

Two Types of Multiple Accusative Constructions in Korean

More than one NP in Korean can surface bearing the accusative case marker *-lul*. The sentence in (1a) is an instance of the inalienable possession type Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC), and the sentence in (1b) is characterized as a set-related type MAC, in which the relationship between the two *lul*-marked NPs is a superset-subset relation; the set denoted by the second NP, *Marlboro*, must be a proper subset of the set denoted by the first NP, *cigarette*.

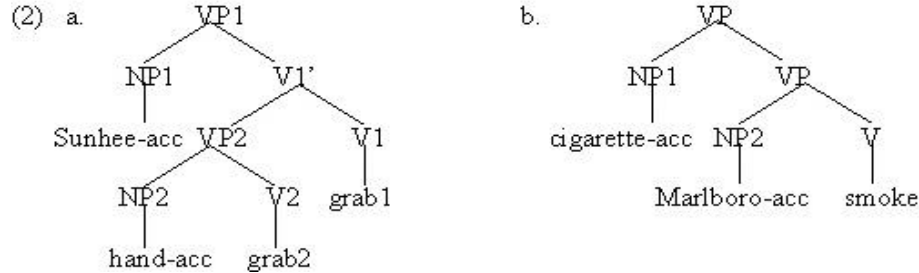
In this paper, I argue that despite their surface similarity, the structures for the two types of MACs are different as shown in (2). Inalienable possession type MACs have a recursive VP structure in (2a). The possessor NP, *Sunhee*, is the argument of the higher V (V1) and the possessed NP, *son* 'hand', is the argument of the lower V (V2) and the lower verb is deleted under identity at PF. Set-related MACs, in contrast, have the structure in (2b): The superset NP, *tambae* 'cigarette', is an A-bar adjunct attached to VP, whose function is a VP topic.

The syntactic structure in (2a) denies any derivational relation between the ACC-ACC and GEN-ACC patterns in (1a), since the ACC-ACC pattern is incompatible with the situation in which the hands were physically detached from the possessor. (2a) directly reflects an event semantic structure in such a way that the eventuality denoted by V2 and NP2 is part of the eventuality denoted by V1 and NP1. Thus, (1a) means that *there were e1 & e2 such that e2 < e1 and e2 is the grabbing of the hand by Chelswu & e1 is the grabbing of Sunhee by Chelswu* through the composition in (3). VP2 and V1 are combined by a modified version of Event Composition (Brisson 1998). Modified event composition in (4) takes a function *f* and a function *g* as input and yields a function *h* as output. The application of Modified event composition is illustrated in (5), which explain the inalienable relation between the two NPs, i.e., since the event of *grabbing the hand* is part of the event of *grabbing y, the hand*, thus, must belong to *y*. Another welcome result is that this layered event structure automatically captures the conditions such as the affectedness condition (Yoon 1989, 2002) and the entailment condition (Cho 2000). Both conditions are built-in properties of the structure in (2a), since the hand-grabbing event is part of the Sunhee-grabbing event in (1a). Therefore, it is natural that the possessor *Sunhee* is affected by the action denoted by *grabbing the hand* and that *grabbing Sunhee's hand* entails *grabbing Sunhee*.

One might be tempted to apply the layered event structure to the set-related type MACs, since the *Marlboro-smoking* event can be considered a part of the *cigarette-smoking* event. However, various syntactic operations reveal the structural differences between the two types of MACs. In passivization, the possessed NP can have either nominative or accusative case as in (6a). In contrast, both NPs in set-related type MACs must have the same case as in (6b). Syntactic operations involving A-bar movement such as relativization indicate further differences between them. The superset NP, *tambae*, blocks relativization as in (7b), but the possessor, *Sunhee*, doesn't, as shown in (7a).

Assuming that case can be assigned multiply in a relevant domain (TP and VP), the two NPs in (2) can be *lul*-marked since the relevant domain is VP. In passivization, the internal argument moves to the subject position; since there are two internal arguments in (2a) and the possessor NP moves to the subject position, the possessed NP may remain the VP domain and be ACC-marked (6a). In (2b), in contrast, the internal argument moves to the subject position and the adjunct licensed by the argument also moves as in (6b). This movement is forced by a licensing condition. The superset NP is licensed by the set-relation with the argument under the case identity, i.e., the licenser and the licensee must have the same case, ACC in (1b) and NOM in (6b). WH-island effects in (7b) such that the superset NP, *fish-ACC*, blocks A-bar movement are accounted for by the presence of VP topics, since topics create WH-islands. Therefore, the syntactic structure for the set-related type MACs must have an A-bar position for the VP topic, as illustrated in (2b), and the event-like relation between *Marlboro-smoking* and *cigarette-smoking* is not derived from the layered event structure but from the set relation between the two NPs, *Marlboro* and *cigarette*.

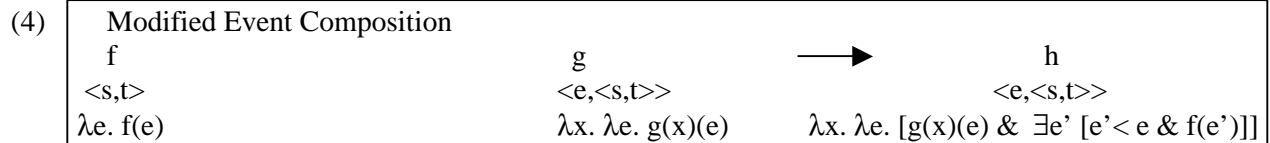
- (1) a. Chelswu-ka **Sunhee-lul/-euy** **son-ul** cap-ass-ta.
 Chelswu-nom Sunhee-acc/-gen hand-acc grab-past-decl
 'Chelswu grabbed Sunhee's hand.'
 b. Chelswu-ka **tambae-lul/-*euy** **malboro-lul** piu-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-nom cigarette-acc/-gen Marlboro-acc smoke-past-decl
 'As for cigarettes, Chelswu smoked Marlboro.'



- (3) $[[V2]] = \lambda x. \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, x)]$
 $[[NP2]] = \text{the hand}$
 $[[VP2]] = \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{the hand})]$
 $[[V1]] = \lambda y. \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, y)]$
 $[[V1']] = \lambda y. \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, y) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' < e \ \& \ \text{grab}(e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e', \text{the hand})]]$

by Modified Event Composition

- $[[NP1]] = \text{Sunhee}$
 $[[VP1]] = \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{Sunhee}) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' < e \ \& \ \text{grab}(e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e', \text{the hand})]]$



- (5) $\lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{the hand})]$ $\lambda y. \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, y)]$ →
 $\lambda y. \lambda e. [\text{grab}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, y) \ \& \ \exists e' [e' < e \ \& \ \text{grab}(e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e', \text{the hand})]]$

- (6) a. Sunhee-ka **son-i/-ul** cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Sunhee-nom hand-nom/-acc grab-pass-past-decl
 'Sunhee was caught by the hand.'
 b. Koki-ka **piraemi-ka /*-lul** cap-hi-ess-ta.
 fish-nom small.fish-nom/-acc catch-pass-past-decl
 'As for fish, small fish were caught.'

- (7) a. [Yoda-ka **Leia-lul** t ttali-n] **ppam**
 Yoda-nom Leia-acc hit-REL cheek
 'Leia's cheek that Yoda hit'
 b. *[Yoda-ka **tambae-lul** t sa-n] **malboro**
 Yoda-nom cigarette-acc buy-REL marlboro
 'Marlboro that Yoda bought as a cigarette'

Selected References

Cho, S-E. 2000. *Three Forms of Case Agreement in Korean*, Ph.D. thesis. SUNY-Stony Brook.
 Brisson, Christine. 1998. *Distributivity, Maximality, and Floating Quantifiers*. Ph.D. thesis. Rutgers University.
 Yoon, J H-S. 1989. The Grammar of Inalienable Possession Constructions in Korean, Mandarin, and French. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics III*: 357-368.
 Yoon, J H-S. 2002. Multiple (Identical) Case Constructions. ms. University of Illinois.