

A Hybrid Analysis of Distinct Double Nominative Constructions in Korean

Heesun Yang

Dongguk University
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1. Introduction

- Double Nominative Construction (DNC) in Korean

(1) DNCs with intransitive verbs:

- a. khokkili-**ka** kho-**ka** kil-ta.
elephant- **NOM** trunk- **NOM** is-long- PRST-DEC
'An elephant's trunk is long.'
- b. John-**i** dongsaeng-**i** yeppeu-ta.
John- **NOM** sister- **NOM** is-pretty- PRST-DEC
'John's sister is pretty.'

➔ the Nominative (NOM henceforth) case is realized with more than one NP in a clause.

- Some questions to be addressed.

- ✓ how more than one NP can appear with NOM case
- ✓ how two arguments can appear with a one-place predicate like *kil-ta* 'is long.', *yeppeu-ta* 'is pretty.'

- **New Empirical Observation: DNCs with transitive verbs**

(2) DNCs with transitive verbs:

- a. khokkili-**ka** kho-**ka** kwaca-lul cip-ess-ta.
elephant- **NOM** trunk- **NOM** snack- **ACC** pick-up- PAST-DEC
'An elephant's trunk picked up the snack.'
- b. John-**i** dongsaeng-**i** ai-lul ip-yang-haet-ta.
John- **NOM** sister- **NOM** child-**ACC** adopt- PAST-DEC
'John's sister adopted a child.'

→ Both intransitive and transitive verbs can take double nominatives as shown in (1) and (2), *khokkili-ka kho-ka* (elephant- NOM trunk- NOM) and *John-i dongsaeng-i* (John- NOM sister- NOM)

→ However, the constituency of those NPs varies depending on the verb type.

- I will show the difference between DNCs with intransitive verb and transitive verb in the following section.

2. Distinguishing on Double Nominative Constructions

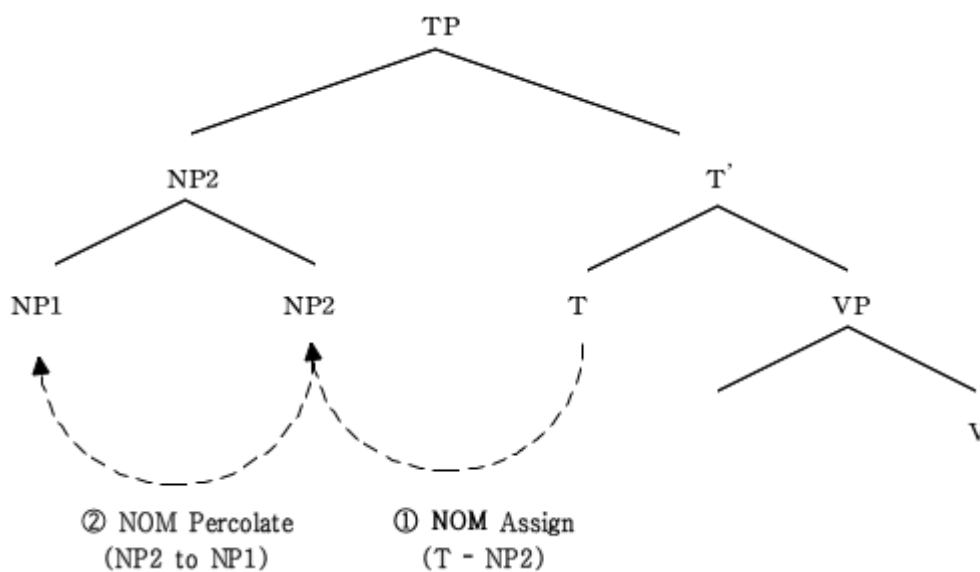
In this talk, I will suggest:

1. A new observation in DNCs with **transitive verb**
 - : focuses on the **verb**, especially in terms of **transitivity**.
 - : focuses on the **constituency** of the double nominative.
 - The previous studies only introduced DNCs with intransitive verb.
 - The difference in terms of the constituency between nominative NPs may come from their relations with verbs.
2. Two diagnostics of identifying the constituency of DNCs:
 - Adverb insertion
 - Scrambling
3. The underlying structures of DNCs in Korean as in (1) and (2).
 - I provide two distinct underlying structures in terms of the verb types and constituency.
4. Case Agree of DNCs
 - Hybrid approach to Case

2.1. Previous Studies

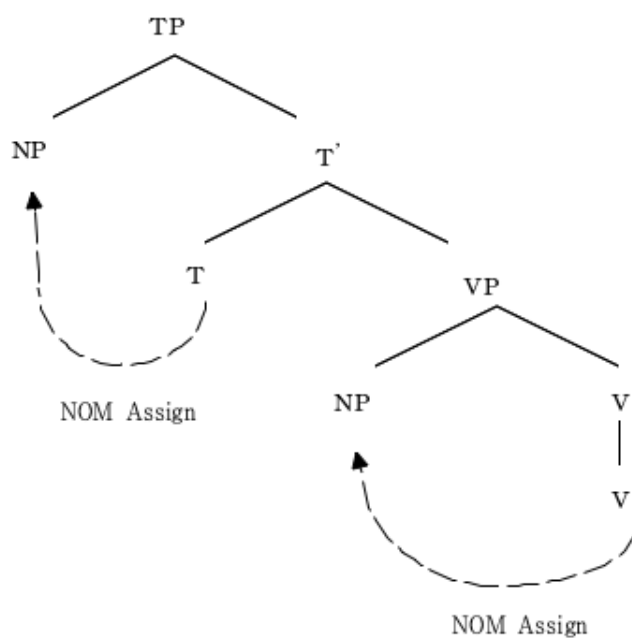
- Two main approaches to the Case Assignment of DNCs
 - However, the approaches only presented DNCs under intransitive verb construction.
- ✓ **Indirect Case-assignment Hypothesis or Case-agreement** (Yoon, 1990)
 - Case is assigned to NP2 and percolates to NP1 under Case-percolation) as shown in (3).

(3) Indirect Case assignment

✓ **Direct Case assignment Hypothesis** (Maling and Kim, 1992)

Nominative NP gets Case from two different heads; one from the verb and the other from T, as shown in (4).

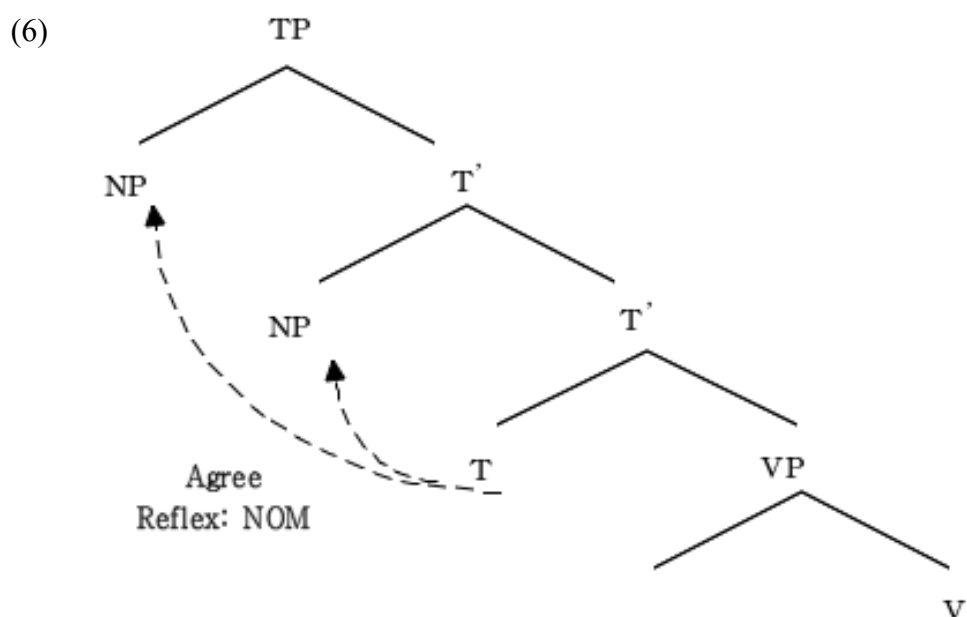
(4) Direct Case assignment



2.3. Direct-Case Agree (DNCs with intransitive verb)

Adopting Direct Case assignment and Upward Agree

- I propose that T (probe) can agree with multiple NPs (goal) under DNCs with intransitive verb.



- For double nominative with **transitive verb**, I assume **Indirect-Case Agree**
- For double nominative with **intransitive verb**, I assume **Direct-Case Agree**.

I suggest two different Agree depending on the verb types because the structures of two nominatives are different.

2.4. Two diagnostics

- Before arguing the reason why DNCs in Korean are affected by the transitivity of verbs, I suggest how to distinguish the difference between DNCs.

Focusing on the constituency of two NPs.

→ Double nominative with the intransitive verb: **not a constituent**

Allow [free adverb insertion / scrambling]

→ Double nominative with the transitive verb: **a constituent**

Not allow [free adverb insertion / scrambling]

① Adverb insertion

The impossibility of the adverb insertion between two NOMs supports that two NPs form a constituent (cf. Kim 1995).

✧ DNCS with intransitive verb

- Because both VP adverb *kkwayna* ‘pretty’ and TP adverb *wenlay* ‘naturally’ can be located freely between the two NOMs regardless of the adverb types,
→ two NPs with intransitive are **not a constituent** as in (7) and (8).

(7) khokkili-ka (kkwayna) kho-ka (kkwayna) kil-ta.
elephant-NOM (pretty-ADV) trunk-NOM (pretty-ADV) is-long-PRST-DEC
‘An elephant’s trunk is (pretty) long.’ *VP adverb*

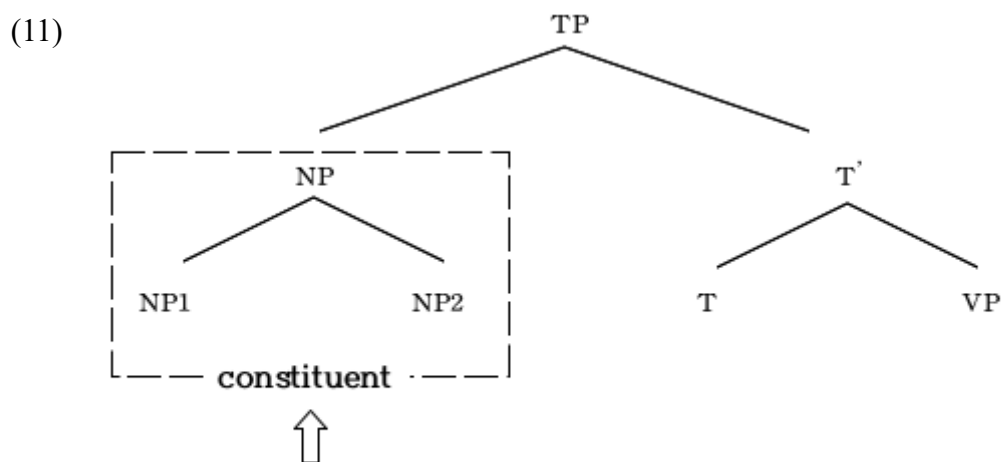
(8) khokkili-ka (wenlay) kho-ka (wenlay) kil-ta.
elephant-NOM (naturally-ADV) trunk-NOM (naturally-ADV) is-long-PRST-DEC
‘An elephant’s trunk is (naturally) long.’ *TP adverb*

✧ DNCS with transitive verb

- Because both VP adverb *catppalukey* ‘quickly’ and TP adverb *ama* ‘may be’ cannot be located freely between the two NOMs regardless of the adverb types,
→ two NPs with intransitive are **a constituent** as in (9) and (10) and illustrated in (11).

(9) khokkili-ka *(catppalukey) kho-ka kwaca-lul cip-ess-ta
elephant-NOM *(quickly)-ADV trunk-NOM snack-ACC pick-up-PAST-DEC
‘An elephant’s trunk picked up the snack *(quickly).’ *VP adverb*

(10) khokkili-ka *(ama) kho-ka kwaca-lul cip-ess-ta
elephant-NOM *(maybe)-ADV trunk-NOM snack-ACC pick-up-PAT-DEC
‘An elephant’s trunk *(may be) picked up the snack.’ *TP adverb*



adverb cannot be inserted between constituent

- If two NOMs are the subject of intransitive verb,
 - two NOMs are **not a constituent**.
 - two NOMs can be scrambled freely, regardless of the word order
 - they both get NOM case as a reflex of Multiple Agree.

Direct Case-Agree through Upward Agree

- If two NOMs are the subject of transitive verb,
 - two NOMs are **a constituent**.
 - two NOMs cannot be scrambled freely, the word order is fixed.
 - one NP gets NOM case as a reflex of Agree and the other NP gets NOM case through percolation.

Indirect Case-Agree

3. Towards a new analysis of DNCs in Korean

3.1. Relational NP types

- There are various relations NP types in Korean such as whole-part, kinship, property, and alienability (Choi, 2008).
- In light of my new data on DNCs with transitive verbs, I will focus specifically on whole-part NPs.

3.2. Hybrid analysis of DNCs in Korean

- Previous analyses attempt to explain all types of DNCs under either Direct-Case assignment or Indirect-Case assignment analysis.
- I argue that both analyses are required to explain the data under discussion.

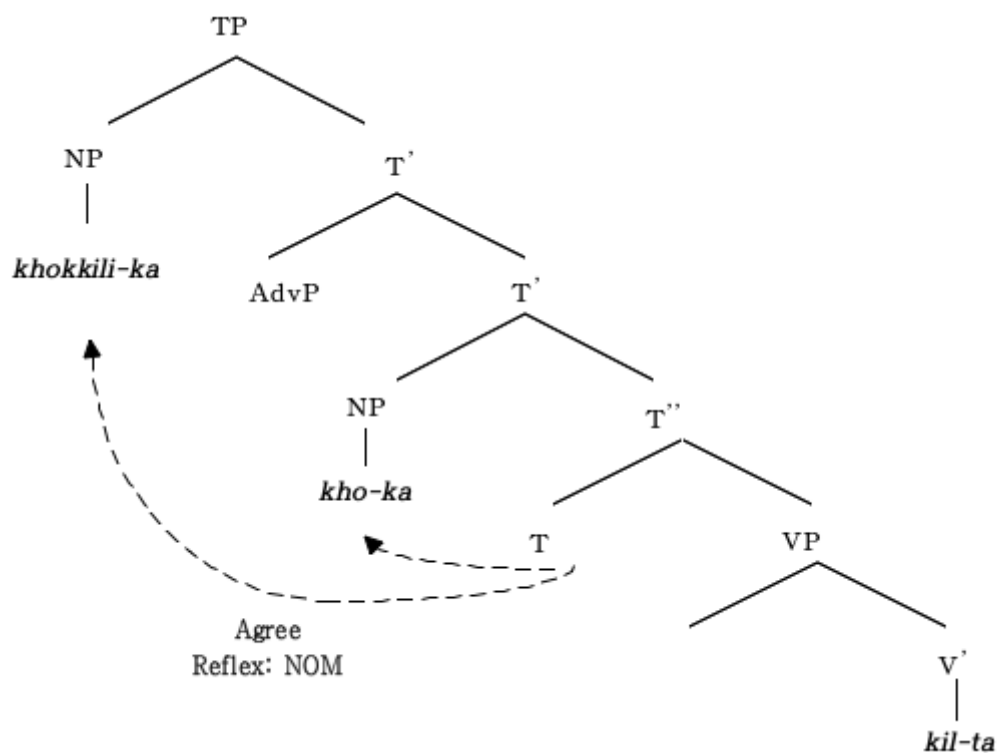
Therefore, I suggest...

- Direct Case-Agree (Upward Agree) for DNCs with intransitive verb
Indirect Case-Agree for DNCs with transitive verb
- **Hybrid analysis** of DNCs in Korean

❖ **DNCs with intransitive: Direct Case-Agree.**

- T agrees with each NP and NPs get NOM case multiply.

(15) Direct-Case Agree

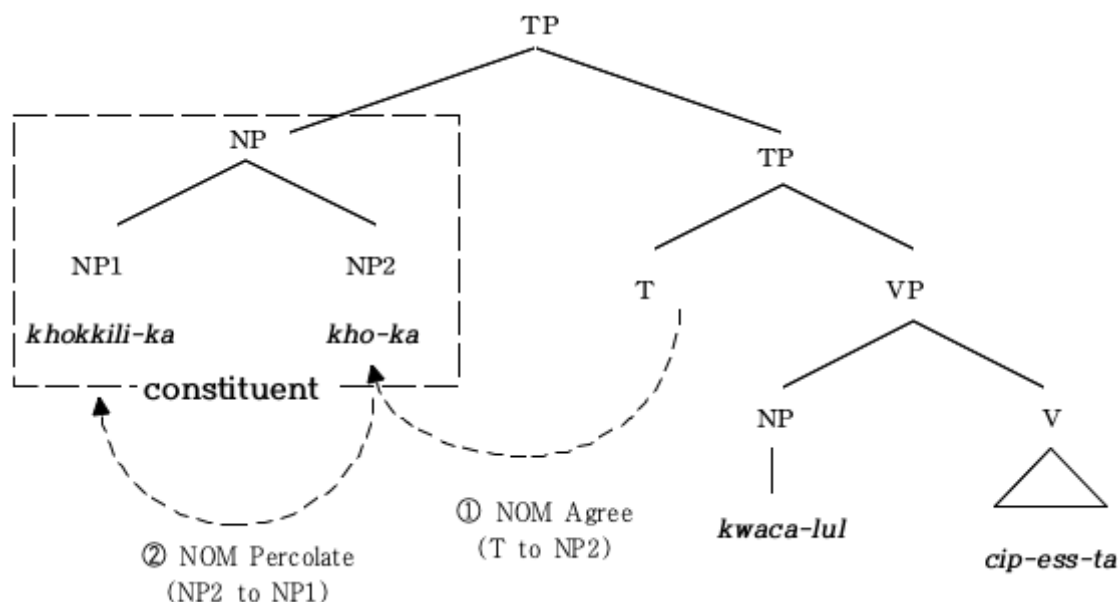


- ① Probe T agrees with its goal NP when the former is c-commanded by the latter. (Upward Agree)
- ② T agrees with two NPs at the same time.
 - Multiple Agree is possible in Korean and Japanese without ϕ -feature agreement.
- ③ As a reflex of agreement (Chomsky, 1995), both NPs get NOM case and their interpretable case features get deleted.

❖ **DNCs with transitive: Indirect Case-Agree.**

- T agrees with one NP and gets NOM case and percolates the case to the other NP.

(16) Indirect Case-Agree



- ① Probe T agrees with its goal NP when the former is c-commanded by the latter.
- ② T agrees with NP2 first, and gets NOM case as a reflex of agreement (Chomsky, 1995).
- ③ The NOM case of NP2 is percolated to NP1 because they form a constituent.
 - 'Percolation' is needed for DNCs with transitive verb because the structures of the double nominatives are distinct between intransitive and transitive.

4. Prediction

4.1. Honorific Agreement

Intransitive and transitive verb structures are subject to different Agree systems.

DNCs with intransitive - each nominative: not a constituent

- each NP can participate in honorific agreements respectively.
 - 1) NP1 with the predicate
halapeji 'grandfather' [+HON] agrees with *-si* [+HON] as in (17a)
 - 2) NP2 with the predicate
non-honorific subject *son* 'hand' [-HON] cannot get the honorific marking *-si* [+HON] as in (17b)
- because both NPs are assigned the NOM case respectively as a subject in the clause, both have the possibility to participate in the honorific agreement

- (17) a. halapeji-kkeyse son-i khu-si-ta.
 grandfather- HON hand- NOM is-big-HON-PRST-DEC
- b. halapeji-kkeyse son-i khu-ta.
 grandfather- HON hand- NOM is-big- HON-PRST-DEC

DNCs with transitive - each nominative: a constituent

- A constituent NP participates in the honorific agreement together.
 → However, the honorific agreement is not percolated to NP1.
- Inanimate NP2 *son* ‘hand’ cannot participate in the honorific agreement with the predicate.
 → Without the honorific agreement as in (18a), is acceptable.
 → With the honorific agreement and percolation of the honorific marker as in (18b), is not acceptable.

- (18) a. [halapeji- ka son-i] cigap-ul cap-ess-ta.
 grandfather- NOM hand- NOM wallet- ACC catch- ~~HON~~-PAST-DEC
- b. *[halapeji-kkeyse son-kkeyse] cigap-ul capeu-si-ess-ta.
 grandfather- HON hand- NOM wallet- ACC catch- HON-PAST-DEC

4.2. DNCs in Japanese

- Double Nominative Constructions in Japanese exhibit the same behaviors when it comes to verb types.
- Double nominatives with intransitive verb do not form a constituent.
 → the word order of NP1 and NP2 are free as in (19)
- Double nominatives with transitive verb form a single constituent.
 → the word order of NP1 and NP2 are fixed as in (20)

- (19) a. zoo-ga hana-ga naga-i.
 elephant- NOM trunk-NOM long- PRES-DEC
 ‘An elephant is such that its trunk is long.’
- b. hana-ga zoo-ga naga-i.
 trunk- NOM elephant-NOM long- PRES-DEC
 ‘An elephant is such that its trunk is long.’
- (20) a. zoo-ga hana-ga kasi-o tsuma-mwu.
 elephant- NOM trunk- TOP snack- ACC pick-up- PAT-DEC
 ‘An elephant’s trunk picked up the snack.’

b. *hana-ga zoo-ga kasi-o tsuma-mwu.
 trunk- TOP elephant- NOM snack- ACC pick-up- PAT-DEC
 ‘An elephant’s trunk picked up the snack.’

5. Conclusions

- ✦ The relations between the two NPs with nominative differ depending on the verb types: intransitive or transitive.
- ✦ Indirect Case-Agree: DNC with transitive
 - T agrees with NP2 and get NOM case and percolates NOM case to NP1.
- ✦ Direct Case-Agree: DNC with intransitive
 - T agrees with two NPs and gets NOM Case through Upward Agree
- ✦ The constituency of multiple nominatives is an important property of DNCs.
- ✦ Two diagnostics to distinguish the constituency difference between DNCs : adverb insertion and scrambling
- ✦ The hybrid analysis is able to offer new accounts for DNC in Korean.

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