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A Pragmatic Approach to External Possession Constructions

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ABSTRACT

The Journal of Studies in Language **38.1, 073-088**. It has been assumed that the inalienable possession meaning and the affectedness meaning of the possessor are crucial factors that license external possession constructions (EPCs) in Korean. Previous studies that deal with these conditions semantically or syntactically face theoretical or empirical problems. This paper argues that the acceptability or felicity of EPCs depends on the pragmatic salience of the possessor that establishes an inalienable part-of relation with the possessee in a given context. The pragmatic account is based on the actual EPC examples found in newspapers and blogs, showing that the affectedness condition is not necessary for EPCs. It is proposed that the possessor in an EPC is presented saliently or highlighted by shifting the possessee nominal to a predicate modifier that presupposes the existence of an inalienable possessor. **(Chonnam National University)**

Keywords: affectedness, event composition, external possession, inalienable noun, relational noun

1. Introduction

Korean has the so-called external possession constructions (EPCs) where the possessor and the possessee do not form a nominal constituent and they both are marked by the same accusative case, as in (1a). EPCs have received considerable attention in Korean linguistics due to the fact that more than one object appears to be allowed in a mono-transitive construction.

(1) a. Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-ul   kapcaki   elkwul-ul ttayli-ess-ta
       Nolpwu-nom   that person-acc   suddenly   face-acc   hit-pst-dec

   b. Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-uy   *(kapcaki)   elkwul-ul ttayli-ess-ta
       Nolpwu-nom   that person-gen   (suddenly)   face-acc   hit-pst-dec
       'Nolpwu suddenly hit that person's face.'

EPCs are different from their corresponding internal possession constructions (IPCs) in which the possessor marked by the genitive case forms a single nominal constituent with the possessee, as in (1b). One well-known difference between EPCs and IPCs is that not all types of nouns are allowed as possessee nouns in EPCs, as shown in (2). Possessee nouns are generally restricted to inalienable nouns typically denoting body-parts or spatial parts (Yoon, 1997; Shin, 2007, 2008). Thus, alienable nouns like 'book' cannot appear in the possessee nominal position, as in (2a).

(2) a. * Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-ul   chayk-ul   ccic-ess-ta
     Nolpwu-nom   that person-acc   book-acc   tear-pst-dec

   b. Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-uy   chayk-ul   ccic-ess-ta
     Nolpwu-nom   that person-gen   book-acc   tear-pst-dec
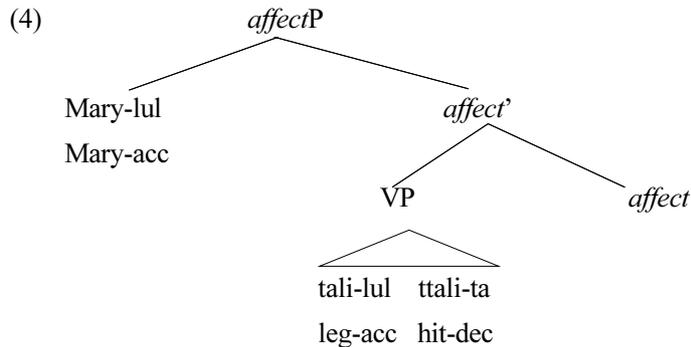   'Nolpwu tore that person's book.'

In addition, it is claimed that there are restrictions on types of verbs that are allowed in EPCs. Such restrictions on verbal predicates is explained by the "affectedness condition" in the literature, that is, the possessor should be interpreted as an affected entity in EPCs (Yoon, 1990, 2015; Yoon, 1997). For example, it is argued that EPC in (3a) is not acceptable because the action of seeing someone's face has no effect on that person (Yoon, 1990, 2015; Yoon, 1997; cf. Tomioka and Sim, 2005, 2007).

(3) a. ??Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-ul   elkwul-ul   po-ass-ta.
      Nolpwu-nom   that person-acc   face-acc   see-pst-dec

   b. Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-uy   elkwul-ul   po-ass-ta.
     Nolpwu-nom   that person-gen   face-acc   see-pst-dec
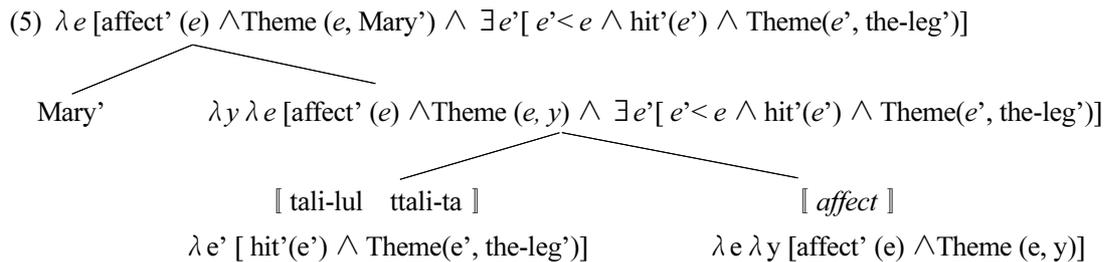   'Nolpwu saw that person's face.'

As often discussed in the literature (see Tomioka and Sim, 2005, 2007; Shin, 2007; Yoon, 2015 for a detailed discussion), it is difficult to capture such meaning differences between EPCs and IPCs under the assumption that EPCs are syntactically derived from their corresponding IPCs by raising the possessor outside the DP containing the possessee noun in the syntax (see Cho, 1998; Landau, 1999 for possessor ascension approaches). As alternative approaches, two semantic composition approaches have been proposed. One is the event composition approach that analyzes the possessor as the argument of an invisible verb 'affect' (Tomioka and Sim, 2005, 2007). The other is the relational noun approach that treats the possessee as a relational nominal that lexically denotes an inalienable part-of relation but combines with a verb without saturating its own possessor argument in an EPC (Yoon, 1997; Shin, 2007, 2008). This paper will discuss shortcomings with these two previous approaches and propose an alternative pragmatic approach. In doing so, I will reexamine the licensing conditions of EPCs and address a fundamental question that has been largely ignored in the literature: why are EPCs, which are marked constructions, used instead of IPCs?

2. Event Composition Approach

Tomioka and Sim (2005, 2007) claim that the EPC has a layered event structure by positing a phonetically silent verb *affect*, as represented in (4). The possessor is taken as the external argument of the verb *affect*. By modifying Brisson's (1998) event composition operation, Tomioka and Sim (2007) propose that the event described by the lexical verb plus the possessee is interpreted as a material part of the event of affecting the possessor.[1]

(4)　　　　　　　　　*affect*P

Mary-lul　　　　　　　　*affect*'
Mary-acc

　　　　　　　VP　　　　　　*affect*

　　　tali-lul　ttali-ta
　　　leg-acc　hit-dec

Assuming that material parts of event *e* can be understood as subevents into which *e* can be analyzed,[2] the VP in (4), as translated in (5), is interpreted as a set of events *e* such that *e* is the event of affecting Mary and there exits an event of hitting the leg (i.e., *e'*), which is a material part (<) of *e*.[3]

(5) λe [affect' (e) $\wedge$ Theme $(e,$ Mary') $\wedge$ $\exists e'[$ $e' < e$ $\wedge$ hit'(e') $\wedge$ Theme$(e',$ the-leg')]

Mary'　　　　　$\lambda y \lambda e$ [affect' (e) $\wedge$ Theme (e, y) $\wedge$ $\exists e'[$ $e' < e$ $\wedge$ hit'(e') $\wedge$ Theme$(e',$ the-leg')]

　　　⟦ tali-lul　ttali-ta ⟧　　　　　　　　⟦ *affect* ⟧
　λ e' [hit'(e') $\wedge$ Theme(e', the-leg')]　　λ e λ y [affect' (e) $\wedge$ Theme (e, y)]

The event composition approach explicitly captures the affectedness meaning by positing the verb *affect* in the syntax. However, Yoon (2015) points out that the affectedness condition is not a matter of syntax or semantics. EPCs do not require the physical affectedness via physical contact (Yoon, 1997; Yoon, 2015). For example, (6) is acceptable even though the action of staring at Mary's face took place without any physical contact with Mary or her eyes. Yoon (2015) argues that the affectedness condition is a pragmatic requirement. Unlike (3a), the EPC in (6) is felicitous because it is pragmatically inferable that Mary was affected by John's action of staring at her face intently.

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1) Brisson (1998) originally proposes this event composition operation as a mechanism that introduces the external argument of an activity or accomplishment predicate in a transitive sentence, claiming that Kratzer's (1996) event identification is applied only when predicates are states and achievements.

2) For example, an event of John's cooking the pasta has several material parts such as the event of boiling noodles and the event of heating a pan, but the event of cooking the pasta itself is not a material part of this event.

3) It is assumed that the subject of the EPC is introduced by the Voice head, adopting Kratzer's (1996) Event Identification.

(6) John-un   Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   ttwulecikey   chyta.po-ass-ta.

    John-top   Mary-acc   face-acc   intently   stare-pst-dec

    'John stared intently at Mary's face.' (Yoon, 2015: 90)

Another problem with the event composition approach comes from the fact that more than two accusative-case marked nominals are allowed in Korean EPCs as long as two adjacent nominals stand in an inalienable part-whole relation, as in (7).

(7) ? Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-ul   tali-lul   congali-lul   ketecha-ss-ta

    Nolpwu-nom   that person-acc   leg-acc   calf-acc   kick-acc-dec

    'Nolpwu kicked the calf of the leg of that person.'

Given that the possessor is added by an independent valency-increasing operation as the specifier of the verb *affect*, in the event composition analysis, the verb *affect* should be projected recursively to allow more than two accusative-marked nominals in EPCs. However, this account conflicts with the generalization that no verb-valency increasing operations such as *causative* and *applicative* can apply recursively and introduce an unlimited number of arguments (Shin, 2008).

    In the event composition approach, therefore, the inalienable possession relationship between the possessor and the possessee is due to a material part relation between two events. For example, Tomioka and Sim (2005, 2007) argue that *tali* 'leg' in (5) should be a material part of Mary to make the event of hitting the leg a subevent or material part of the event of affecting Mary. However, consider the event of John's breaking Mary's computer. This event is a material part of the event of John's affecting Mary, but the material-part relationship of the two events does not require that the computer be a material part of Mary. Furthermore, the material part relationship of the possessee and the possessor is not a necessary condition to license EPCs (Shin, 2008; Yoon, 2015). Possessee nouns are not always body-part terms, as exemplified in (8) and (9).

(8) ku-nun   Mary-lul   kapang-ul   cap-ass-ta.

    he-top   Mary-acc   purse-acc   catch-pst-dec

    'He caught Mary's purse.'

(9) ku-nun   Mary-lul   sinpal-ul   palp-ass-ta

    he-top   Mary-acc   shoe-acc   step.on-pst-dec

    'He stepped on Mary's shoe.'

The possessees *kapang* 'purse' and *sinpal* 'shoe' in (8) and (9) are interpreted as the purse that Mary was carrying and the shoe that Mary was wearing. One may argue that the EPCs in (8) and (9) can be handled in the event composition approach by interpreting the term "material part relation" between the possessor and the possessee in a broader sense: that is, an object that is in physical contact with the possessor is construed as a material part of the possessor (Yeon,

1999, 2019). Yet this account fails to capture why certain types of nouns cannot occur as possessees regardless of whether they are physically attached to their possessors. For example, (10) is not acceptable even in the situation where Mary was holding the book in her hand at the time of the event.

(10) ??ku-nun   Mary-lul   chayk-ul   cap-ass-ta.
     he-top   Mary-acc   book-acc   hold-pst-dec
     'He caught Mary's book.'

3. The Relational Noun Approach

Inalienable nouns are generally treated as relational nouns in the literature, which differ from common nouns translated as one-place predicates (Barker, 1995, 1998, 2004; Partee and Borschev, 2004, inter alia). Given that possessee nouns are restricted to nouns denoting inalienable parts, Yoon (1997) and Shin (2007, 2008) propose that the possessee noun is a relational noun that takes the possessor as its internal argument. For example, unlike the non-relational noun *chayk* 'book' in (11a), the relational noun *elkwul* 'face' is represented as a two-place predicate denoting an inalienable part-of relationship between two entities: *x* denotes a leg which is an inalienable part of *y* in (11b). For clarity, the referential role of a noun is underlined as below.
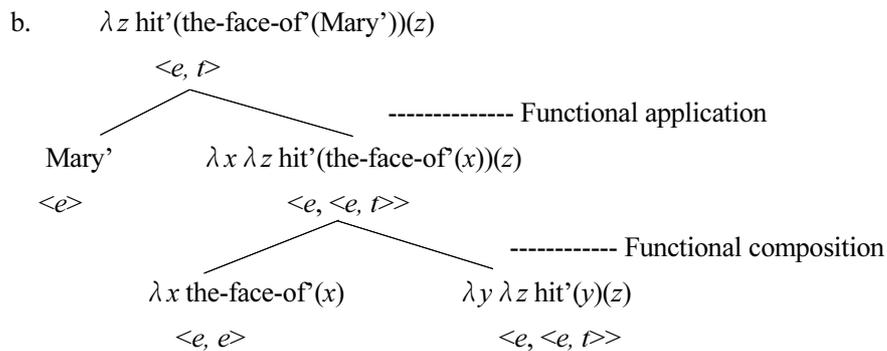
(11) a. ⟦ chayk ⟧ = λy [book' ($\underline{y}$)]
     b. ⟦ elkwul ⟧ = $\lambda x \lambda y$ [face' (x)($\underline{y}$)]

Shin (2007, 2008) assumes that the possessee is a defective nominal of type $<e, e>$ whose internal argument is not saturated, while its external argument, bearing the referential role, is saturated. For example, the possessee 'face' in the EPC can be schematically translated as [λx the-face-of'(x)].[4] Following previous complex predicate approaches assuming that the possessee combines with a transitive verb, yielding a complex transitive predicate that can take the possessor as its argument (Yoon, 1989, 1990; Maling and Kim, 1992; O'Grady, 2002), Shin (2007, 2008) further proposes that the possessee, which is not a full-fledged DP of type *e*, combines with the transitive verb before its possessor argument is saturated. For example, the bracketed VP in (12a) is translated as (12b).[5]

(12) a. Nolpwu-ka   [Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   ttayli-ess-ta].
      Nolpwu-nom   Mary-acc   face-acc   hit-acc-dec
      'Nolpwu hit Mary's face.'

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4) For convenience, the possessee is treated as the nominal category of type $<e, e>$ which can be derived by combining a determiner with a relational noun of type $<e, <e, t>>$ by applying functional composition (Shin, 2008). Under the assumption that a relational noun combines with a determiner that corresponds to what Carlson and Sussman (2005) call a weak definite, Shin (2007) proposes that the possessee is an expression of $<e, <<e, t>, t>>$ in the EPC. Considering that *e* can be shifted to $<<e, t>, t>$, however, the two analyses are not different.

5) O'Grady (1998) proposes in the categorial grammar framework that the possessee nominal is of type $<e, e>$, although he does not provide a specific semantic interpretation.

b. λz hit'(the-face-of'(Mary'))(z)

               $<e, t>$

                        -------------- Functional application

    Mary' $\lambda x \lambda z$ hit'(the-face-of'(x))(z)

    $<e>$ $<e, <e, t>>$

                            ------------ Functional composition

      λx the-face-of'(x) $\lambda y \lambda z$ hit'(y)(z)

          $<e, e>$ $<e, <e, t>>$

When the transitive verb is composed with the possessee via function composition, the possessee *elkwul* 'face' saturates the internal argument of the verb, but its own possessor argument position remains open such that the possessor argument becomes an internal argument of the whole resulting complex predicate. When this complex predicate combines with the possessor 'Mary' via functional application, the possessor and the possessee are successfully composed as the internal argument of the verb.
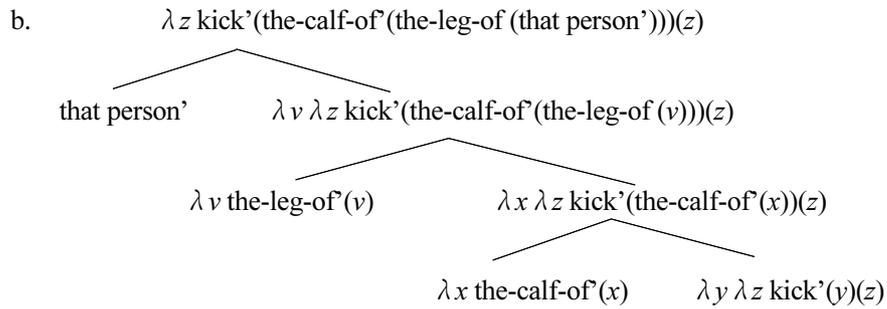
    Given that the possessee nominals are headed by relational nouns, this approach can predict that non-relational nouns like 'book' are not allowed as possessee nouns in EPCs. The relational noun approach can also capture restrictions on the interpretation of the possessee in EPCs. Compare (13a) and (13b).

(13)   a. John-i   Mary-lul   sinpal-ul   palp-ass-ta.
           John-nom   Mary-acc shoe-acc   step.on-pst-dec

       b. John-i   Mary-uy   sinpal-ul palp-ass-ta
           John-nom   Mary-gen shoe-acc step.on-pst-dec
           'John stepped on Mary's shoe.'

While the possessee in (13a) is only interpreted as an inalienable noun (i.e., a shoe someone is wearing), there are no such a semantic restriction in (13b). For example, [*Mary-uy sinpal*] 'Mary's shoe(s)' in (13b) could mean 'shoes that Mary took off,' 'shoes that Mary made', 'shoes that Mary owned but Bill was wearing', and so on. Under the assumption that the possessee noun in the EPC is a relational noun, the possessor must stand in a specified or intrinsic relation with the possessee because their relation is lexically determined by the semantics of the possessee noun. Thus, the relational noun approach can provide a straightforward account of the differences between (13a) and (13b).

    The relational nominal combines with a verbal predicate of type $<e, <e, t>>$, yielding a predicate of $<e, <e, t>>$ which can combine with another relational nominal of type $<e, e>$. Hence, the recursive property of EPCs is not problematic in the relational noun approach. For example, both *congali* 'calf' and *tali* 'leg' in (14) are relational nouns and hence can combine with a transitive predicate of type $<e, <e, t>>$ via functional composition, as translated in (14b).

(14)   a. ? Nolpwu-ka   ku salam-ul   tali-lul   congali-lul ketecha-ss-ta.
            Nolpwu-nom   that person-acc leg-acc calf-acc   kick-pst-dec
            'Nolpwu kicked the calf of the leg of that person.'

b. λz kick'(the-calf-of'(the-leg-of (that person')))(z)

     that person' $\lambda v\, \lambda z$ kick'(the-calf-of'(the-leg-of (v)))(z)

        λv the-leg-of'(v) $\lambda x\, \lambda z$ kick'(the-calf-of'(x))(z)

                  λx the-calf-of'(x) $\lambda y\, \lambda z$ kick'(y)(z)

The relational noun approach also has a potential to account for the affectedness condition. It is claimed in theories of types that even if different derivational surface structures ultimately give the same semantic interpretation, they are not spurious ambiguities but reflect different interpretations in terms of information structure and discourse focus (Steedman, 2000). Given that IPCs and EPCs are derived using different compositional modes, the affectedness meaning of EPCs may be attributed to their different derivational structures.

Despite such advantages, the relational noun approach faces empirical problems. Tomioka and Sim (2007) argue against the relational noun approach on the ground that kinship terms are not allowed as possessees in EPCs, as in (15). Just like body part terms, kinship terms express specified relations between two entities. In the semantics literature, therefore, the concepts of kinship relations are lexicalized as relational nouns.

(15) ??Nolpwu-ka   John-ul   atul-ul   kkocip-ess-ta.
       Nolpwu-nom   John-acc   son-acc   pinch-pst-dec
       'Nolpwu pinched John's son.'

The relational noun approach assumes that the possessee is a defective nominal. This assumption is also problematic because pronouns that are of argumental type can occur as possesses in EPCs, as exemplified below.

(16) Nolpwu-ka   Mary-lul   yeki-(lu)l   ttayli-ess-ta.
       Nolpwu-nom   Mary-acc   here-acc   hit-pst-dec
       'Nolpwu hit this part (=lit. here) of Mary.'

(17) Nolpwu-ka   catongcha-lul   ike-(lu)l   kocangnay-ss-ta
       Nolpwu-nom   car-acc   this thing-acc   break-pst-dec
       'Nolpwu broke this part (=lit. this thing) of car.'

In conclusion, both the complex event approach and the relational noun approach have shortcomings in accounting for EPCs. While proposing an alternative approach in the following section, I will re-examine the semantic or pragmatic conditions to license EPCs based on actual examples of language use.

4. Licensing Constraints of EPCs Revisited

It has been widely accepted that the inalienable possession relationship plays a crucial role in licensing Korean EPCs, but its lexical approach is problematic. As in (15), kinship terms cannot occur as possessee nouns in EPCs, although they express inherent relations between two entities. Several studies have shown that the scope of inalienable possession is indeterminate because the notion of inalienable possession is not semantically defined but it is culture-dependent (Seiler, 1983; Nichols, 1992; Bally, 1996; Chappell and McGregor, 1996; Heine, 1997, inter alia). Let's take for example Native American languages where inalienable and alienable nouns are obviously distinguished by means of morphological devices: the possessor or the possessee is morphologically marked depending on their alienability. In some Native American languages like Konkow, inalienable nouns include kinship terms but not body-part terms. In other languages such as Tuscarora and Seneca, inalienable possession is confined to body-part or other part-whole terms; kinship terms are classified as alienable (Nichols, 1992). Furthermore, not all body parts are classified as inalienable in Seneca: certain body-part terms like 'hair' and 'liver' carry an alienable prefix (Nichols, 1992; Mithun, 1999). What kinds of nouns count as inalienable varies from language to language, and even within one language it differs depending on generation or a speech community (Heine, 1997). From this perspective, it may not be surprising that the grammatical judgment of EPCs differs among Korean linguists. As such some speakers judge EPCs with kinship terms as acceptable (Cho, 2000; Yeon, 2019).[6]

A careful examination of EPCs naturally used in newspapers and web blogs reveals that nouns can appear as the possesses in EPCs if they are conventionally understood as prototypical inalienable parts of entities in given contexts. For example, unlike body-part terms, the nouns 'battery' and 'string' do not inherently denote an inalienable relation. In other words, they do not lexically require the existence of a particular object to which they are attached. Nevertheless, they can appear as possesses in EPCs. In (18), 'battery' and 'string' are used to refer to essential and prototypical parts relevant to the watch, although they are replaceable.[7]

    (18) ku-ka   sikyey-lul   kencenci-lul/cwul-lul   kal-ass-ta

          he-nom   watch-acc   battery-acc/string-acc   change-pst-dec

          'He changed the battery/string of the watch.'

Yeon (2019) argues that the relationship between the possessor and the possessee in an EPC is contextually

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6) Tomioka and Sim (2007) also use the sentence in (i) as a counterexample to the claim that possessee nouns are restricted to inalienable relational nouns. In (i), *phal* 'arm' cannot be considered as an inalienable part of the robot before the attaching event. However, sentence (i) differs from an EPC in that the verb 'attach' in (i) is a three-place predicate taking 'the robot' and 'the arm' as two separate arguments. The goal role is assigned to 'the robot', which can be marked with the locative case −*eyta*, as in (ii).

(i) Chelswu-ka   robot-ul   phal-ul   tal-ass-ta.
   Chelswu-nom robot-acc arm-acc attach-pst-dec
   'Chelswu attached the arm to the robot.' (Tomioka and Sim, 2007: 7)

(ii) Chelswu-ka   robot-eyta   phal-ul   tal-ass-ta.
   Chelswu-nom robot-loc   arm-acc   attach-pst-dec

7) Examples in (18), (22), (23), and (24) are those that modify the EPCs found in Korean newspapers, books, and blogs.

determined in terms of contiguity rather than the inalienable part-of relation. He claims that EPCs are allowed when the possessee is physically or cognitively contiguous to the possessor.[8] However, as mentioned above, not all nouns are allowed as EPC possesses. Even if the possessor was holding a book at the time of the event, (19) sounds awkward. A book is not used as an object that is inalienably attached to a human, unlike clothing items such as shirts and shoes, which are conventionally understood as inalienable parts of someone if he or she is wearing them.

(19) ??ku-ka   Mary-lul   chayk-ul   cap-ss-ta/ccic-ess-ta
        he-nom   Mary-acc   book-acc   catch-pst-dec/ tear-pst-dec
        'He caught/tore Mary's book.'

Moreover, if EPCs only require the contiguity between the possessor and the possessee, the unacceptability of (20b) cannot be explained. Although both 'face' and 'cheek' denote inalienable physical parts, 'face' must precede its meronym 'cheek'. The part-of relation must be established between two adjacent accusative-marked nominals: in the EPC, an accusative marked nominal should be interpreted as a part of the immediately preceding accusative-marked nominal.

(20)   a. John-i   Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   ppyam-ul   ttayli-ess-ta.
            John-nom   Mary-acc   face-acc   cheek-acc   hit-pst-dec

       b. ??John-i   Mary-lul   ppyam-ul   elkwul-ul   ttayli-ess-ta.
            John-nom   Mary-acc   cheek-acc   face-acc   hit-pst-dec
            'John hit the cheek of Mary's face.'

This meronymic constraint can also explain why the relative order of the possessor and the possessee is fixed in the EPC, even though any case-marked elements rather freely scramble in Korean. As shown in (21), the possessor cannot follow the possessee that denotes a part of the possessor. Therefore, the inalienable part-of interpretation relation − not contiguity − is a crucial factor that determines the acceptability of EPCs and controls the word order.

(21)   a. John-i   Mary-lul   elkwul-lul   ttayli-ess-ta.
            John-nom   Mary-acc   face-acc   hit-pst-dec

       b. ??John-i   elkwu-lul   Mary-lul   ttayli-ess-ta.
            John-nom   face-acc   Mary-acc   hit-pst-dec
            'John hit Mary's face.'

In some languages that distinguish alienability and inalienability grammatically (e.g., Australian Aboriginal

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8) Assuming that inalienable nouns are restricted to meronyms denoting physical parts, he argues that terms for clothing such as 'shoe' and 'shirt' are allowed as EPC possesses because of their physical contiguous interpretations: the possessors wear them. However, clothing terms are analyzed as inalienable nouns that denote things someone wears. The concept of inalienability is differently understood in Yeon (1999, 2019).

languages such as Mayali and Nyulnyul), inalienable nouns include abstract nouns describing personal attributes and personal representation: e.g., 'name', 'image,' and 'spirit' (Chappell and McGregor, 1996). We can easily find that such abstract nouns appear as possesses in EPCs, as exemplified below.[9]

(22) John-un   ku   ai-lul   ilum-ul   molu-n-ta.
     John-top   that   kid-acc   name-acc   not.know-pres-dec
     'John does not know the kid's name.'

(23) ai-lul   sengkyek-ul   pakkwulye-myen ilehkey   hay-ya ha-n-ta
     kid-acc   personality-acc   change-if   this way   do-must do-pres-dec
     '(You) need to do this in order to change the kid's personality.'

Consider another example in (24). The nouns 'dance' and 'song' serve as the possesses of the possessor BTS, which is a world-famous South Korean boy band. In (24), 'dance' and 'song' referring to BTS's own dance and songs are inseparable properties of BTS.

(24) ku-nun   BTS-lul   chwum-ul/nolay-lul   cohaha-n-ta
     he-top   BTS-acc   dance-acc/song-acc   like-pre-dec
     'He likes BTS's dance/songs.'

When BTS is replaced by 'the actor', the EPC becomes unacceptable, as in (25), because 'dance' and 'song' are not regarded as inalienable characteristics or key qualities of actors. The contrast between (24) and (25) indicates that the inalienable part-of meaning that determines the acceptability of EPCs depends on cultural and pragmatic knowledge.

(25) ??ku-nun   ku paywu-lul   chwum-ul/nolay-lul   cohaha-n-ta
      he-top   that actor-acc   dance-acc/song-acc   like-pre-dec
      'He likes that actor's dance/songs.'

The possessee nominal should be shifted to the one that expresses an inalienable part-of relation in an EPC, but this shifting does not take place at the lexical level. Recall that pronouns can occur as possesses in EPCs, as in (16) and (17), which are repeated below.

(26) Nolpwu-ka   Mary-lul   yeki-(lu)l   ttayli-ess-ta.
     Nolpwu-nom   Mary-acc   here-acc   hit-pst-dec
     'Nolpwu hit this part (=lit. here) of Mary.'

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9) Yeon (1999, 2019) also notices that the concept of inalienable possession is not restricted to part-whole relations between two physical entities, but he takes this as evidence in favor of the claim that the relationship between the possessor and the possessee should be defined in terms of physical or cognitive contiguity.

(27) Nolpwu-ka   catongcha-lul   ike-(lu)l   kocangnay-ss-ta.

     Nolpwu-nom   car-acc   this thing-acc   break-pst-dec

     'Nolpwu broke this part (=lit. this thing) of car.'

Note that the pronouns in (26) and (27) are interpreted as inalienable parts of the possessors: the speaker is talking about Mary's body part and a part of the car. What is interesting is that a speaker can utter (26) by pointing at his or her own chin, rather than Mary's chin. Similarly, (27) can be uttered in a situation where the speaker shows the addressee a side mirror displayed on a shelf. The pronoun in the possessee position itself does not necessarily refer to a particular object that is inalienable to the possessor. Thus, a special mechanism shifting an entity to a property needs to be applied in order for the possessee to obtain an inalienable part-of meaning.[10]

Given that the inalienable part-whole meaning is not lexically attributed to the semantics of the possesee noun, I propose that the possessee of argumental type is shifted to an expression of $<<e, <e, t>>, <e, <e, t>>>$. It can be derived by combining the possessee nominal with a null element expressing an inalienable part-of relationship, as below.

(28) $\lambda P \lambda x \, \lambda y \, \exists z \, [z = $ the arm' $\land$ inalienable-part-of'$(z)(x) \land P(z)(y)]$

        the arm' $\lambda w \, \lambda P \, \lambda x \, \lambda y \, \exists z \, [z = w \land$ inalienable-part-of'$(z)(x) \land P(z)(y)]$

The shifted nominal functions as a predicate modifier that adds an inalienable part-of meaning to a predicate and saturates the internal argument of a transitive verb. In other words, the possessee is shifted to a predicate that restricts the internal argument of a verb to be an inalienable part of an entity. This inalienable possessee combines with a verb, yielding a transitive verb of type $<e, <e, t>>$, which can combine with the possessor as illustrated below.

(29) $\lambda y \, \exists z \, [z = $ the arm' $\land$ inalienable-part-of'$(z)($Mary'$) \land$ kick'$(z)(y)]$

      Mary' $\lambda x \, \lambda y \, \exists z[z = $ the arm' $\land$ inalienable-part-of'$(z)(x) \land$ kick'$(z)(y)]$

         $\lambda P \, \lambda x \, \lambda y \, \exists z[z = $ the arm' $\land$ inalienable-part-of'$(z)(x) \land P(z)(y)]$ $\lambda y \, \lambda z$ kick'$(z)(y)$

The proposed shifting approach is similar to the relational noun approach in that the possessee plays a key role in licensing EPCs. Hence, it can also capture the recursive nature of EPCs without positing an invisible verb in the syntax. Unlike the relational noun approach, however, the proposed approach does not assume that the inalienable part-of meaning is lexically determined, but it is derived by the nominal shifting that depends on cultural and pragmatic knowledge. This raises a fundamental question of what motivates such a nominal shifting or why Korean speakers use EPCs － marked constructions － instead of IPCs.

EPCs may be used to avoid ambiguity and to ensure that the addressee will interpret the possessee as an inalienable part of the possessor. Considering that a body-part term is highly unlikely to be interpreted as an alienable noun,

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10) The possesses in (26) and (27) can have a definite or referential reading contextually if the speaker points out a part of the possessor.

however, it seems uneconomical to use the EPC in (30a) for the inalienable possession reading, instead of the IPC in (30b), which does not require an additional nominal shifting.

(30) a. (Nolpwu-ka)   Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   ttaylye-ss-eyo.
       (Nolpwu-nom) Mary-acc face-acc   hit-pst-dec(polite).

      b. (Nolpwu-ka)   Mary-uy   elkwul-ul   ttaylye-ss-eyo|
       (Nolpwu-nom) Mary-gen   face-acc   hit-pst-dec(polite)
       'Nolpwu hit Mary's face.'

For a logical perspective, EPCs can be always replaced by their IPC counterparts that can have inalienable possession interpretations. Yet, only EPCs are felicitous when the possessor by itself needs to be focused or be presented as newsworthy. Unlike the EPC in (30a), the IPC in (30b) sounds odd as an answer to the question "Who did Nolpwu hit?"

(31) A: Nolpwu-ka   nwukwu-lul ttaylye-ss-ni?
        Nolpwu-nom   who-acc   hit-pst-int
        'Who did Nolpwu hit?'

      B: (a)   Mary-lul elkwul-ul ttaylye-ss-eyo.
        (b) ??Mary-uy elkwul-ul ttaylye-ss-eyo.

The pragmatic account puts a new perspective on the affectedness condition. Consider (32). In the literature, the unacceptability of (32) is presented as evidence in favor of the claim that the affectedness condition is a necessary condition to license EPCs.

(32) ??John-i   Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   po-ass-ta
       John-nom   Mary-acc   face-acc   see-pst-dec
       'John saw Mary's face.'

Compare (32) with the following examples that are slightly modified from the sentences that are actually used in newspapers and blogs. Korean speakers use EPCs even when there is no physical or psychological effect on the possessor.

(33) ai-nun   halmeni-lul   elkwul-ul   po-camaca   wulum-ul thettuli-ess-ta
       kid-top   grandmother-acc face-acc   see-as soon as   tear- acc   burst-pst-dec
       'The child burst into tears as soon as he saw his grandmother's face.

(34) elil-cek   halmeni-lul   twis-mosup-ul   po-mye   nukkye-ss-ten kamceng-i
       be.young-during   grandmother-acc posterior-figure-acc see-conj   feel-pst-retro feeling-nom

icey   pwumonim-ul   po-myen   nukkyeci-n-ta
now   parent-acc   see-conj   feel-pre-dec

'The feelings I felt when I looked at my grandmother's posterior figure when I was a child are now felt when I look at my parents.'

In (33), the possessor 'grandmother' is newly introduced in the discourse and presents new information. Even if this is not the case, it is contextually clear that what the speaker intends to say is an event of the kid's seeing his grandmother − not seeing a particular part of her body. In (34), the possessor 'grandmother' − not the possessee 'posterior-figure' − is compared with the speaker's parents in the second clause. In (33) and (34), the possessors are more pragmatically prominent by presenting new information or containing contrastive information.

Indeed, the unnaturalness of (32) is because it is used independently without a context. (32) sounds natural in contexts where John finally met Mary in person or where he had wanted to find out how she looked like. If the adverbial 'finally' is added to (32), triggering such a presupposition, the EPC becomes felicitous, as in (35). The acceptability of (32) depends on whether the pragmatic prominence is placed on Mary rather than her particular body part.[11]

(35) John-i   tutie   Mary-lul   elkwul-ul   po-ass-ta
      John-nom   finally   Mary-acc   face-acc   see-pst-dec
      'John finally saw Mary's face.'

The pragmatic effect of an EPC can be captured in the nominal shifting approach. If the possessee undergoes the nominal shifting and denotes an inalienable part of something or someone, it presupposes the existence of the possessor. As a result, the possessor is highly likely to be a contrastive topic or focus. By taking pragmatic factors into account, an explanation can be provided for why the possessor − but not the possessee − can be relativized, as exemplified in (36) (Tomioka and Sim, 2007).

(36) a. [Nolpwu-ka   tali-lul ttayli-n]   ai-nun   wul-ko   mal-ass-ta
         [Nolpwu-nom   leg-acc hit-rel]   kid-top   cry-conj   perf-pst-dec
         'The kid whose leg John hit cried.'

      b. ??[Nolpwu-ka   ai-lul   ttayli-n] tali-nun   pwule-ci-ko   mal-ass-ta.
         [Nolpwu-nom   kid-acc   hit-rel]   leg-top   break-pass-conj perf-pst-dec
         'That kid's leg that Nolpwu hit was broken.'

The information presented in a relative clause is presupposed and not focused. If the possessor should be topicalized or focused in an EPC, it naturally falls out that (36b), in which the possessor is a part of the relative clause, sounds odd.

Note that the examples in (33) and (34) also show that EPCs are acceptable even when the possessor is not affected by

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11) According to Tomioka and Sim (2005, 2007), sentence (32) is acceptable. The acceptability of EPCs regarding the affectedness condition varies from speakers to speakers.

an event described by the possessee plus a verb. The affectedness meaning does not arise when EPCs have agentless, non-action verbs whose objects do not denote affected entities, as in (22) as well as (33) and (34).[12] In addition, not all action verbs imply the physical or psychological affectedness of their objects. For example, the verb 'imitate' in (37) does not describe an action that affects the object. In this case, the affectedness condition is not satisfied: the original singer is not usually affected by the action of someone's imitating his or her voice.

(37) mochang-kaswu-ka   wenco-kaswu-lul   moksoli-lul   hyungnaynay-ss-ta
      impersonator-singer-top   original-singer-acc voice-acc   imitate-pst-dec
      'The impersonator imitated the original singer's voice.'

Thus, the affectedness condition is not a necessary condition. The affected meaning is a pragmatically derived meaning by highlighting the possessor that is inalienable to the possessee when a verb describes an action of affecting the possessee. If the object of a verb is affected adversely, the speaker can express some emotional empathy towards the possessor by using an EPC.

5. Conclusion

This paper has discussed the problems of the two previous semantic approaches, focusing the two well-known conditions to license EPCs − that is, the inalienable possession and the affectedness condition. Previous studies attempted to deal with these conditions semantically or syntactically, and they overlooked discourse motivations for the use of EPCs. I have argued that the use or felicity of EPCs depends on the pragmatic salience of the possessor. In an EPC, the possessor is topicalized or focused by applying a type shifting rule that turns the possessee nominal into a predicate modifier adding an inalienable part-of meaning to the internal argument of a transitive verb. The shifted possessee forces its presupposed inalienable possessor to be presented saliently or highlighted. This pragmatic account is based on the actual examples found in Korean newspapers and blogs, which also show that the affectedness of the possessor is not necessarily evoked in EPCs.

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12) Yeon (2019) claims that non-action verbs do not occur in EPCs because the affectedness condition is obligatory. Contrary to his claim, we can easily find that EPCs are used with agentless, non-action verbs especially when the possessee does not denote a physical part.

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