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A SYNTACTIC OCP APPROACH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN *

1 INTRODUCTION

Previously in Yamaguchi (2015a,b), I argued that the popular views on Root Transformations (RT) in the embedded clauses are not sufficient. Conventional views take it for granted that the availability/unavailability of the embedded RT is correlated with the C-head selections of the complement CP and the factivity of the embedded clause in Japanese; I name them correlation approaches. However, there are several cases in which those correlation approaches do not capture the reality.

First, I will review Yamaguchi (2015a,b) for the problems residing in the correlation approaches. Then, as an alternative, inspired by Hiraiwa (2010), I will present a non-correlation approach (Double Accusative Constraint (DAC)/Double o Constraint (DoC)) so that I can solve the problems I have introduced: Yamaguchi (2015b).

Subsequently, my approach is tested with the embedded RT of another language which is very close to Japanese: Korean. Especially, I will turn to Raising to Object in Korean. Then, I will provide some consequences from Double Accusative Constraint (DAC) in Japanese. After that, I argue that the DAC approach can be reinterpreted as a variation of syntactic Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP); as it turns out, Japanese and Korean show an intriguing contrast in terms of the application of the syntactic OCP. In other words, OCP is applied at different levels between these two languages: namely, at Phase level in Japanese and at DP level in Korean. Importantly, according to Hiraiwa (2010), DoC can be boiled down to OCP.

Throughout this paper, based on Yamaguchi (2015a), Raising to Object (RtO) construction is considered as a case of RTs in Japanese in that the RtO involves Topicalization at the very beginning of its derivation; I assume RtO constructions as Topicalization cases, and the embedded RT here can be equated with the embedded

* This paper is a revised version of the one I have submitted for the proceedings of SICOOG17. The previous version was a continuation of the research that I have submitted to the proceedings of WAFL11. This version is supplemented with some crucial Korean data and my reflections on these data based on the comments from my language consultants and audience. I am indebted to the audience at SICOOG for their invaluable comments and suggestions as well as their honest judgements of my crucial data. The remaining errors and inaccuracy are of course my own.

topicalization.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 covers the core of the precedent researchers' correlation analyses as well as the necessary backgrounding knowledge. Section 3 introduces problems in the correlation analyses pointed out in Yamaguchi (2015b). Section 4 reintroduces Yamaguchi (2015b)'s alternative (non-correlation) analysis. Section 5 deals with Korean RtO. Based on the discussion of the necessary requirement in obtaining the grammatical RtO in Korean in section 5, section 6 tackles the double case phenomena in Korean. I will propose a unified account for the Double Accusative Constraint in Japanese and Korean. Section 7 presents the conclusions, and remaining issues.

2 BACKGROUND

As a starter, observe (1) for a typical instance of RtO in Japanese.

- (1) RtO
- a. * John-ga [Bill-ga orokanimo tensai-da-to]
 John-Nom [Bill-Nom stupidly genius-Cop-Comp]
 omot-teiru
 think-Prog
 ‘Stupidly, John thinks that Bill is a genius.’
- b. John-ga Bill-o_i orokanimo [_{t_i} tensai-da-to].
 John-Nom Bill-Acc_i stupidly [_{t_i} genius-Cop-Comp]
 omot-teiru
 think-Prog
 ‘John thinks of Bill stupidly as a genius.’ (Tanaka 2002: 637-638)
- c. * [_{t_i} baka-da-to]_j John-ga Bill-o_i _{t_j} omot-teiru.
 [_{t_i} fool-Cop-Comp]_j John-Nom Bill-Acc_i _{t_j} think-Prog
 ‘[_{t_i} as a fool]_j, John thinks of Bill_i _{t_j}.’
- (Tanaka 2002: 639)

In the RtO instance (1b), Raised Object (RO) is marked with accusative case. Since the interjection of the high adverb leads to ungrammaticality in (1a), *Bill-Nom* is considered to be in the embedded clause. On the other hand, the interjection of the same adverb elicits a felicitous sentence in (1b). Hence, RO *Bill-Acc* is located in the matrix clause. (1c) is a case of the violation of the Proper Binding Condition (PBC). The movement of RO is thought to lead to this violation.

In the next section, we will go through the precedent researchers' correlation approaches. I will introduce essential notions used in the conventional approaches (Miyagawa 2011, Kuno 1973, and Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014).

Based on the verbal classifications advocated by Hooper and Thompson (1973), as shown in (2), Miyagawa (2011) proposed a list of compatibility between the Japanese C-heads and the predicates as in (3). Note that the Class D predicates are claimed to select only C-head *koto*. According to Miyagawa (2011), embedded RT is felicitous with Classes A, B, and E. Hence, if Miyagawa (2011) is right, RtO should not be available under the Class D predicate.

- Since Miyagawa (2011) is based on Kuno (1973), they necessarily share the same idea: C-head *to* takes a non-factive complement, but C-head *koto* takes a factive complement. In the next subsection, another correlation approach (Miyagawa and Jiménez-Fernández 2014) will be introduced.

Miyagawa and Jiménez-Fernández carry out a factive Operator analysis for the embedded RT (Topicalization) in Japanese. Importantly, they presuppose the correlation between the factivity in the complement clause and the availability or unavailability of the RT in the embedded clause. According to their correlation approach, the factive Operator generated in the presupposed complement clause disallows the RT. In their analysis, the factive Operator is inevitably generated in the complement clauses which assume factivity; the factive Operator moves to the embedded CP-spec position, which is also targeted by the RT. Since the factive

¹ Since Class C verbs are irrelevant to this paper, I will exclude this class from our discussion.

In the next section, we will look at the problems which the above-mentioned correlation analyses are confronted with.

Let us start with Miyagawa (2011). If you look at (4), we can see that the factive predicate which belongs to Class D type such as *regret* can take C-head *to* as well as C-head *koto* in the first place, contrary to the compatibility listings in (3) given in Miyagawa (2011)².

(4) John-wa [sono.toki-no zibun-nokoudou-**ga** amari.ni.mo
 John-top that.time-gen self-genactions-nom altogether.too
 keisotu dat-ta] ***to/koto-o*** koukai-site.iru. (**non-raised**)
 frivolous cop-past comp -acc **regret-do**
 ‘John regrets the actions of himself at that time to have been altogether
 too frivolous.’ (adapted from Horn (2008:106))

Problematic Examples for Miyagawa (2011) & Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa (2014): Class E Type ‘minuku’

(i) John-wa sono.toki-no zibun-nokoudou-i-o [ti
 John-top that.time-gen self-genactions-acc
 amari.ni.mo keisotu dat-ta] to/*koto-o koukai-site.iru
 altogether.too frivolous cop-past comp-acc regret-do (RtO)
 ‘John regrets the actions of himself at that time to have been altogether too frivolous.’
 (adapted from Horn (2008:106))

- (5) John-wa [Hanako-**ga/-o** Americazin-da] **to** minuita.
 John-top Hanako-nom/acc American-cop C spotted
 John spotted that Hanako was an American.
- (6) #Actually, Hanako was a Japanese. (Continuing Context for (5))
 ⇒[+factive] complement/presupposition in the embedded clause
- (7) John-wa [Hanako-**ga/*o** Amerikazin-dearu] **koto-o** minuita.
 John-top Hanako-nom/acc Amerikazin-cop C-acc spotted
 John spotted that Hanako was an American.
- (8) #Actually, Hanako was a Japanese. (Continuing Context for (7))
 ⇒[+factive] complement/presupposition in the embedded clause

Here, I utilized a Class E verb ‘*minuita*’, which is a past-tense form of ‘*minuku*,’ and it literary means *discerned*, *spotted*, or *found out* for a matrix verb. (5) is the C-head *to* version, and (7) is the C-head *koto* version³.

Then, let us look at the continuing context for (5), namely, (6). This context sentence is provided to allow the readers to evaluate the presence/absence of the presupposition/factivity in the embedded clause of the preceding sentence. If the continuing context sentence, uttered by another speaker, sounds acceptable, most likely in a sense that the first sentence is wrong and the following context is interpreted as a sort of correction, then we can say that the complement clause in the first sentence does not bear presupposition.

In contrast, if the following context, uttered by a person other than the speakers of the previous sentences, sounds deviant or if it is impossible to obtain the above-mentioned (correction of misinformation) sense, then we can conclude that the complement clause in the previous sentence *does* have presupposition/factivity. The # sign in (6) indicates the deviant status of the continuing context.

Since both (6) and (8) are marked with # signs, it is evident that the complement clauses selected by C-head *to* as well as C-head *koto* assume presupposition, which is contrary to Miyagawa (2011). Remember that Kuno (1973) strongly assumes the correlation between the types of C-head and its complement and Miyagawa (2011) is dependent on Kuno (1973) in this respect. Thus, it seems that correlation approaches based on factivity may not be well-founded⁴. Please note that (5) also casts doubt on the factive Operator analysis for the embedded RT. Miyagawa and Jiménez-Fernández (2014)’s factive operator analysis predicts that the RT would be disallowed with (5), for the complement clause of (5) clearly bears presupposition/factivity as shown in (6).

³ It might be heuristic to interject a high adverb in (5) so that the reader can see that the RO is located in the matrix clause.

(i) John-wa [Hanako-***ga/-o** **suguni** Americazin-da] **to** minuita.
 John-top Hanako-nom/acc instantly American-cop C spotted
 John instantly spotted that Hanako was an American.

Here, the interjection of the high adverb is felicitous with accusative-marked *Hanako*, whereas it results in an ill-formed construction with the nominative-marked *Hanako*.

⁴ Please recall that the correlation approach assumes that C-head *to* only takes a non-factive complement.

Yet, the prediction cannot be borne out empirically. As you can see from the fully-grammatical status of the application of RtO, which is realized with accusative case-marking on *Hanako*, the factive Operator analysis does not seem to capture the reality.

However, there is a problem in (7). Although the non-raised version is grammatical, its RtOed counterpart is ungrammatical when the C-head *koto* is employed. We have already realized the danger of blindly believing in correlation approaches based on factivity. If we do not take the stance of there being a correlation between the factive complement and the C-head selection with respect to the availability/unavailability of RtO, and if we cannot rely on the factive Operator analysis, then we must give some explanation as to why RtO is only incompatible with the C-head *koto*. Further, if factivity is the only reason for banning RtO, why does the C-head *koto* version elicit such a strong ungrammatical status with RtO, given that factive islands are weak islands? We suspect that something more than factivity is involved.

In the next section, we will see a possible solution for solving the problems, lurking behind (7).

4 ONE SOLUTION DEVOID OF CORRELATION : YAMAGUCHI (2015B)

To solve the issue which has been raised in the previous section, I argued that Double *o* Constraint (DoC) of derivational type proposed by Hiraiwa (2010) is at work in the infelicitous cases of C-head *koto* versions of RtO in Yamaguchi (2015b). His DoC is given in (9).

- (9) A Phase Theory of the DoC (The final version): Multiple identical occurrences of the structural accusative Case value cannot be morpho-phonologically realized within a single Spell-Out domain at Transfer.
(Hiraiwa 2010:753)

Regarding the structural assumption of the RtO under the C-head *koto*, I have emulated Hiraiwa's structural assumption of *tokoro* relative clause because I assume that a similar situation as Hiraiwa's on *tokoro* relative clause is also seen in *koto* clause: Just as *tokoro*, *koto* itself is not the object of the matrix verb. Actually, what is inside of the clause is the real object of the matrix predicate. The structure for RtOed version of (7) is given in (10).

Diagram illustrating a syntactic tree structure for the sentence "Hanako spotted that she was an American koto-O". The tree shows a TP root branching into J-ga and T'. T' branches into vP and T. vP branches into VP and v. VP branches into V'. V' branches into CP and V. CP branches into a complementizer 'e' and a clause. The clause is a TP with a subject 'she' and a predicate 'was an American koto-O'. A red arrow points from the complementizer 'e' to the object 'koto-O' in the lower clause, labeled 'DOC violation'. A box labeled 'Spell-Out' points to the lower clause. The lower clause is underlined.

Salvation Strategies for the DoC Applied to (7):

- (11) Scrambling
Hanako-o_i John-wa [t_i Amerikazin-dearu **koto**]-o minuita.
Hanako-acc John-top American-cop C - acc spotted.
John found out that Hanako was an American.
- (12) Accusative case suppression by the focus sensitive particles
John-wa Hanako-o Amerikazin-dearu **koto-sae/mo** minuita.
John-top Hanako-acc American-cop C-even/too spotted
John even/also found out that Hanako was an American.
- (13) It cleft
John-ga Amerikazin-dearu**koto-o** minuita-no-wa
John-nom American-cop C-acc spotted-C-top
Hanako-o desu.
Hanako-acc cop
It is Hanako that John found out/discerned/spotted that (the person) was
an American.

Thus, the cases which involve RtO are incompatible with *koto* because of DoC. In Japanese, DoC violation is strong and it elicits ungrammaticality. What makes the sentence infelicitous is not the compatibility between the C-head and the RO, but the

incompatibility between the accusative cases that show up too close within the same domain.

In the next section, we will observe that the non-correlation approach we have introduced in this section turns out to be also effective in Korean Double Case Phenomena.

5 RTO IN KOREAN: ITS REQUIREMENT AND CONSEQUENCES FROM JAPANESE

Now that we have solved the problem deriving from simply adopting the correlation analyses which are based on factivity, and have found out a more plausible option, we are at a stage of testing this solution with another language, namely Korean.

It is widely accepted that Korean also has RtO. As far as I know, the matrix verbs used for this operation are restricted, and only ECM-verbs are listed in the literature as relevant items. However, if what we have pointed out in Japanese is correct in Korean, we can predict that Korean counterparts for Japanese cases shown in (5) should allow RtO as well. This prediction is basically borne out.

I have conducted a preliminary consultation with native speakers of Korean. I have asked my informants about the grammaticality of the Korean counterparts of (5) and (7) as well as the RtO case with the accusative marked C-head version with a matrix Class D verb. Incidentally, the Japanese counterpart of this Class D example is given in footnote 2. According to my informants, the Korean counterparts of RtO with respect to Class E and D verbs behaved similarly, except that Korean somehow allowed RtO with the counterpart of the problematic case for Japanese C-head *koto* as well. This may be regarded as a counter-evidence to my non-correlation approach (DoC in Japanese) but actually, it is not.

On the contrary, this can be a strong counter-evidence against the conventional correlation analyses. Please note that Korean is a language which is reported to allow double accusative cases in certain contexts. I would call these phenomena as Double Case Phenomena (DCP). I will briefly take up these phenomena later. Thus, it is natural for Korean not to show the DoC effect detected in Japanese. If DoC, or Double Accusative Constraint (DAC) is negligible in Korean, the picture should be clearer than that of Japanese. In other words, if the relevant sentence becomes ungrammatical, the liable source should be the factivity of the complement clause, provided the factivity-based analysis is correct. Quite understandably, correlation analyses predict that RtO is impossible in the factive complement. However, the prediction is not borne out as can be seen from the grammaticality of (14)-(15) and (16)-(17).

- (14) 존은 하나코가/를 (pause)미국인이라고 (곧)알아차렸다.
 John-eun hanakoga-/leul migug-in-ila-go (god)
 John-nom Hanako-nom/acc American-cop-C(immediately)
 al-achalyeossda.
 found out

- (15) 존은 하나코가/를(pause)미국인인/이라는 것을 (곧)알아차렸다.

John-eun Hanako-ga/leul migug-in-in/ilaneun geos-eul
 John-nom Hanako-nom/acc American-cop C-acc
 (god) al-achalyeossda.
 (immediately) found out

- (16) 존은 그때의 자신의 행동이/을너무나 경솔했었다고 후회하고 있다.

John-eun geutta-eui jasin-ui haengdong-i/eul neomuna
 John-top that time-gen self's action-nom -acc too
 gyeongsolhaess-eossdago huhohago issda.
 frivolous-cop-C regret-cop
 'John regrets the actions of himself at that time to have been altogether too frivolous.'

- (17) 존은 그 때의 자신의 행동이/을 너무나 경솔했던 것을 후회하고 있다.

John-eun geu tta-eui jasin-ui haengdong-i /eul neomuna
 John-nom that time-gen self's action-nom -acc too
 gyeongsolhaessdeon geos-eul huhohago issda.
 frivolous-cop C-acc regret-cop
 'John regrets the actions of himself at that time to have been altogether too frivolous.'

As is observable from (14)-(17), RtO is somehow allowed at least for some speakers⁵. This means that factivity may not be a reason in disallowing RT in Korean, either. Therefore, the reason why the counterpart of ungrammatical (7), which is (15), is not ungrammatical in Korean may be attributable to the absence of Japanese type DAC in Korean.

Here, we hit upon a question: What restricts Korean RtO if it were not for the factivity or the Japanese type DAC? This question can be answered by referring to the precedent researchers' works on Korean RtO.

Numerous literatures on RtO seem to have reached an agreement in that RO in Korean has a particular property which can be equated with Japanese RO. Yoon (2007) argues that the complement clause of RO has to meet 'characteristic property'. Yoon attributes this condition of RO to the original status of the moving element: Major Subject. Yoon claims that what undergoes RtO should be originated as a Major Subject in the embedded clause⁶.

⁵ I must mention the presence of informants who regard as ungrammatical the examples with the case-marked C-head as (15), just as Japanese cases. Due to the severity of the badness in grammaticality, I suggest that the people who do not like (15) have another strong constraint such as Complex NP constraint (CNPC) as a dominant/ inviolable constraint. Those who gave favorable grammatical judgements to (15) may perceive CNPC as a violable constraint. However, to give a full account for this state of affairs is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁶ It is often reported that Japanese RO and its complement also have a similar property: The

(18) a. Na-nun LA-lul hankwuk salam-i manhi san-ta-ko
I-TOP LA-A Korean people-N many live-DEC-C
mitkoiss-ta.
believe-_{Prog-DEC}
'I believe many Korean people to live in LA.'
b. * Na-nun LA-lul naytongsayng-i san-ta-ko mitkoiss-ta.
I-TOP LA-A my brother-N live-DEC-C believe-DEC
'I believe that my brother lives in LA.'

(Koak 2012:138)

We deduce from the above mentioned literature that the accusative marked RO has to have a topical status, just as Japanese, whenever RtO takes place. In other words, so long as RO retains a topical status, then RtO should be allowed in Korean. Importantly, unlike previous researchers I assume this property should hold outside of ECM-matrix verbs as well. I argue that this topical property which the accusative marked element bears in the case of RtO on embedded clauses plays a crucial role in sanctioning Double Accusative Phenomena (DAP) in Korean⁸.

Interestingly, some of those who judged (15) and (17) grammatical mentioned that they tend to put a sufficient pose after the RO; they also mentioned that the RO has a sort of focalized meaning under the context of the case-marked C-head; of course, it is more normal for them to mark the embedded subject with a nominative in such cases. It seems that marking the embedded subject with accusative case is a marked option under the accusative case marked C-head as in (15) and (17)⁹. But when they do, it requires some legitimate cause or motivation such as topicality or focus-hood. This intuition will be particularly important when we deal with the DAP in Korean, which

⁷ In fact, this also holds in Japanese RtO (Kawai 2006, Horn 2012 *inter alia*.) Researchers of Japanese RtO state that the embedded predicates should be restricted to individual-level predicates or predicates which have stative meanings. Incidentally, according to Horn (2012), non-individual level predicates can appear in the embedded clause as long as it can be interpreted in generic, habitual or resultative senses.

⁸ Again, further data collection and consultation with informants are necessary.

⁹ I am not claiming that the RO is in the embedded clause. The embedded subject obtains accusative marking when it is raised to the matrix clause.

will be unraveled shortly.

In the next section, we will consider DAP in Japanese and Korean.

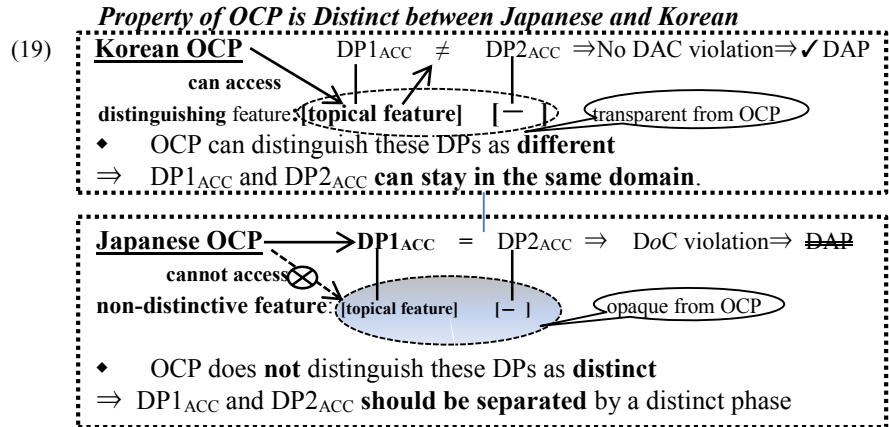
6 DOUBLE ACCUSATIVE PHENOMENA (DAP) IN KOREAN

At this point, one may wonder why only multiple accusative cases are banned while multiple nominative cases are generally allowed in Japanese?

Hiraiwa (2010) suggests that two nominative case-marked DPs are positioned in distinct phrases in Japanese: One is in CP and the other is in TP.

This in turn allows him to dissociate those two DPs in different phasal domains. As a result, Hiraiwa was able to entertain double nominative DPs with his DoC analysis. It is often noted in the literature that Korean double nominative subject constructions have a similar property as its Japanese counterpart in that the first DP should have a topical/focal status and the rest of the sentence including the second DP denotes a property of the first element.

Yet, obviously, it is impossible for Japanese to have a structure similar to Korean with respect to the DAP, since DoC is quite strong in Japanese. Importantly, Hiraiwa (2010) mentions that his syntactic DoC can be reduced to the syntactic Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP)¹⁰. Based on this, I claim that the property of the OCP varies across languages. I would like to make the following proposal to explain the absence of the DAP in Japanese and its presence in Korean.



Although an accusative-marked RO bears topicality in Japanese RtO, this does not

¹⁰ To put it very simply, the OCP does not allow the existence of identical elements juxtaposing each other.

license double occurrences of accusative cases in the same Spell-Out domain. I assume that the Japanese OCP/DoC does not count this information structural feature of topicality as a distinguishing feature, so that the presence of the feature on one of the two accusative elements (DP) does not distinguish them as different elements; this, can be seen in the Japanese OCP part in (19). In other words, the information regarding the presence/absence of one of the accusative-marked DPs is opaque—(invisible from the Japanese OCP), which is indicated with the shadowed encircled part in the Japanese OCP above. Since the Japanese OCP cannot access the information structural property, which is inside of the DP, the two DPs are judged as identical items. So, in Japanese, the topical feature can only serve as a non-distinguishing feature if it is there. Therefore, I argue that Japanese requires one of the accusative-marked elements to be extracted out of the same Spell-Out domain to make the two elements disambiguated/distinct. I also assume that the Korean OCP/DAC can disambiguate the double accusative-marked elements by their information structural feature composition, which is observable in the Korean OCP part in (19). The lucid encircled part indicates that this information structural feature is accessible to the Korean OCP, which can judge the two DPs as non-equivalent. Hence, the presence of a topic/focus feature in one of the double accusative-marked elements serves to disambiguate the two elements. In this case, the topical feature serves as a distinguishing feature in Korean. Therefore, Korean does not demand that the double accusative-marked elements be posited in distinct Spell-Out domains. The DAP felicitously ensues in this case. Ultimately, the difference in availability or unavailability of the DAP can be attributed to the variations of the realization of the OCP in each language. For the sake of concreteness, I will present a short recap of this subsection consisting of the crucial assumptions and my proposal concerning variations in the OCP.

Recap

Crucial Assumptions

- Japanese allows Double Nominative Subject construction while DAP is strictly banned.
- Double Nominative Subject construction can be entertained by the structure mentioned in Hiraiwa (2010): [_{CP} DP1_{-nom} [_{TP} DP2_{-nom}...]]
- Hiraiwa (2010): Syntactic DoC boils down to a **syntactic Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP)**.

My proposal: Property of OCP is distinct

- **Korean DAC (OCP) can peek into the DP-internal information structural feature:** (topic/focus¹¹). Due to this property, they can be distinguished from each other so long as one of the two identical case-marked elements has a topic feature; Korean DAC (OCP) is not violated. Hence, DAP is allowed as a grammatical output.
- **Japanese DoC (OCP) is indifferent to (or cannot see) the DP-internal**

¹¹ I expediently add “focus” here, for some language consultants sensed a focalized meaning from DP₁.

features of the two accusative marked DPs, even if one of them has a topic feature and the other does not. Therefore, DoC is necessarily violated in Japanese. Since one of the two accusative case marked DP has to be evacuated from the same Spell-Out domain to get a felicitous output, DAP does not obtain as a grammatical output in Japanese.

In the following two subsections, I will take a look at the most typical cases of DAP in Korean: Possessor Raising Construction (PRC) and Double Object Construction. I will show that my prediction on the condition of DAP proposed above is applicable to these constructions.

6.1 Double Object Construction

Numerous works report that Korean has DAP but, this does not mean that Korean has DAP without restriction¹².

Let us look at the double object construction discussed in Jung and Miyagawa (2004). Jung and Miyagawa (2004) investigate Korean double object construction and *to* dative construction by comparing them with their English counterparts. According to Jung and Miyagawa, majority of ditransitive verbs do not allow DAP as in (20), and ditransitive predicates which allow DAP are limited to certain types of verbs, like *give*, *teach*, and *pay*. Even for the verb such as ‘*give*,’ Jung and Miyagawa explain that the verb has to observe a condition to make a felicitous DAP: The Goal accusative DP should be an element which can be a possessor as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of “school-Acc” in (21). On the other hand, they also pointed out that the *to*-dative construction does not require the same restriction on the Goal DP.

- (20) Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul chayk-ul ponay-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc sent-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary sent a book to John.’ (send-type)
 (adapted from Jung and Miyagawa 2004: 7)

- (21) Mary-ka hakkyo-ey/*lul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom school-Dat/Acc money-Acc give-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary gave money to the school.’
 (Jung and Miyagawa 2004: 9)

Moreover, according to Jung and Miyagawa (2004), the Korean double object construction and *to* dative construction are semantically distinct, as in (22).

¹² Incidentally, during my preliminary consultation, one informant reported that it is always easier to get the meaning without DAP. DAP takes cost in processing. The same informant mentioned that the less complicated forms are always preferred, unless there is some strong motivation for using DAP.

(22) a. Mary-ka John-eykey/ul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc give-Past-Dec
b. *Mary did something to the effect that the book is LOCATED on John.*
c. Mary did something to the effect that John gets (=HAVE) the book.
(Jung and Miyagawa 2004: 7)

6.2 Possessor Raising Construction (PRC)

From his corpus data, Bak (2004) mentions that a Possessor is usually marked with genitive case when a subject of the clause is the aboutness topic¹⁴. So, in this case, genitive case marked Possessor is said to be non-topic as in (23). Also according

(i) “As for John_{topic}, he got the book (from Mary).”

¹⁴ Incidentally, Bak (2004) also assumes that nominative marked subjects can bear topicality.

to Bak (2004), when the Possessor is the aboutness topic, it is marked with accusative case or it appears in the bare form. The instance of the characteristic double accusative case is given in (24). This suggests that one of the double accusative case-marked DPs can be interpreted as bearing a distinguishing topical property in this DAP again. This DAP instance seems to be congenial to my prediction as well.

- (23) Subject is the Aboutness Topic
 siemeni-ka taccakocca ttwienaomye siapeci-uy
 m-in-law-nom without reason rush-to f-in-law-gen
 myeksal-ul cap-ko
 lapel-acc grasp-cont
 “the mother-in-law rushed to the father-in-law, and grasped his lapel”
 (Bak 2004:70, 4.11)
- (24) Possessor is the Aboutness Topic
 3se iha-uy aitul-ul kwy-lul kapyepkey
 3-yr-old under-gen kid-acc ear-acc slightly
 ewuylo tangkyese
 back pull
 “Slightly pull the ears of a kid under 3-year’s old”
 (Bak 2004:70, 4.12)

To recapitulate this section, as long as one of the double accusative marked elements has a distinctive property, namely, information structural feature of topicality or focus-hood, then Korean can successfully distinguish two Acc-marked DPs in the same domain. Since double accusative elements are considered distinct in that case, DAP felicitously ensues. Thus, for Korean, syntactic DoC/OCP à la Hiraiwa (2010) is not applicable because the licensing condition is applied at DP-internal/feature compositional level. It might be said that Korean resorts to assigning a distinguishing feature to one of the double accusative case marked DPs to avoid the violation of OCP. Since Japanese does not have this option, two elements of a case-marking should be separated from each other by a distinct phasal domain in Japanese. (Incidentally, we do not have to relegate double accusative case to inherent case¹⁵).

¹⁵ Hiraiwa (2010) tried to give an explanation for the Double Case Phenomena in Korean by assuming that the accusative cases are inherent cases in Korean. Though there might be such homophonic usage particularly in lexically restricted adverbs of frequency or duration, I would like to consider accusative cases as structural in general cases, because of the presence of a grammatical Case stacking example reported in Koak (2012). Also, unlike Hiraiwa (2010), Koak (2012) regards the accusative marking on the above mentioned adverbs as a distinct element from the normal structural case.

Koak (2012) mentions that case stacking should be bad with double inherent case markings or double structural case markings on a single element. Given that dative case is an inherent Case, we would obtain double inherent cases and the sentence should be odd, if we take Hiraiwa’s position. On the contrary, if we assume accusative case as a structural case, a case-stacked element has a single inherent case and a single structural case. So, (i) is fine with Koak’s position.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND REMAINING ISSUES

After I have pointed out the problems of correlation analyses, I have attempted to give a plausible account (non-correlation approach) to solve those problems. I mentioned that DoC by Hiraiwa (2010) or syntactic OCP is a possible solution.

Although the approach introduced in this paper might be restrictively applicable to the complement of C-head *koto*, in the RtO context, it still gives a consistent account for the inconsistency in the conventional analyses. Also, if this approach is taken, we can obtain some consequences in the cross-linguistic occurrences of DCP as well. For instance, I have suggested that the strategies to avoid syntactic DAC or OCP violations may differ across languages: Korean OCP may not be violated if one of the two accusative marked elements bears some distinguishing property, such as topicality. Japanese *does* violate OCP even if the same property is present in one of the two accusative marked elements. Thus, those two elements are necessarily severed into distinct domains.

Nevertheless, I must admit that there is room for fluctuations in Korean also. Those who argue that the RtO is grammatical with Class E and D verbs under the case marked C-head mention that RtO is a marked option, because there is an alternative which does not employ double accusative markings. They agree that the less marked nominative version (absence of RtO) is always better; they take RtO with some focalized meaning. There is one informant who commented that the double accusative construction itself is not ungrammatical but nevertheless she would not use it, since it sounds a bit childish. Probably, her judgement derives from the presence of the unmarked form: non-raised version; if she would like to convey the content of the embedded clause she would have chosen it. Some of the informants who are charitable to my analysis pointed out to me that the Korean version of the Raising to Object with Class D verbs is more likely to get the grammatical status when the RO and the complement clause are interpreted appositively. Other informants told me that there is another reading under which the RO and the complement clause are connected through *pro* in the embedded subject position. In this sense, they assume that the embedded subject is substituted with the nominative marked pronoun. If it is the case, there is room for base generation. However, adopting a base-generation analysis may be premature, for there are some informants who judge RtO cases with Case-marked C-head untenable. Since DAP is possible in Korean and since no movement is involved in deriving RtO cases, we would expect that there is no chance of getting ungrammatical results. So, the presence of informants who judge RtO cases ungrammatical (not because they may sound childish) is particularly persuasive in not adopting a base-generation approach here. After all we still need to resort to the movement-involved RtO analysis.

Case Stacking instance (DAT-ACC):

- (i) Cheli-ka **Yenghi-eykey-man-ul** ton-ul ponay-ss-ta
 Cheli-N **Yenghi-D-ONLY-A** money-A send-PST-DECL

‘It was only to Yenghi that Cheli sent money.’ (Koak 2012: 212)

Incidentally, my informants told me their judgement about (i). According to them, the judgements can be varied among age groups or regional dialects. They also mentioned that younger people may not like (i).

Of course, the informants who showed ungrammatical judgements for the RtO with case-marked C-head instances must be taken care of, but this is beyond the scope of this paper. I leave this task in my future research¹⁶.

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¹⁶ I assume that there is an involvement of a strong condition that bans extraction from the nominal domain in this case. Yamaguchi (2015d) may well serve as a sort of telltale sign. Nevertheless, further data collection is necessary to detect the exact source of the ungrammaticality.

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