

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

Joan Maling, Brandeis University

(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 *Kidda*. (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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maling@brandeis.edu

jmaling@nsf.gov