**ka**   elkwul -i   yeyppu-ta.
     S.   -**NOM** face   -NOM   pretty -ind
     'Sooni's face is pretty.'

(2) a. Chelswu -ka   ku namwu-**uy**   kaci   -lul   kkekk -ess -ta.
     C.   -NOM   the tree   -GEN   branch-ACC pick   -pst -ind
     'Chulsoo picked the branches of the tree.'

   b. Chelswu -ka   ku namwu-**lul**   kaci   -lul   kkekk -ess -ta.
     C.   -NOM   the tree   -**ACC** branch-ACC pick   -pst -ind
     'Chulsoo picked the branches of the tree.'

Such sentences have been the subject of much research (see Youn 1989 and references therein). Although no consensus has been reached concerning the structure of the (b) clauses, it is generally agreed that the N(ominative)/ A(ccusative)-marked nominal in (1-2b) has a more privileged status than its GEN-marked counterpart in (1-2a). For example, the NOM nominal appears to be a final subject by a variety of tests. For example, Choi (1988) and Youn (1989) have pointed out that when the first nominal is an honorable person, the honorific form

of NOM -*kkeyse* can be used; only final subjects have this privilege.

(3)   Halmenim -**kkeyse**   nwun -i   etwu -wusi -ta.
      grandmother -NOM (HON)   eye   -NOM   weak -SH   -ind
      'Grandmother's eyes are weak.'

Furthermore, while the GEN-marked nominals in the (a) clauses are thought to form a constituent with the following nominal, this does not appear to be the case for the semantically equivalent nominals in the (b) clauses. The N/A-marked possessor seems to have a life of its own. For example, it does not necessarily appear next to the "head" nominal nor take the same surface case as it, as the passive in (4) and the ECM construction in (5) illustrate:

(4) a. Ipalsa   -ka   Mary-lul   meli -lul   cal -ass -ta.
        hairdresser -NOM   M. -ACC   hair -ACC   cut -pst -ind
        'The hairdresser cut Mary's hair.'

    b. **Mary -ka**   ipalsa   -eyuyhayse meli -lul   cal -li -ess -ta.
        M.   -NOM   hairdresser -by   hair -ACC   cut -pas-pst -ind
        'Mary is cut her hair by the hairdresser.'

(5)   Chelswu -nun   Swuni -**ka/-lul**   elkwul -i
      C.   -TOP   S.   -**NOM/-ACC** face   -NOM
           yeyppu -ta   -ko   sayngkakha -ess -ta.
           pretty -ind   -cmp   think   -pst -ind
      'Chulsoo thought that Sooni's face was pretty.'

It has also been widely noted (see especially Choi 1988 and Youn 1989) that there are semantic restrictions on N/A-marked possessors. The possessor must be in a part-whole or localizing inalienable relation with the head, as seen in the above examples. Other possessive relations, such as social relations, kinship, and ownership do not participate in this construction. For example, an ACC-marked possessor is not allowed in (6).[1]

(6) John-i   Mary -uy/*lul   ilki -lul   il -ess -ta.
    J.   -NOM M.   -GEN/*ACC diary -ACC read-pst -ind
    'John read Mary's diary.'

I loosely refer to this difference as inalienable vs. alienable possession.

Syntactic restrictions on the "host" nominal have also been noted. For example, Youn (1989) points out that the possessive phrase can serve an unaccusative nominal (cf. 1) or an accusative object (cf. 4), but it cannot be an ergative nominal, as (7) and (8) illustrate:

(7) Chelswu -uy/*ka   cwumek-i   chayksang-ul   naylyechi -ess-ta.
    C. -GEN/NOM   fist -NOM   desk   -ACC smash down-pst-ind
    'Chulsoo's fist smashed down on the desk.'

(8) Ku cip   -uy/*i   pyek -i   pwulkil -ul   mak   -ass -ta.
    the house -GEN/NOM wall-NOM flame   -ACC prevent-pst -ind
    'The wall of the house prevented the spread of the flames.'

Oblique nominals, such as the instrument in (9) and the source in (10) also fail as "hosts", according to Youn (1989).

(9) Swuni -ka   cha -uy/*lo   bampa -lo
    S.   -NOM   car -GEN/INSTR bumper -INSTR
         ku namwu-lul   pat -ass -ta.
         the tree   -ACC hit -pst -ind
    'Sooni hit the tree with the bumper of the car.'

(10) Chelswu -ka   Swuni -uy/*eyse   son -eyse   kasi -lul
     C.   -NOM S.   -GEN/*SOUR hand -SOUR thorn -ACC
          ppaynay -ss -ta.
          pull out -pst-ind
     'Chulsoo pulled out the thorn from Sooni's hand.'

In addition, Youn could give no examples in which the relevant phrase was the subject in an unergative clause. This is not surprising, given the semantic condition on N/A-possessors stated above. Since the relevant constructions involve part-

whole and localizing inalienability, the "host" is always inanimate and thus not a good candidate for subject of an unergative predicate. Overall, we can conclude on the basis of this evidence that only unaccusative and accusative structures "host" case-marked possessors.

Given the properties of N/A-possessors discussed above, it is easy to see why researchers in Relational Grammar have analysed these structures as involving possessor ascension. See, for example, the discussion in Choi (1988), Chun (1985), Gerdts (1990, 1991a, 1991b), and Youn (1989). Within Government/Binding theory, Choe (1987), Y.-S. Kang (1986), M.-Y. Kang (1987) and others give a movement analysis paralleling possessor ascension, and Yoon (1989) gives an account allowing ECM-type leaks into the possessive phrase. The common assumption of this literature is that there is an NP consisting of a possessor and a head which underlies the N/A-possessor construction.[2]

This paper explores an alternative analysis based on recent work in Relational Grammar. It takes two key concepts—the multipredicate clause (section 2) and the relational structure of nominals (section 3)—and applies them to N/A-marked possessor constructions (section 4).[3] Under this analysis, inalienable possession is represented as an unaccusative clause: the head is the predicate and the possessor is an unaccusative nominal. In the case of an N/A-marked possessor, this unaccusative structure serves as the first predicate domain of a multipredicate clause. Due to the regular effects of structure sharing, the possessor predictably occurs as the initial object in the second predicate domain. Thus, only certain types of clauses allow N/A-case marked possessors.

2. No-Revaluation Multipredicate Clauses.

The construct **multipredicate clause**, proposed by Davies and Rosen (1988), allows constructions formerly thought to involve clause union to be reformulated as totally monoclausal structures. For example, under their analysis, the French causative in (11a) would be represented as in (11b).

(11) a. Cela fera rire tout le monde.
'That will make everybody laugh.'

b.
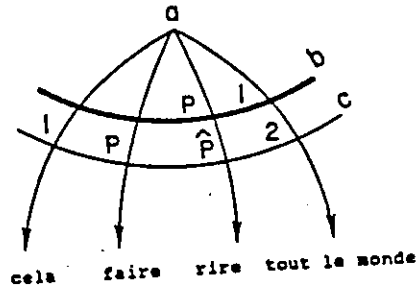
A single node (a) is the tail for all arcs in (11b); thus, by definition, it represents a single clause. However, there are nonetheless two P(redicate)s in (11): the P1 *rire* and the P2 *faire*. I refer to the set of arcs associated with the P1 and the P2 as the first and second predicate domain respectively.

In a multipredicate clause, all of the elements of the first predicate domain are assigned a relation in the second domain by one of two means. First, under **revaluation,** the final 1 **(and only the 1)** in the first predicate domain may be revalued as an initial 2 or 3 of the second domain (as stipulated for each language). Second, **inheritance** stipulates that other elements inherit their relations unless this relation is already assigned to another element in the second domain; in this case they are chômeurs. The causative above exemplifies a case of revaluation. However, multipredicate analyses have been posited for many construction types where **no revaluation** is posited, including desideratives (Gerdts 1988), noun incorporation (Gerdts in prep.), and case-marked duration/frequency adverbs (Gerdts 1991a). Since this paper proposes that N/A-marked possessor constructions are also no-revaluation multipredicate clauses, I first illustrate two examples of this structure from English resultatives and Korean Floated Quantifer+Classifer constructions in the following sections.

2.1 English Resultatives.

In unpublished work, Carol Rosen gives a multipredicate analysis of English resultatives that accommodates data like that in (12).

(12)   a. Accusative: John squashed **the can flat.**

        b. Passive: **The can** was squashed **flat.**

        c. Unaccusative: **The can** squashed **flat.**

        d. Ergative: *__John__ read the book silly.

        e. Unergative: John ran **himself ragged.**

Rosen notes that resultatives can only refer to nominals that are initial 2s in the outer predicate domain, i.e. the 2 in a transitive or unaccusative stratum. Ergative and unergative nominals cannot be referred to by resultatives. In the case of unergatives, a fake reflexive can serve as the 2, thus allowing a resultative, as seen in (12e). Rosen's multipredicate analysis predicts this restriction on resultatives.

    Rosen assigns the resultative phrase (e.g. **the can (is) flat**) an unaccusative structure as in (13):

(13)

       the can   flat
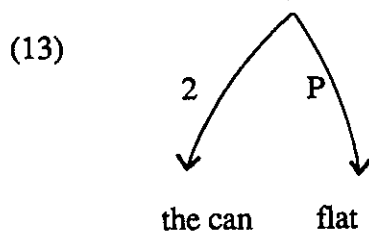
Furthermore, in clauses like (12), the resultative phrase is the first predicate of a multipredicate clause. Since the first domain is unaccusative (i.e. there is no **1**), the structure will involve no revaluation. Hence, the 2 (**the can**) inherits as the initial 2 of the second predicate domain, and the first P is placed en chômage. Thus, resultatives modifying the accusative or unaccusative nominal (see the stratal charts in (14a) and (14b)) are possible; those modifying the ergative (14c) are impossible; and those modifying the unergative nominal are possible since the fake reflexive is assigned the 2 relation (as in (14d)).

(14)   a. Accusative   b. Unaccusative

		2	P
1	P	2	p̂

John squashed the can flat

		2	P
2	P	p̂
1	P	p̂

the can squashed flat

c. Ergative   d. Unergative

		2	P
1	P	2	p̂

*John   read   the book   silly

		2	P
1	P	2	p̂

John   ran   himself   ragged

The structure in (14c) is ruled out because it would require the revaluation of a 2 of the first domain to a 1 of the second domain. Since revaluations of this sort target only 1s, the necessary revaluation is not available in universal grammar.

2.2 Korean Quantifier + Classifier Predication.

A similar analysis can be given to Korean data involving Floated Quantifer+Classifer constructions. As noted by Lee (1989) and Yang (1991), caseless FQCs do not have the same privilege of occurence as other quantifier expressions.The data in (15) from Yang (1991) show that FQCs can refer to initial 2s only; (15c) and (15d), where the FQC refers to an initial 1, are ungrammatical.

(15) a. Accusative:

Chelswu -ka	yenphil-ul	han-kay	sa -ss -ta.
C. -NOM	pencil -ACC	one-CL	buy-pst-ind

'Chulsoo bought a pencil.'

   b. Unaccusative:

Haksayng -i	wuntongcang-eyse	sey -myong	cwuk-ess -ta.
student -NOM	ground -LOC	3 -CL	die -pst -ind

'Three students died on the ground.'

c. Unergative:

*Haksayng-i wuntongcang-eyse sey -myong ttwi -ess -ta.
student -NOM ground -LOC 3 -cl run -pst -ind
'Three students ran on the ground.'

d. Ergative:

*Haksayng -i kyosil -eyse sey -myong yengesihem -ul
student -NOM classroom -LOC 3 -CL Eng. exam -ACC

po -ass -ta.
take -pst -ind
'Three students took English exams in the classroom.'

e. Passive:

Mwun -i yelsoy -lo sey -kay yel -li -ess -ta.
door -NOM this key -with 3 -CL open -pas -pst -ind
'Three doors were opened with this key.'

If we assume that expressions like *yenphilhan-kay* have unaccusative structures (i.e. *yenphil* is a 2 and *han-kay* is the P) and, furthermore, that such structures can be the first predicate domain of a multipredicate clause, the pattern of data in (15) is predicted. As (16) shows, as long as the nominal modified by the FQC is the initial 2 of the second domain, the sentence is grammatical, as in (16a) and (16b).

(16) a. Accusative   b. Unaccusative

		2	P		2			P
1	P	2	$\hat{P}$		2	P	OBL	$\hat{P}$
					1	P	OBL	$\hat{P}$
Chulsoo	bought	pencil	one		students	died	on the ground	three

c. Unergative

2			P
1	P	OBL	$\hat{P}$
*students	ran	on the ground	three

d. Ergative

| 2				P
1	P	2	OBL	$\hat{P}$
*students	took	English exams	in the classroom	three

The structures in (16c) and (16d) are ruled out because they require the revaluation of a 2 to 1.

## 3. The Internal Structure of Possessive Phrases.

For the most part, work within Relational Grammar has made few claims about the status of relations smaller than a phrase. Nominals and predicates have usually been represented in their entirety, giving no detail concerning their sub-constituents. One exception to this generalization is possessors and heads, usually assigned the labels POS and H, albeit without discussion of the status of these presumed relations.

Rosen (1987), however, in her exploration of the relational structure of nominals, posits a structure that makes use of clause-level grammatical relations otherwise available in the theory. She proposes two types of nominals: those that are predicated (for example: "John is a poet.") and those that are both predicated and referential (for example: "A poet lives here."). The former, she claims, are represented as predicates, as in (17a), but the latter are unaccusative structures where the nominal is predicated of itself, as represented in (17b).
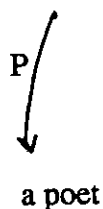
(17)　　a. predicated　　　　b. predicated & referential

P

a poet

P　2

a poet
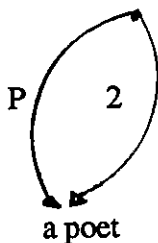
In addition, given that the "head" nominal is a predicate, a possessive nominal can be assigned a term relation (a 1, 2, or 3) within the domain of the predicate. The justification for such a proposal is discussed in Gerdts (in prep.) and Rosen (1987). Here, I adopt the structure for possessives proposed in Gerdts (in prep). Many languages make a distinction between inalienable and alienable possession. In the case of inalienable possession, it can be posited that the head is non-referential, gaining its reference only by association with the larger body of which it is a part. Given this assumption, the "head" would be simply an unaccusative predicate like (17a). The possessor, as the argument of this predicate, would be an unaccusative nominal. In the case of alienable possession, the head is both predicative and referential, and thus would have the structure of a P/2 multiattachment as in (17b). The possessor in this case can be conceived of as the "goal/location" of the head, and thus would be assigned a 3-relation (or, alternatively and irrelevantly, a 1-relation). Thus, inalienable and alienable possession in some languages would be represented as in (18a) and (18b) respectively.

(18)　　a. Inalienable　　　　b. Alienable

2　P

John's　hand

3　P　2

John's　book
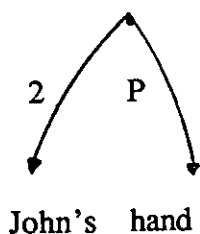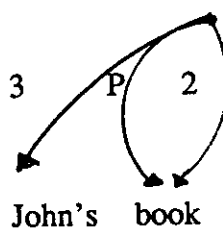
Since both types of possessors surface in the GEN case in Korean, the structures in (18) are somewhat difficult to justify. Many languages, however, show this structure overtly in their agreement or case systems. For example in Choctaw (Charles Ulrich, p.c.), inalienable possessors determine ACC agreement (see (19a)) while alienable possessors determine DAT (see (19b)).

(19) a. sa   -bbak   b. am   -ofi'
          1sACC -hand   1sDAT -dog
          'my hand'   'my dog'

Korean-internal support for the structure in (18b) can be given as well. Note that the general clausal means of expressing possession in Korean is a DAT-subject construction, as in (20a), which would be represented, according to Gerdts and Youn (1988), as in (20b).

(20) a. Sensaynim-eykey   ttal   -i   iss -usi -ta.
          teacher   -DAT   daughter -NOM   have -SH -ind
          'The teacher has a daughter.'

      b.   P   3   2
                P   2   CHO
                P   1   CHO
              have teacher daughter

Crucially, such cases of alienable possession involve an initial stratum in which the possessor heads a 3-arc.

4. N/A-marked Possession as a Multipredicate Clause.

Returning to the topic of N/A possessor constructions, the internal structure for possessive phrases suggested above, together with the the concept that some possessive phrases can serve as the first predicate domain in a multipredicate clause, gives an explanatory account of the Korean phenomena. Take, for example, grammatical sentences like (21) and (22).

(21) Chelswu -ka   ku namwu-**lul**   kaci   -**lul**   kkekk -ess -ta.
      C.   -NOM   the tree   -ACC   branch -ACC   pick   -pst-ind
      'Chulsoo picked the branches of the tree.'

(22) Swuni **-ka**   elkwul -i   yeyppu-ta.
      S.   -NOM   face   -NOM   pretty -ind
      'Sooni's face is pretty.'

Under the multipredicate analysis they would be given the structures in (23a) and (b) respectively.

(23)   a. Accusative   b. Unaccusative

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
 & 2 & P \\
\hline
1 \quad P \quad 2 & & \hat{P} \\
\end{array}
\qquad
\begin{array}{ccc}
2 & P \\
\hline
2 & \hat{P} & P \\
1 & \hat{P} & P \\
\end{array}
$$

Chulsoo   cut   tree   branch   Sooni   face   pretty

Since the "possessive phrase" is inalienable, it has an unaccusative structure, with the "head" as the predicate and the "possessor" as the unaccusative nominal. When this structure is the first predicate domain in the transitive clause (23a) or the unaccusative clause (23b), the 2 inherits in the second predicate domain. In the case of unaccusatives such as (23b) or passives, this nominal subsequently advances to 1. On the other hand, the "head" fails to inherit and thus is a P-Chômeur.

     There are two key points to this analysis. First, as is the case with English resultatives and Korean FQCs, the first domain is unaccusative. A final 2, which cannot be revalued, is the sole argument. Thus, the possessive nominal cannot correspond to the ergative (cf. (7) and (8)) or the unergative nominal of the second domain, since revaluation would be required, as shown in (24), the stratal chart for (7):

(24)

	2	P	
1	P̂	P	2
*Chulsoo	fist	smashed down	desk

Second, it is also clear why N/A-marked possessors cannot be alienable possessors (cf. (*6)). Since alienable possession involves 3-hood (not 2-hood), in order for the possessor to appear in ACC case, it would have to be revalued as a 2. Such revaluations are, of course, not permitted.[4]

(25) Accusative/alienable (6)

		3	P/2
1	P	2	?
*John	read	Mary	diary

5. Conclusion.

To summarize the claims of this paper, inalienable possessive constructions consist of an unaccusative nominal (the possessor) and a predicate (the head). The "head" is only assigned a P relation since it is predicational but not referential (cf., Mirto 1991; Kim 1989, 1990). However, GEN-marked possessors and N/A-marked possessors are different in a crucial respect. GEN-marked possessors are arguments of a nominal bearing some relation to a larger clause. In contrast, N/A-marked possessor constructions are multipredicate clauses whose first domain consists of an inalienable possession construction and whose second domain has an initial stratum in which the possessor inherits its 2 relation and the head is a P-chômeur. Thus, N/A-marked possessors bear relations not only within the nominal but to the "main" predicate as well. It is its final relation to this second predicate that determines the surface case marking of the "possessor". The head gets its case through predicate-nominal agreement with its sole argument (see Kim 1989, 1990).

Due to universal restrictions on revaluation, inheritance is the only possibility for the "possessor". Since N/A-marked possessors can only be initial 2s in the second predicate domain, only accusative or unaccusative nominals can "host" this construction. Ergative, unergative, and oblique nominals do not allow N/A-marked

construction. Ergative, unergative, and oblique nominals do not allow N/A-marked possessors. Furthermore, possessors in alienable constructions bear a 3 rather than a 2-relation in the nominal domain. Since they cannot inherit or be revalued as 2s in the second domain, they can never be N/A-marked possessors. Thus, the multipredicate analysis predicts the correct array of data for Korean.

NOTES

[1]Some confusion has arisen over NOM-marked possessors like those in (i) and (ii):

(i)   Swuni -uy/ka   kangaci-ka   talana   -ss -ta.
         S.   -GEN/NOM puppy -NOM   run away-pst-ind
         'Sooni's puppy ran away.'

(ii)   Chelswu -uy/ka   emeni   -ka   kyohoy-ey tani -si -n   -ta.
        C.   -GEN/NOM mother -NOM church -to   go -SH-pres-ind
        'Chulsoo's mother goes to church.'

The possessors in these examples appear to parallel those in (1) but do not involve inalienable possession of the type defined here. However, as Choi (1988), Youn (1989), and others have shown, these examples differ from the type in (1) in that the "possessor" does not take on subject properties. For example, the possessor in such examples cannot be marked with *kkeyse* (Youn 1989):

(iii)   *Kim sensayngnim-kkeyse   ttal   -i   yeyppu -ta.
        K.   teacher   -NOM (HON) daughter -NOM pretty   -ind
        'Prof. Kim's daughter is pretty.'

[2]Kim (1989 , 1990) is a notable exception to this. She claims that the N/A-marked nominal is not a possessor, but an argument. The case-agreeing "head" is

predicated of the argument. The analysis I adopt below is similar in that it posits a predicate relation for the "head" nominal and case is assigned to this nominal via agreement

[3]See Mirto (1991) for a similar analysis of ACC-marked possessors.

[4]However, as John Whitman has pointed out to me, there is no *a priori* reason for the possessor in an alienable construction not to inherit as a 3. The expected data seem to be impossible in Korean; *Mary* in sentences like (i) has a goal, not a possessive, reading.

(i) John -i   Mary -eykey   ilki -lul   il   -ess -ta.
     J.   -NOM   M.   -DAT   diary -ACC   read -pst -ind
     *'John read Mary's diary.'/
     'John read the diary to Mary.'

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