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1 Phenomenon

External Possession is among the most notable and widely studied phenomena in Korean and Japanese linguistics. There are two major types of external possession constructions in Korean: the *Double Nominative Construction* (DNC), as shown in (1a) and the *Double Accusative Construction* (DAC), as shown in (2a), whose corresponding genitive constructions are given in (1b) and (2b) respectively.¹

- (1) a. *Mary-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta*²
Mary-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
b. *Mary-uy nwun-i yeyppu-ta*
Mary-GEN eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Mary's eyes are pretty.'
- (2) a. *John-i Mary-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta*
John-NOM Mary-ACC eye-ACC grab-PST-DECL
b. *John-i Mary-uy son-ul cap-ass-ta*
John-NOM Mary-GEN eye-ACC grab-PST-DECL
'John grabbed Mary's hand.'

Most researchers, as far as I understand, agree that the possessor, *Mary*, is outside of the phrase that contains the possessee, whether they analyze it as raising or as initial merge. This study aims to decide which approach is better supported empirically, as well as theoretically. This paper concentrates on the double nominative construction, such as (1a). Due to its apparent resemblance with the double accusative construction, however, I will consult with the DAC, where necessary.

2 Derivational versus Non-Derivational Approaches

There are two major lines of approaches to the external possession. The derivational approach analyzes (1a) as a derived structure from (1b) via possessor raising (PR). In the non-derivational approach, on the other hand, the two constructions are not derivationally related, and the external possessor, *Mary*, in (1a) initially merges to a position outside of the possessee. This study is in favor of the derivational approach. This section will point out major problems of the non-derivational approach from an empirical, as well as theoretical point of view; and defend the position of the derivational approach by counter-arguing claims against PR.

2.1 Possessor Raising as Subjacency Violation

Yoon (2007) rejects the derivational approach, since PR violates the *Subjacency Condition*, extracting the possessor from a *Subject Island* (Ross 1967), which typically restricts movements. This motivates him to analyze DNC with the concepts of *Major Subject* (MS) and *Grammatical Subject* (GS), the former being the first occurrence of nominative phrase and the latter being the second, as illustrated below.

¹ Japanese lacks DAC due to so-called Double-*o* Constraint, which prohibits multiple occurrences of accusative nominal phrases under certain conditions. See Harada (1973) for details.

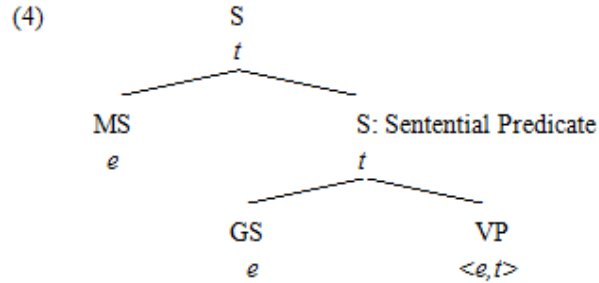
² *Ka* and *i* are allomorphs in the sense that choice between them depends on the phonological environment. When the noun ends with an open syllable, *ka* is used. When the final syllable of the noun has a coda consonant, *i* is used. The question of how the two suffixes with no resemblance have the same function would be beyond the range of the current study.

Editor's Note: This paper, presented at PLC 35, was accidentally omitted from PWPL volume 18.1.

- (3) [_{MS}Mary-ka] [_{SENTENTIAL PRED} [_{GS}nwun-i] yeyppu-ta]]
 Mary-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL

According to Yoon (2007), the grammatical subject and the predicate form a new predicative unit, namely a *Sentential Predicate*, and the major subject is introduced to the construction as what is predicated of the sentential predicate.

In spite of a broad empirical coverage and no potential complication with the subjacency condition, Yoon's analysis has a few problems. First of all, posing a sentential predicate creates a type mismatching in terms of the strict compositionality.



By the usual definition in the type theory, the sentential predicate is of type t , since its value is truth or falsity, and both MS and GS are supposed to be of type e , because they are separate argument NP's, as claimed by Yoon (2007). A mismatch arises when the MS is introduced, since we would want the sentential predicate of type t to take an argument of type e and create an expression of the same type t . This requires type shifting the sentential predicate into $\langle e,t \rangle$, but there is no clear way to do it, because there is no variable within the sentential predicate.

Second of all, Yoon's argument against PR based on the subjacency condition does not seem so strong. There are many cases reported cross-linguistically where possessor extraction has been postulated with significant empirical support.

- (5) a. **Which cars** were [[the hoods of **t**] damaged]?
 b. These were **the Iranian dignitaries** that [[my talking to **t**] was considered unacceptable].
- (6) a. *siitaa-ne socaa [ki [mohan ke saare bacce] kal vah phal khaaege]*
 Sita-ERG thought that Mohan POSS all children tomorrow that fruit eat-FUT-PL
 b. **mohan ke** *siitaa-ne socaa [ki [t saare bacce] kal vah phal khaaege]*
 MohanPOSS Sita-ERG thought that all children tomorrow that fruit eat-FUT-PL
 'Sita thought that all of Mohan's children will eat that fruit tomorrow.'
 (Hindi, Mahajan 2003: 37-38)

In (5a–b), although they are not instances of PR, extraction from the subject does not cause ungrammaticality. The Hindi example in (6b) illustrates a clear case of PR out of the subject. It is hard to deny PR in this case, because the possessor of the embedded subject merges onto the matrix clause, whose predicate does not select an extra argument. In both (5) and (6), the bold-faced elements move across two bounding nodes, which are indicated by square brackets, and it is a subjacency violation by definition. Even though subjacency has been considered a strong condition, it cannot be an absolute criterion, as long as there are such cases as (5) and (6).

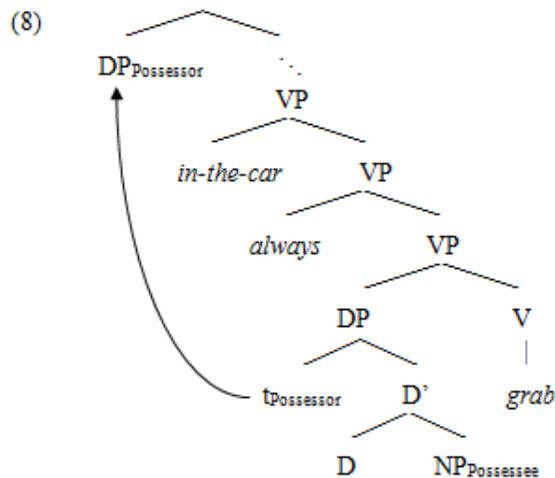
Moreover, it is not clear how Yoon's subjacency argument accommodates double accusative constructions, in which the possessor would neither move out of the subject, nor cross more than one bounding node.

2.2 Non-Constituency

Tomioka and Sim (2005), dealing with the double accusative construction in Korean, claim that non-constituency between the possessor and the possessee provides evidence against the PR analysis. In (7) below, intervention of the locative adjunct and the frequency adverb does not cause ungrammaticality. They state that this fact shows non-constituency between the possessor and the possessee: If they formed a constituent, intervention of other elements would be ruled out.

- (7) *Chelswu-ka Sunhee-lul cha-eyse nul son-ul cap-ass-ta*
 Chelswu-NOM Sunhee-ACC car-in always hand-ACC hold-PST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu always held Sunhee’s hand in the car.’

According to Szabolcsi (1994), however, once the possessor leaves the host DP, it behaves as an independent, though anaphorically related, argument from the host. Based on this observation, underlying constituency would not jeopardize the PR analysis, which also allows intervention between the possessor and the possessee after the movement, as illustrated in (8).



2.3 Semantic Differences

Yeon (2010) favors the non-derivational approach, due to semantic differences between DNC's and their corresponding genitive constructions, which are often used as counter-examples for the derivational approach.

- (9) a. *Yongsu-ka pal-i nelp-ta*
 Yongsu-NOM foot-NOM wide-DECL
 (i) Literal: ‘Yongsu’s feet are wide (big).’
 (ii) Idiomatic: ‘Yongsu has a wide acquaintance.’
 b. *Yongsu-uy pal-i nelp-ta*
 Yongsu-GEN foot-NOM wide-DECL
 (i) Literal: ‘Yongsu’s feet are wide (big).’
 (ii) *Idiomatic: ‘Yongsu has a wide acquaintance.’
- (10) a. *Yenghuy-ka son-i khu-ta*
 Yenghuy-NOM hand-NOM big-DECL
 (i) Literal: ‘Yenghuy’s hands are big.’
 (ii) Idiomatic: ‘Yenghuy is generous.’
 b. *Yenghuy-uy son-i khu-ta*
 Yenghuy-GEN hand-NOM big-DECL
 (i) Literal: ‘Yenghuy’s hands are big.’
 (ii) *Idiomatic: ‘Yenghuy is generous.’

In (9–10), *a* examples have idiomatic readings, while *b* examples can only be interpreted literally. Meaning change is usually considered an A'-property, whereas licensing an external possessor is probably an A-operation, since (nominative) case checking is involved. Due to this seemingly mixed nature of PR, Heycock and Doron (2003) claim that the external possessor is a separate argument which merges to an A-position. However, I find the unavailability of idiomatic reading in the DNC lexical, rather than syntactic.

- (11) a. *Yongsu-ka pal-i acwu nelp-ta*
 Yongsu-NOM foot-NOM very wide-DECL
 (i) Literal: 'Yongsu's feet are very wide (big).'
 (ii) Idiomatic: 'Yongsu has a very wide acquaintance.'
- b. *Yongsu-ka acwu pal-i nelp-ta*
 Yongsu-NOM very foot-NOM wide-DECL
 (i) ??Literal: 'Yongsu's feet are very wide (big).'
 (ii) Idiomatic: 'Yongsu has a very wide acquaintance.'
- (12) a. *Yenghuy-ka son-i acwu khu-ta*
 Yenghuy-NOM hand-NOM very big-DECL
 (i) Literal: 'Yenghuy's hands are very big.'
 (ii) Idiomatic: 'Yenghuy is very generous.'
- b. *Yenghuy-ka acwu son-i khu-ta*
 Yenghuy-NOM very hand-NOM big-DECL
 (i) ??Literal: 'Yenghuy's hands are very big.'
 (ii) Idiomatic: 'Yenghuy is very generous.'

The degree adverb *acwu* 'very' in Korean usually comes right before adjectives. If it is separated from the adjective it modifies, the sentence would be significantly degraded, as in (13). However, (11b) and (12b) with the idiomatic readings are perfectly fine, even though the degree adverb is distant from the adjective.

- (13) a. *Mary-ka ttal-i acwu yeyppu-ta*
 Mary-NOM daughter-NOM very pretty-DECL
 'Mary's daughter is very pretty.'
- b. ??*Mary-ka acwu ttal-i yeyppu-ta*
 Mary-NOM very daughter-NOM pretty-DECL

Idioms pass a few wordhood tests, which supports the idea that they are more like lexical a unit. If an element is a word, a part of it may not be conjoined with another element. The potential idiomatic interpretations are not available in (14).

- (14) a. *Yongsu-ka pal-i nelp-ko khu-ta*
 Yongsu-NOM foot-NOM wide-and big-DECL
 'Yongsu's feet are wide and big.'
- b. *Yenghuy-ka son-i khu-ko ttattusha-ta*
 Yenghuy-NOM hand-NOM big-and warm-DECL
 'Yenghuy's hands are big and warm.'

Idioms may correspond to some sort of complex predicates, although I am not dedicated to such a claim. Whether they are complex predicates or not, it is obvious that (9a) and (10a) are distinct from the DNC of interest in this paper. The argument inspired by the idiomatic usage of the DNC is not strong enough to jeopardize the derivational analysis.

2.4 The Derivational Analysis: Further Advantages

Besides the facts in favor of the derivational approach we found in Sections 2.1–2.3, there a few things that can only be explained by PR. Word order restriction between the possessor and the possessee cannot be formally explained without movement. Since Korean is usually considered a

scrambling language, we could expect the relative order between arguments to be flipped sometimes, unless there is a restriction that blocks it. If the possessor and the possessee are both independent arguments, as claimed in the non-derivational analysis, they should be movable, and the possessee should be able to precede the possessor. This expectation is not borne out.

- (15) a. *Mary-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta* (=1a)
 Mary-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
 ‘Mary’s eyes are pretty.’
 b. **Nwun-i Mary-ka yeyppu-ta*
 eye-NOM Mary-NOM pretty-DECL
- (16) a. *John-i ttal-i kwiyepp-ta*
 John-NOM daughter-NOM cute-DECL
 ‘John’s daughter is cute.’
 b. **Ttal-i John-i kwiyepp-ta*
 daughter-NOM John-NOM cute-DECL

As far as I am concerned, the non-derivational analysis has no systematic way to rule out (15b) and (16b). One could only place a semantic constraint, such that the possessor must precede the possessee, which, I find, is merely a description of the fact. In the derivational analysis, on the other hand, those instances can be ruled out by the *Proper Binding Condition*³, because the scrambled possessor would include the trace of the extracted possessor, as illustrated below.

- (17) a. *[_{CP} [_{DP_i} *nwun-i*] [_{TP} [_{DP_j} *Mary-ka*] *t_i* [_{VP} *t_i yeyppu-ta*]]] (=15b)
 eye-NOM Mary-NOM pretty-DECL
 b. *[_{CP} [_{DP_i} *ttal-i*] [_{TP} [_{DP_j} *John-i*] *t_i* [_{VP} *t_i kwiyepp-ta*]]] (=16b)
 daughter-NOM John-NOM cute-DECL

The possessor and the possessee are different in terms of phrasal status too. The possessors in (15a) and (16a) can be replaced with a *Wh*-word, as in (18a–b) respectively.

- (18) a. *Nwu-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ni?*
 Who-NOM eye-NOM pretty-Q
 ‘Whose eyes are pretty?’
 b. *Nwu-ka ttal-i kwiyepp-ni?*
 Who-NOM daughter-NOM cute-Q
 ‘Whose daughter is cute?’
- (19) a. **Mary-ka eti-ka yeyppu-ni?*⁴
 Mary-NOM where-NOM pretty-Q
 b. **John-i nwu-ka kwiyepp-ni?*
 John-NOM who-NOM cute-Q

When we try to do the same thing to the possessee, however, we get ill-formed sentences, as in (19). If the non-derivational approach is on the right track, and both the possessor and the possessee are independent arguments, (19a–b) should be fine too. In the derivational approach, we could rule them out, because the possessee phrases have a trace of the possessor and the extracted possessor is realized in the sentence.

3 Licensing Condition

As observed by many researchers (Ura 1996, Yoon 2007 among others), possessor raising is not always possible to form a double nominative construction. This section is intended to find out

³ Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977): A trace must be c-commanded by its antecedent.

⁴ (19a) can be interpreted idiomatically, such that the speaker does not understand why the hearer considers Mary pretty, and the sentence is fine with this reading. However, I put idiomatic DNC’s aside for the reason stated in Section 2.3.

what property makes a possessor able to raise.

3.1 Previous Account

Double nominative and double accusative constructions have been traditionally characterized as *inalienable possession*. Many recent studies, such as Ura 1996, keep describing the pattern with this concept. Contrast between alienable and inalienable possession appears to filter out some bad cases. Examples in (20) show alienable possession relations, and the sentences are out.

- (20) a. **Mary-ka chinkwu-ka yeyppu-ta*
 Mary-NOM friend-NOM pretty-DECL
 Intended Reading: ‘Mary’s friend is pretty.’
 b. **Mary-ka sinpal-i yeyppu-ta*
 Mary-NOM shoe-NOM pretty-DECL
 Intended Reading: ‘Mary’s shoes are pretty.’

However, there are ill-formed examples, even though the possessor and the possessee are in inalienable relationship. Although (16b) from Section 2.4 and (21b) below include the same relationship, the latter is out for some reason, which is obviously not the inalienability restriction.⁵

- (21) a. *John-uy ttal-i sophwung-ul ka-ss-ta*
 John-GEN daughter-NOM picnic-ACC go-PST-DECL
 ‘John’s daughter went on a picnic.’
 b. **John-i ttal-i sophwung-ul ka-ss-ta*
 John-NOM daughter-NOM picnic-ACC go-PST-DECL

There are also cases, where PR is licensed in spite of apparently alienable relationships, as shown (22–23).

- (22) a. *Mary-uy chalimsay-ka swuswuha-ta*
 Mary-GEN outfit-NOM unpretentious-DECL
 b. *Mary-ka chalimsay-ka swuswuha-ta* (DNC)
 Mary-NOM outfit-NOM unpretentious-DECL
 (Lit.) ‘Mary is dressed unpretentiously.’
 (23) a. *John-i Mary-uy oscalak-ul cap-ass-ta*
 John-NOM Mary-GEN sleeve-ACC grab-PST-DECL
 b. *John-i Mary-lul oscalak-ul cap-ass-ta* (DAC)
 John-NOM Mary-ACC sleeve-ACC grab-PST-DECL
 ‘John grabbed Mary’s sleeve.’

Examples in (21–23) clearly show that inalienable possession is not the correct condition that licenses double nominative constructions, as well as double accusative constructions.

3.2 Predicate Type

Looking at the contrast between (16b) and (21b), repeated in (24), one might think it is different types of predicates that make the contrast.

- (24) a. *John-i ttal-i kwiyepp-ta*
 John-NOM daughter-NOM cute-DECL
 ‘John’s daughter is cute.’
 b. **John-i ttal-i sophwung-ul ka-ss-ta*
 John-NOM daughter-NOM picnic-ACC go-PST-DECL
 Intended Reading: ‘John’s daughter went on a picnic.’

⁵ I include kinship relations in the inalienable possession.

(24a) includes an Individual-level predicate, while (24b) has a Stage-level predicate (Kratzer 1995). This hypothesis, however, is easily nullified, comparing (1a) and (20a–b). All these examples include the same predicate ‘pretty’, but only (1a) is grammatical.

3.3 Gnomicity

If it is neither the possessor-possessee relationship nor selection of predicate, what else could be the true licensing condition for DNC? The following examples provide an interesting clue.

- (25) a. *Mary-uy ttal-i kongbwu-lul ha-n-ta*
 Mary-GEN daughter-NOM study-ACC do-PRS-DECL
 (i) ‘Mary’s daughter is studying (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘She is a graduate student.’
 b. *Mary-ka ttal-i kongbwu-lul ha-n-ta*
 Mary-NOM daughter-NOM study-ACC do-PRS-DECL
 (i) *‘Mary’s daughter is studying (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘She is a graduate student.’
- (26) a. *Mary-uy atul-i chwukku-lul ha-n-ta*
 Mary-GEN son-NOM soccer-ACC do-PRS-DECL
 (i) ‘Mary’s son is playing soccer (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘She is a (professional) soccer player.’
 b. *Mary-ka atul-i chwukku-lul ha-n-ta*
 Mary-NOM son-NOM soccer-ACC do-PRS-DECL
 (i) *‘Mary’s son is playing soccer (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘She is a (professional) soccer player.’
- (27) a. *Mary-uy atul-i (chinkwu-tul-eykey) mac-nun-ta*
 Mary-GEN son-NOM friend-PL-DAT be.beaten-PRS-DECL
 (i) ‘Mary’s son is getting beaten by his friends (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘Mary’s son gets left out in school and (frequently) beaten by his friends.’
 b. *Mary-ka atul-i (chinkwu-tul-eykey) mac-nun-ta*
 Mary-NOM son-NOM friend-PL-DAT be.beaten-PRS-DECL
 (i) *‘Mary’s son is getting beaten by his friends (now).’
 (ii) (lit.) ‘Mary’s son gets left out in school and (frequently) beaten by his friends.’

In (25–27), *a* examples can be interpreted either (i) episodically or (ii) generically, whereas *b* examples only have the generic readings. We can now go back to the previous examples and check with them. In (1a), ‘pretty’ refers to Mary’s personal property, which, according to Chierchia (1995), gives rise to inherent generics. The same applies to ‘cute’ in (24a), while we can hardly imagine ‘going on a picnic’ in (24b) become a characteristic of a person.

Based on the pattern stated above, I argue that *gnomic* aspect of the clause licenses double nominative constructions. Carlson (1982) treats habitual sentences equivalently to generic sentences under the notion of gnomicity. According to Carlson (1982), our conceptual world consists of the world of space-time and the organization of the world. Based on this definition, *episodics* is about the space-time world, *gnomics* is about the organization of it, and *individuals* are viewed as integral parts of the organization. The DNC is licensed for facts about this integral entity.

4 Case Checking

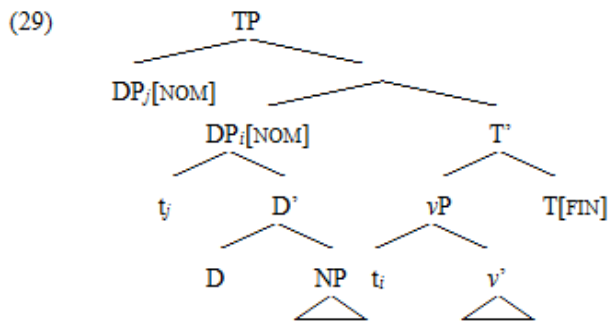
Now we need to figure out how two nominative cases are checked within a single clause. Double nominative constructions are often analyzed as a multi-clausal structure, but I refuse such claims for a similar reason I refused the sentential predicate analysis in Section 2.1, and restrict the discussion to monoclausal analyses. There are two hypothetical ways to check double nominatives: We could have one case assigner, most likely T, checks more than one case, or we could posit two case assigners, one per each.

4.1 Multiple Case Checking

Ura (1996) proposes a multiple feature checking analysis for licensing double nominative constructions in Japanese. He extends Chomsky's (1995) general idea that nominative case is checked by finite T, and claims that both nominative cases in DNC are checked by finite T. Presumably, the whole DP (possessor-possessee) receives nominative case from the finite T in the inner spec of T position in the usual manner, and the raised possessor DP gets its nominative case in the outer spec of T, also from the finite T. Nominative case checking on the possessor is an optional operation, which violates *Procrastinate*. In order to avoid ruling out this optional operation, he suggests the following condition.

- (28) Violability of Procrastinate (Ura 1996)
 : When a head H tolerates an unforced violation of Procrastinate, H has a formal feature such that it is not required, but allowed to be checked off before SPELL-OUT.

According to Ura (1996), when a language has parameter setting such that a head H tolerates a single unforced violation of Procrastinate, another element E 'may' be attracted to an outer spec of H, after H's innermost spec is filled with the element that entered into the first checking relation with H. In the derivation (29), when T probes down for agreement, DP_i is always the closest potential goal. However, in the second round of nominative feature checking, T probes further down to DP_j , because DP_i 's case feature is already checked off.



I have one theoretical and one empirical questions. First of all, what licenses multiple specs? Does T have two separate EPP features or some kind of multi-valued EPP feature? As far as I understand his analysis, T in Japanese simply 'tolerates' multiple nominative feature checking. It does not have to enter into multiple checking relations. The bottom line is that T in the DNC and T in the corresponding genitive construction do not have different feature specifications, which means that PR is obviously not motivated.

Second, the empirical issue is related to the fact that the raised possessor and the possessee can be separated by another phrase, as in (30).

- (30) *Mary-ka cengmal nwun-i yeypu-ta*
 Mary-NOM actually eye-NOM pretty-DECL
 'Mary's eyes are actually pretty.'

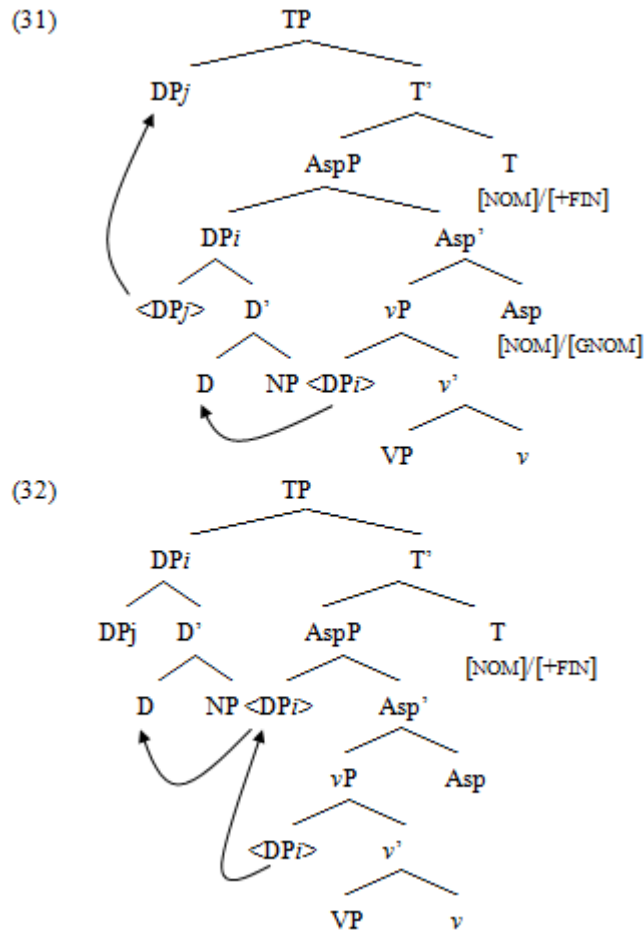
There are two options for adverbial placement in this structure: to adjoin it to a maximal projection or to locate it in the spec of a functional projection. However, neither option is possible here, if we assume that the two nominative cases are multiply checked by a single head, where both are in the spec of the same projection. Therefore, I argue that we need two separate projections to check two nominative cases in the DNC.

4.2 Another Nominative Case Assigner

In modern generative syntactic theory, it is widely assumed that finite T head is the nominative

case-assigner. However, in quirky subject constructions in several languages, objects are assigned nominative case. Alexiadou (2003) suggests another potential nominative case assigner, introducing instances of nominative object in Greek. In normal cases, T with [+finite] feature, assigns nominative case to the moved NP to its specifier position. When a certain feature [α F]⁶ is introduced on Asp, however, it becomes the nominative case assigner. This gives rise to so-called *Quirky Subject Constructions* in many languages (Icelandic, Lithuanian, etc.).

The question is what kind of feature enables Asp to check nominative case in the DNC? In the previous section, we observed that DNC is only possible in gnomic contexts. I propose an aspectual feature [GNOM] on Asp. [GNOM] has unary feature specification. Its presence licenses DNC, enabling Asp to be an extra nominative case assigner in Korean, as in (31). When it is absent, the genitive counterpart is realized as in (32).



In both derivations (31) and (32), all the movements, spec-vP to spec-AspP and spec-AspP to spec-TP, are triggered by EPP on T, which is activated, when agreement happens. Asp checks off the uninterpretable nominative case feature on DP_i , the closest potential goal. When T probes down for agreement, case feature on DP_i has already been checked off. So, it probes further down to DP_j , the next closest one.

⁶ Alexiadou (2003) proposes [-person] feature, since only third person nominals are allowed for nominative objects in Greek

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper investigated *Double Nominative Constructions* in Korean, focusing on instances that include external possession. The current analysis is in favor of the derivational approach, in which the possessor and the possessee in the DNC are originally a constituent, and the DNC is formed via possessor raising. In Section 2, I provided evidence that shows that the derivational approach is more reasonable way to analyze DNC's. The suggested analysis does not induce complications in terms of compositionality, and provides a better account for word order restriction in the DNC. Due to the fact that possessor raising is only valid in gnomic environments, I suggested that an aspectual feature [GNOMIC] is the true licenser of the double nominative construction.

I did not give a complete explanation for external possession in double accusative constructions and other types of double nominative constructions with no possessor raising included. I will leave these issues for my future investigation.

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