

THE DERIVATIONAL NATURE OF EXTERNAL POSSESSION

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Possessor Raising has been observed and discussed in many languages; i.e. Hungarian, Hebrew, Japanese, etc. Raised possessors are often differently case-marked from ones in-situ. In Korean, a raised possessor is identically marked with its host as in (1b), which I call the **Double Nominative Construction**. This raises the question whether (1a) and (1b) are derivationally related. However, in Hindi, although the raised possessor keeps the original marking as in (2), the general movement approach to PR is supported.

The PR approach encounters movement-related issues, some of which are used as counterexamples to PR. Yoon (2007) proposes a non-PR analysis of the DNC, pointing out PR in (1b) violates the subjacency condition, moving out of a ‘subject island’. However, there are cases reported, where apparent subjacency violations do not count as ill-formed, as in (2). In more recent theory, it is possible to extract things out of a *Phase* through the ‘edge’. Non-PR analyses do not seem to give a formal explanation for the ordering restriction in (3), whereas the PR analysis rules out (3b), since the trace is not properly bound.

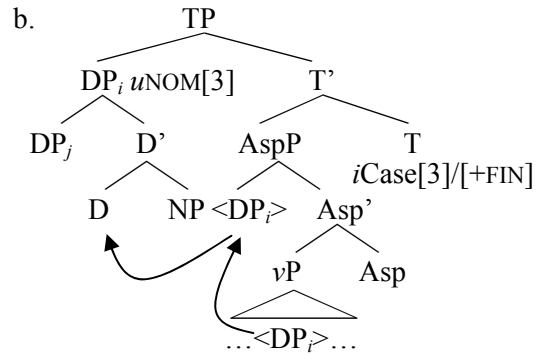
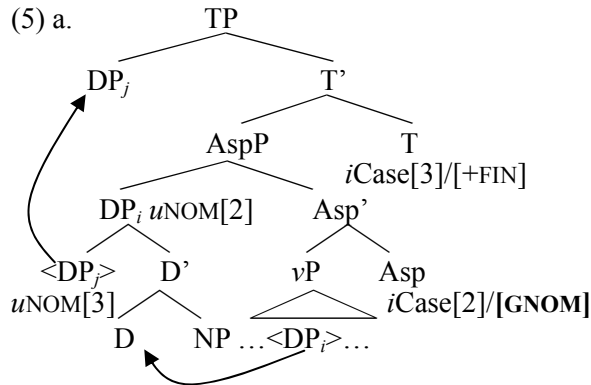
Another important question is ‘what motivates PR’. (4) gives us a clue. The possessive construction in (4a) is ambiguous, whereas the DNC in (4b) only has the *gnomic* reading (generic+habitual; Carlson (1982)). If the DNC is licensed by this aspectual character, Alexiadou’s (2003) idea of Asp projection would help us answer the question. She proposes Asp as an alternative NOM case assigner in Greek, claiming some feature on Asp enables it to assign NOM, just as [FINITE] activates T as a NOM-assigner. I argue that a unary formal feature [GNOMIC] does this job in Korean. Its presence activates Asp’s case feature, and preempts the episodic reading in (4b). In (4a), both readings survive, since no [GNOMIC] is present that would prevent the episodic reading. In order to explain POSS-NOM alternation in (1), I take Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2004) valuation mechanism. In (5a), which illustrates the DNC, DP_j has uninterpretable valued case feature that agrees with the interpretable case feature on T, since at this point the case feature of DP_i has already agreed with the one on Asp, although it is closer to T. In the possessive construction (5b), DP_j is valued as POSS, and it is checked within DP_i , rather than by an outside checker.

Ura (1996) suggests a multiple feature-checking analysis on Japanese DNC, claiming the NOM features of the possessor and the possessee are both checked by T. This kind of analysis makes it easy to handle multiple NOMs in (6), allowing T to check unlimited number of NOMs. However, it cannot account for the ECM pattern in (7). If ‘Jean’ and ‘eye’ are both on specs of TP, nothing would prevent both of them from being ECMed, since they are equi-distant from the probe. In our structure, the asymmetry in (7) is a simple economy issue, namely ‘distance’. For the case of multiple NOMs, I argue those other than the initial two NOMs are *foci*. In Korean, case markers are also used as focus markers as in (8). This claim is supported by Szabolcsi’s (1981) *exhaustivity* test: the last occurrence of *-i* in (6) is exhaustive.

The structure suggested here can be extended to quirky subject constructions in several languages. Neither Alexiadou (2003) nor Ura (1996) seems to capture how the subject gets non-NOM case. However, in our system, T is open to be valued with non-NOM. This explains how the subject in (9b) alternatively gets NOM or DAT. Moreover, in many languages, quirky subject constructions include some limited set of predicates; i.e. psych, possession, etc. They are categorized as Individual-level predicates, which provide *gnomic* interpretations. This can be explained by use of the Asp projection and [GNOMIC].

- (1) a. [*Jean-uy nwun-i*] *yeyppu-ta*
J-POSS eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Jean's eyes are pretty'
- b. *Jean-i* [*t_i nwun-i*] *yeyppu-ta*
J-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Jean's eyes are pretty'
- (2) 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
'Sita thought that all of Mohan's children will eat that fruit tomorrow'
- b. *mohan ke siitaa-ne socaa* [*ki t saare bacce kal vah phal khaaege*]
Mohan POSS Sita-ERG thought that all children tomorrow that fruit eat-FUT-PL
- (3) a. [*t_i nwun-i yeyppu-n*] [*Jean*]_i
eye-NOM pretty-COMP J
'Jean whose eyes are pretty'
- b. *[[*Jean-i*]_i *t_j yeyppu-n*] [*t_i nwun*]_j
J-NOM pretty-COMP eye

- (4) a. *Jean-uy atul-i chwuksu-lul ha-n-ta*
J-POSS son-NOM soccer-ACC do-PRES-DECL
(i) episodic: 'Jean's son is playing soccer (now)'
(ii) gnomic: '(lit.) Jean's son is a soccer player'
- b. *Jean-i atul-i chwuksu-lul ha-n-ta*
J-NOM son-NOM soccer-ACC do-PRES-DECL
(i) *episodic
(ii) gnomic



- (6) a. *Jean-i ttal-i nwun-i yeyppu-ta*
J-NOM daughter-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Jean's daughter's EYES are pretty'
- b. *Jean-i ttal-i nwun-i saykkal-i yeyppu-ta*
J-NOM daughter-NOM eye-NOM color-NOM pretty-DECL
'Jean's daughter's EYES are pretty IN COLOR'
- (7) *Bill-un* [*Jean-i-ul nwun-i/??ul yeyppu-ta-ko*] *sayngkakha-n-ta*
B-TOP J-ACC eye-NOM/ACC pretty-DECL-COMP think-PRES-DECL
'Bill thinks that Jean's eyes are pretty'
- (8) a. *ce siktang-ey sonnim-i manh-ta*
That restaurant-in customer-NOM many-DECL
'There are many customers in that restaurant'
- b. *ce siktang-i sonnim-i manh-ta*
That restaurant-NOM customer-NOM many-DECL
'There are many customers in THAT restaurant'
- (9) a. *bavšv-s ešinia sp'ilos-i* (Georgian)
Child-DAT scared elephant-NOM
'The child is scared of elephants'
- b. *watasi-ka/-ni okane-ka aru* (Japanese)
I-NOM/DAT money-NOM exist
'I have money'

SELECTED REFERENCES ALEXIADOU, A.(2003) On Nominative Case Features and Split Agreement, in *New Perspectives on Case Theory*; CARLSON, G.(1982) Generic Terms and Generic Sentences, *JPL11*; PESETSKY, D. & E. TORREGO (2004) *The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability of Features*; SZABOLCSI, A.(1981) The Pragmatics of Topic-Focus Construction, in *Formal Method in the Study of Language*; URA, H.(1996) *Multiple Feature Checking: A Theory of Grammatical Function Splitting*; YOON, J.H. (2007) The distribution of subject properties in multiple subject constructions, *JK16*.