

Event Structure of the Inalienable Possession in Korean

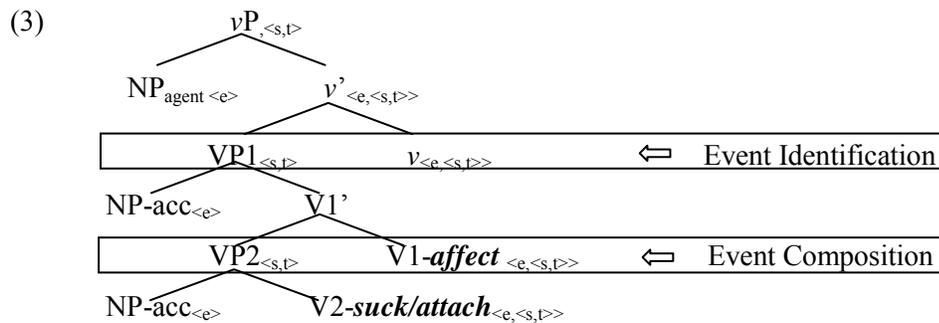
This paper proposes a new lexical decomposition analysis for the Inalienable Possession (IAP) construction in Korean, in which both the possessor and the possessee can surface bearing the accusative marker *-lul*, as exemplified in (1). Although the possessor can be genitive-marked as well, the two versions are not semantically equivalent. For instance, the GEN-ACC pattern **CAN** be used to describe a situation in which the possessee is physically detached from the possessor, i.e. *Chelsu grabbed an amputated arm of Sunhee's*, while the ACC-ACC pattern **CANNOT** (cf. Cho's (2000) entailment condition). Along with Sim (2003) and Yoon (2002), we assume that these two patterns are not derivationally related. We propose that (i) the IAP construction involves two verbs, one of them is an overt lexical verb, and the other a null light verb, and (ii) the eventualities associated with these two verbs have a 'material' part-whole relation (sub-event relation) in the sense of Brisson (1998), which establishes the inalienable possession relation without directly associating the possessee with the possessor.

Although both the possessor and the possessee in (1) can be considered as Patient arguments of the verb *grab*, the situation is slightly more complicated. As (2a,b) illustrate, the two NPs can have seemingly different theta roles; the closest Theta roles for the possessor NPs are Source in (2a) and Goal in (2b). (These examples would present a serious challenge to Sim (2003), who argues that there are two identical verbs projected in the IAP.) We argue that the IAP involves a recursive VP structure, in which the lower verb is the lexical verb, and the higher one a light verb (we call *affect*). This second verb introduces a Theme argument in the most general sense (akin to Proto-Patient in Dowty 1991). The syntactic containment relation between the two VPs corresponds to the 'material' part-of relation (cf. Brisson 1998) between the two events represented by the verbs and their arguments in event semantics. Brisson's (1998) Event Composition in (3) combines VP2 and V1, and Event Identification (Kratzer 1996) combines VP1 and a voice head that introduces Agent. The result is illustrated in (5).

The IAP relation between the two NPs is derived not via the direct link between them (such as genitive marking) but rather via the 'material' part-whole relation between eventualities. The impression that possessors can have different thematic roles is the result of semantic inference: If the *sucking blood* event is a material part of the *affecting Buffy* event, for instance, it is the most natural to interpret that *Buffy* was the source of *the blood*. Whether the IAP relation holds before (e.g., *suck*), after (e.g., *attach*) or during (e.g., *grab*) the event also depends on the semantic inference from the verb meaning. However, in order to ensure this hypothesis works as we portray, it is necessary to add a few more ingredients. For this purpose, it is useful to see how we can eliminate the following scenarios that seem to be allowed in our proposal. Scenario 1: Annie affected (e.g., upset) the robot by attaching some arbitrary arm to a doll. Scenario 2: Annie pushed the robot that in turn attached its arm to itself. The first scenario is blocked by assuming that those verbs in question denote sets of eventualities that 'exemplify the proposition' in the sense of Kratzer (2002). In these eventualities, no irrelevant entities are included. Thus, the 'affecting the robot by Annie' event contains the robot and Annie and nothing else. Since the event of the lower VP is a part of such an event, an arm that is not a part of the robot or a doll cannot exist in it. Although the second scenario does not have irrelevant entities, different agents are involved in the two events. We argue that Krifka's (1989) Uniqueness of Object/Events and Mapping of Objects/Events are relevant here. While it is not a trivial matter how Krifka's notions are extended to 'material' part-whole relations, we tentatively propose (6). Not all material parts of 'affecting the robot by Annie' contains Agent (e.g., the 'robot standing still' event), but (6) provides that those parts that do contain Agent must have the material (not necessarily proper) part of Annie as Agent. Since the second scenario has the robot as Agent of the attaching event, it cannot describe the truth condition of the sentence. [(6) is also needed to guarantee that the possessee is a part of the possessor.]

The current proposal gives the semantic foundation for the observations made in the past (Cho's entailment condition & Yoon's (2002) affectedness condition) for the IAP structure without appealing to a thematic relation between the possessor and the possessee (cf. Stockwell et al. 1973). It also accounts for some peculiar syntactic facts concerning the IAP multiple accusative structure, such as the Nom-Acc case alternation in passives and relativization, about which we will talk at the presentation if time permits.

- (1) Chelswu-ka Sunhee-**lul**/-euy son-**ul** cap-ass-ta.
Chelswu-nom Sunhee-**acc**/-gen hand-**acc** grab-past-decl
'Chelswu grabbed Sunhee by the hand.'
- (2) a. Vampire-ka Buffy-**lul**/-euy/-ekese phi-**ul** ppal-ass-ta.
vampire-nom Buffy-**acc**/-gen/-from blood-**acc** suck-past-decl
'The vampire sucked the blood from Buffy.'
b. Annie-ka robot-**lul**/-euy/-eke phal-**ul** tal-ass-ta.
Annie-nom robot-**acc**/-gen/-to arm-**acc** attach-past-decl
'Annie attached the arm to the robot.'



- (4) Event Composition (Brisson 1998, 122)
- | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
| f | g | → | h |
| $\langle s, t \rangle$ | $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ | | $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ |
| $\lambda e. f(e)$ | $\lambda x. \lambda e. g(x)(e)$ | | $\lambda x. \lambda e. [g(x)(e) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' \blacktriangleleft e \ \& \ f(e')]]$ |
- The symbol \blacktriangleleft indicates that e' is a subevent (i.e., 'material' part) of e .

- (5) a. $\lambda e. [affect(e) \ \& \ Agent(e, \text{the vampire}) \ \& \ Theme(e, \text{Buffy}) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' \blacktriangleleft e \ \& \ suck(e') \ \& \ Theme(e', \text{the blood})]]$
b. $\lambda e. [affect(e) \ \& \ Agent(e, \text{Annie}) \ \& \ Theme(e, \text{the robot}) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' \blacktriangleleft e \ \& \ attach(e') \ \& \ Theme(e', \text{the arm})]]$
- (6) For any thematic relation R , eventualities e, e' , and individual x, y
 $[R(e, x) \ \& \ R(e', y) \ \& \ e' \blacktriangleleft e] \rightarrow y \blacktriangleleft x$

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