

To agree or not to agree: what variable case government tells us about possessor raising & predication

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(1) External Possession (Possessor Raising) - Korean

- a. Kangto-ka *Yumi-lul phal-ul* pulettuli-ess-ta. (Maling 2000:345, ex. (1b))
burglar-NOM Yumi-ACC arm-ACC break-Pst-Ind
'The burglar broke Yumi's arm.'
- b. *Yumi-ka phal-i*/*ul pulettuli-eci-ess-ta. (Maling 2000:346, ex. (2b))
Yumi-NOM arm-NOM/*ACC break-Pass-Pst-Ind
'Yumi's arm was broken.'

(2) Multiple Datives in Korean

- a. Nay-ka *Yumi-eykey ima-ey* kissuha-yess-ta. (Young-joo Kim 1989:462)
I-NOM Yumi-DAT forehead-DAT kiss-Pst-Ind
'I kissed Yumi on the forehead'
- b. Nay-ka *Inho-eykey kwi-ey*/*lul pimil-ul soksaki-ess-ta. (Maling & Kim 1992:46)
I-NOM Inho-DAT ear-DAT/*ACC secret-ACC whisper-Pst-Ind
'I whispered the secret into Inho's ear'

(3) Classical Greek: multiple accusatives and multiple datives

- a. Idomeneüs d' ára *Oinómaon* bále *gastéra* *mésse:n* (Maling 2000, ex. (10a))
Idomeneus-NOM Prt Prt Oinomaos-ACC struck stomach-ACC middle-ACC
'Idomeneus struck Oinomaos in the middle of his stomach' (Homer, Iliad 13.50)
- b. *pōs tís toi* próphrōn *épesin* peíthētai (Seiler 1983:49, ex. 104)
how one 2sg.DAT readily words-DAT.PI obey-3sg.SUBJ.MED
'how should one readily obey your words' (Iliad 1.150)

(4) Three possible sources of case-marking on the part-NP (the possessum)

- case via agreement with the Possessor-NP
- semantically-assigned (e.g. locative) case
- case assigned by V, either "structural" case (NOM or ACC) or lexically governed "inherent" case (for Korean: DAT)

(5) CASE AGREEMENT HYPOTHESIS (Young-joo Kim 1990:261)

- Possessor NP and part NP(s) are based-generated as separate constituents
- Part NPs are *adjuncts* rather than subcategorized arguments of V
- the part NP is not assigned Case from the verb, but gets morphological case via *Case-agreement with its possessor NP*
- Case agreement is based on the semantic relationship of inalienable possession which holds between the Possessor and the part NP(s).
- the inalienable-possession relationship may constitute a form of minor/secondary predication, which is a cross-linguistically known licensing condition for Case agreement.

(6) External possession in copular constructions

- a. *Illi* *duae* *fuere* *filiae*. Latin (Blake 1994:150, ex. (57))
that.DAT two.NOM were.3pl daughters.NOM
'He had two daughters'
- b. *Jukalla* *oli* *avaimet*. Finnish (Maling 1993:52, ex. (6a))
Jukka-ADE be-PST.3sg keys-pl.+NOM
'Jukka had/owned [the] keys'
- c. *Cheli-eykey* *ton-i* *iss-ta* Korean (Yoon 2004:265, ex. (1a))
Cheli-DAT money-NOM exist-Ind
'Cheli has a lot of money'

- (7) a. *Je lui* croyais une maîtresse dans chaque port. (Kim 1989:450)
 I him-DAT thought a mistress in each port
 'I thought he had a mistress in every port'
- b. On *le* considère le fils spirituel de Valery.
 one him-ACC considers the son spiritual of Valery
 'He is considered the spiritual son of Valery'
- (8) Descriptive generalization: in Korean, the part NP bears *all and only* the cases assigned by the verb to the relevant argument, i.e. the possessed NP if the possessor is not raised (Maling & Kim 1992; Maling 2000)
- (9) DIRECT CASE HYPOTHESIS (Maling & Kim 1992:39; Maling 2000:348)
- a. the part NP is assigned case by V;
 b. the Possessor NP is assigned case either by V or by INFL depending on its surface position

Object possessor raising and ditransitives have the same case frame

- (10) Passivization turns multiple accusatives into multiple nominatives in Korean

a. Cheli-ka *Mary-lul panci-lul senmul-ul* ha-yess-ta ACTIVE
 Cheli-NOM Mary-ACC ring-ACC gift-ACC do-Pst-Ind
 'Cheli presented Mary with a ring.'

b. *Mary-ka panci-ka senmul-i* toy-ess-ta PASSIVE
 Mary-NOM ring-NOM gift-NOM become-Pst-Ind
 'Mary was presented with a ring.'

- (11) Retained object is accusative in Classical Greek (Maling 2000:349, ex. 9a,b)

a. hoúnek' ára *sphéas oímas* Moús' edidakse
 since indeed them-ACC poems-ACC Muse-NOM taught
 'since indeed the Muse has taught them poems' (Homer, Od. 8.480)

b. didáksomai *lógous* (Euripides, Andromache 739)
 teach-1sg.pass.fut. speeches-ACC
 'I shall be taught speeches'

- (12) External Possession – Classical Greek (Maling 2000:349f, ex. 10a,b)

a. Idomeneús d' ára *Oinómaon bále gastéra mésse:n*
 Idomeneus-NOM Prt Prt Oinomaos-ACC struck stomach-ACC middle-ACC
 'Idomeneus struck Oinomaos in the middle of his stomach' (Homer, Iliad 13.506)

b. blê:to gâr *ô:mon* douri ...
 struck.3sg.pass for shoulder-ACC spear-DAT...
 'for he was struck on the shoulder with a spear' (Homer, Iliad 17.598)

- (13) Ditransitive verbs – Nez Perce (Deal 2011, ex. (7b)) ERG OBJ NOM

'aayato-nm(*agent*) pe-'eny- /0-e **haacwal-a**(*goal*) tamaamin(*theme*)
 woman-ERG 3/3-give-P-REM.PAST boy-OBJ cake.NOM
 'The lady gave the boy cake'

- (14) External Possession – Nez Perce (Deal 2011, ex. (2)) ERG OBJ NOM

haama-pim hi-nees-wewkuny-e'ny- /0-e **ha-haacwal-na** lawtiwaa
 man-ERG 3SUBJ-O.PL-meet-PR-P-REM.PAST PL-**boy**-OBJ friend.NOM
 'The man met the boys' friend'

Summary: The part-NP does *not* necessarily agree with the possessor NP. Nonagreeing case patterns will be found wherever case alternations exist independently of the Possessor Raising construction.

Case alternations in Korean

- (15) Passive of multiple DAT example: part NP does *not* agree with Possessor NP
- a. *Nay-ka Yumi-eykey ima-ey kissu(-lul) ha-yess-ta.* (Young-joo Kim 1989:462)
 I-NOM Yumi-DAT forehead-DAT kiss-(ACC) do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I kissed Yumi on the forehead’
- b. *Yumi-ka ima-ey/*ka/*lul kissu-ka toy-ess-ta.* (Maling & Kim 1992:47, ex. 20b)
 Yumi-NOM forehead-DAT/*NOM/*ACC kiss-NOM become-Pst-Ind
 ‘Yumi got kissed on the forehead’

(16) **Ditransitive verb with variable case on goal (DAT ~ ACC)**

- a. *Nay-ka Yumi-eykey cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* DAT ACC
 I-NOM Yumi-DAT shot-ACC give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I gave Yumi a shot.’ (Maling & Kim 1992:43, ex. (12a))
- b. *Nay-ka Yumi-lul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* ACC ACC
 I-NOM Yumi-ACC shot-ACC give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I gave Yumi a shot.’ (Maling & Kim 1992:43, ex. (12b))

Q: What happens when the goal argument is a possessed NP that undergoes Possessor Raising?

A: If the goal argument can vary in case, then the case on the possessor and part-NP(s) can vary independently. We find all four logically possible case patterns, including non-agreeing patterns.

(17) Object Possessor Raising on Goal argument of ditransitive verb (Maling & Kim 1992:43, ex. (13a-d)).

- a. *Nay-ka Yumi-eykey phal-ey cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* DAT DAT ACC
 I-NOM Yumi-DAT arm-DAT shot-ACC give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I gave Yumi a shot in the arm’
- b. *Nay-ka Yumi-lul phal-ey cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* ACC DAT ACC
- c. *Nay-ka Yumi-lul phal-ul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* ACC ACC ACC
- d. ?*Nay-ka Yumi-eykey phal-ul cwusa-lul noh-ass-ta.* DAT ACC ACC
 [same meaning as (a), differing only in the case frames]

(18) For other ditransitive verbs, the goal can only be Dative (Maling & Kim 1992:46, ex. (18a,b))

- a. *Nay-ka Inho-eykey/*lul pimil-ul soksaki-ess-ta.* DAT ACC
 I-NOM Inho-DAT/*ACC secret-ACC whisper-Pst-Ind
 ‘I whispered a/the secret to Inho’
- b. *Inho-eykey/*ka pimil-i soksaki-eci-ess-ta.* DAT NOM
 Inho-DAT/*NOM secret-NOM whisper-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘The secret was whispered to Inho’

(19) For such verbs, both the Possessor NP and the part NP can only be marked Dative in the active voice

- a. *Nay-ka Inho-eykey kwi-ey/*lul pimil-ul soksaki-ess-ta.* DAT DAT ACC
 I-NOM Inho-DAT ear-DAT/*ACC secret-ACC whisper-Pst-Ind
 ‘I whispered the secret into Inho’s ear’ (Maling & Kim 1992:47, ex. (19a))
- b. *Inho-eykey kwi-ey/*ka/*lul pimil-i soksaki-eci-ess-ta.* DAT DAT NOM
 Inho-DAT ear-DAT/*NOM/*ACC secret-NOM whisper-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘The secret was whispered into Inho’s ear’ (Maling & Kim 1992:47, ex. (19b))
- c. *Inho-ka kwi-ey/*ka/*lul pimil-i soksaki-eci-ess-ta.* NOM DAT NOM
 Inho-NOM ear-DAT/*NOM/*ACC secret-NOM whisper-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘The secret was whispered into Inho’s ear’ (Maling & Kim 1992:47, ex. (19c))

Case Alternations in Korean: Locative Existential verbs

The theme argument of a locative existential verb in Korean is always nominative; the locative argument can be either dative or nominative

(20) *Kongcang-ey/i pul-i na-(a)ss-ta.* DAT NOM (Maling & Kim 1992:41, ex. 6a)
 factory-DAT/NOM fire-NOM break.out-Pst-Ind NOM NOM
 ‘A fire broke out in the factory’

(21) a. *kongcang-ey changko-ey pul-i na-(a)ss-ta.* DAT DAT (Maling & Kim 1992:41, ex. 7a)
 b. *kongcang-i changko-ey pul-i na-(a)ss-ta.* NOM DAT
 c. *kongcang-i changko-ka pul-i na-(a)ss-ta.* NOM NOM
 d.(?)*kongcang-ey changko-ka pul-i na-(a)ss-ta.* DAT NOM
 factory storeroom fire-NOM break.out-Pst-Ind

Implications for subcategorization: the argument status of the Part-NP

(22) Argument Status of the part-NP in External Possessor Construction (Maling 2000:356, ex. (19))

- a. the part-NP is an *adjunct*:
 1. the part-NP is an adverbial NP with locative meaning (Young-Se Kang 1986; O’Grady 1987)
 2. the part-NP is a secondary predicate (Young-joo Kim 1989/1990; Hale 1981)
- b. the part-NP is a verbal *argument* (at least underlyingly):
 1. all Possessor Ascension analyses (in RG terminology, the part-NP is an underlying 2)
 2. within GB, James Yoon 1990; Choe 1987: possessee is the ‘logical subject or object’ (p.101); Deal 2011

(23) The Part-NP in the External Possessor Construction is an *adjunct* (Young-joo Kim 1990)

1. the part NP is optional/nonreferential, hence it must be an adjunct
2. if it is an adjunct, it cannot be theta-marked by V
3. if it is not theta-marked by V, it cannot be Case-marked by V
4. if it is not Case-marked by V, the overt Case-marking must have some other source, namely, Case-agreement with the Possessor NP, which *is* an argument of V

(24) The Part-NP is the subcategorized argument (Maling & Kim 1992; Maling 2000:357)

- a. the part NP does NOT necessarily agree with its Possessor NP
- b. since it does not get case via agreement, it must be assigned Case from some other source
- c. since it does not get a semantically predictable (e.g. locative) case, it must get case from V
- d. since the part NP may be assigned *inherent* Case by V, it must be theta-marked by V
- e. since the part-NP is theta-marked by V, it (and not the Possessor NP) is the subcategorized argument

(25) a. category: NP vs PP *reach* NP ‘reach the station’

b. choice of P *arrive* [at NP] ‘arrive at/*to the station’

come [to NP] ‘come to/*at the station’

c. case: DAT, GEN, or INST

(26) Dative as lexically-governed inherent case in Korean

a. Monotransitive verbs: lexically governed DAT on object
 object of *kissu-ha* ‘kiss’; *malha* ‘talk to’; *kamsa-ha* ‘thank’; *takao* ‘approach’;
wiphyep-ha ‘threaten’ either DAT or (preferably) ACC (cf. *hyeppak-ha* ‘threaten’)

b. Ditransitive verbs:

DAT ACC only: *ponay* ‘send’; *soksaki* ‘whisper’; *pak* ‘stick’; *tenci* ‘throw’; *ssu* ‘write’;
yaksokha ‘promise’, etc.

DAT ACC/ACC ACC: *cwu* ‘give’; *noh* ‘give’; *kaluchi* ‘teach’; *seltukha* ‘persuade’;
sit ‘load’; *ppayat* ‘rob’; *nakkachay* ‘snatch’, etc.

c. complex verbs consisting of V_{stem}+cwu-:

sa-cwu ‘buy’; *chaca-cwu* ‘find’; *poye-cwu* ‘show’; *kaceta-cwu* ‘take to’

kwuwe-cwu ‘bake’ cf. *kwup* DAT ACC only
pulle-cwu ‘sing’ cf. *pulu* DAT ACC only
sokayhay-cwu ‘introduce’ cf. *sokay-ha* DAT ACC only

Selectional Restrictions

- (27) Korean verbs which select for inanimate objects (Maling & Kim 1992:58f)
- a. *Chelswu-ka talk-ul ppop-ass-ta. b. *Chelswu-ka haksayng-tul-ul cal-lass-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM hen-ACC pluck-Pst-Ind Chelswu-NOM student-pl-ACC cut-Pst-Ind
 ‘Chelsoo plucked the hen.’ ‘Chelsoo cut the students’
- (28) a. Chelswo-ka thel-ul ppop-ass-ta. b. Chelswu-ka meli-lul cal-lass-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM feather-ACC pluck-Pst-Ind Chelswu-NOM hair-ACC cut-Pst-Ind
 ‘Chelsoo plucked the feather(s)’ ‘Chelsoo cut the hair’
- (29) a. %Chelswu-ka talk-ul thel-ul ppop-ass-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM hen-ACC feather-ACC pluck-Pst-Ind
 ‘Chelsoo plucked the hen’s feathers’

Predicative NPs in Icelandic

- (30) Predicate NP (Subject/Object Complement) - Icelandic
- a. Þeir kölluðu *hana* *Kiddu*. (Zaenen et al. 1985:121, ex. (38a))
 they called her-ACC Kidda-ACC
 ‘They called her Kidda’
- b. *Hún* var kölluð *Kiddu*. (Zaenen et al. 1985:121, ex. (38b))
 she-NOM was called Kidda-NOM
 ‘She was called Kidda’

(30) Copula as accusative case-assigner (Standard Literary Arabic)

- a. ?ibnuh *ṭaalib-un*. (Benmamoun 2000:43, ex. (23b))
 son.his student-NOM
 ‘His son is a student’
- b. kaana ?ibnuh *ṭaalib-an*/**ṭaalibun*. (Benmamoun 2000:43, ex. (23b))
 was son.his student-ACC/*NOM
 ‘His son was a student’

(31) Predicate AP – case attraction with controller possible

- a. Jón skipaði Haraldi_i [_{CP} að PRO_i vera fljótur/%fljótum] (Maling & Sprouse 1995:174, (12a))
 Jón ordered Harold-DAT to be quick-NOM/%DAT
 ‘Jon ordered Harold to be quick’
- b. Hana_i langar [_{CP} að PRO_i vera(verða) stillt/%stillta] (Maling & Sprouse 1995:174, (12b))
 she-ACC longs to be(become) calm-NOM/%ACC
 ‘She want to be calm’

(32) Predicate NP – case attraction with controller not possible

- a. Jón skipaði Haraldi_i [_{CP} að PRO_i vera dyravörður/*dyraverði] (Maling & Sprouse 1995:174, (13a))
 Jón ordered Harold-DAT to be doorkeeper-NOM/*DAT
 ‘Jon ordered Harold to be a doorkeeper’
- b. Hana_i langar [_{CP} að PRO_i vera(verða) dyravörður/*dyraverði] (Maling & Sprouse 1995:174, (13b))
 she-ACC longs to be(become) doorkeeper-NOM/*ACC
 ‘She wants to be(become) a doorkeeper’

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