INTERPRETABILITY OF RUN-AWAY ALIENABLE POSSESSORS[*]

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1 Introduction

The present paper argues that a chain formed by a syntactic object (SO) dislocated from its θ-position to the Case-checking position is interpreted as legitimate by the Chain Condition which applies at LF, given the minimalist assumption that grammatical conditions apply exclusively at LF (Chomsky 1995) We further argue that a legitimate chain is interpreted in such a way that a dislocated SO is linked to its θ-position Take, for example, chains formed by DP-internal arguments that are θ-marked by head Ns, and DP-internal adjuncts that are not Consider (1)

(1) a Hanako-ga [DP kinoo-no   John-no   oyogi]-o   home-ta
       Hanako-NOM yesterday-GEN John-GEN swim-ACC   praise-PAST
       'Hanako praised John's yesterday's swimming'
    b Hanako-ga   John-o$_k$ [DP kinoo-no t_k oyogi]-o   home-ta
       Hanako-NOM John-ACC yesterday-GEN   swim-ACC   praise-PAST
       'Hanako praised John's yesterday's swimming'
    c *Hanako-ga   kinoo-o$_k$ [DP t_k John-no oyogi]-o   home-ta
       Hanako-NOM yesterday-ACC   John-Gen swim-ACC praise-PAST
       'Hanako praised John's yesterday's swimming'

(1a) shows that the DP-internal argument *John-no* 'John-GEN' and the DP-internal adjunct *kinoo-no* 'yesterday-GEN' appear within the object phrase Following Ura (1996), we assume that in (1b), the argument with the accusative case-marker raises out of the object phrase In contrast, (1c) indicates that the adjunct seems not to be able to move from within the object phrase In our analysis, a DP-internal argument dislocated from within the object phrase to the Case-checking position forms a legitimate chain, and it can be interpreted in the θ-position On the other hand, a dislocated DP-internal adjunct fails to be interpreted in the base position within the object phrase, as its movement does not yield a legitimate chain

This paper focuses on the well-known contrast between inalienable and alienable possessors with respect to possessor-raising, which can be observed in non-related languages For example, it has been shown that while the inalienable possessor can raise out of the object phrase, the alienable possessor cannot (2) displays this contrast in the Chinese *ba* construction

(2) a Ta ba Lisi$_k$ duan-le [t_k tui]   [inalienable]
       he ba Lisi   break-Asp leg
       'He broke Lisi's legs'

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b   *Ta ba Lisi$_k$ duan-le [t_k zhuozi]   [alienable]
      he ba Lisi   break-Asp desk
      'He broke Lisi's desk'

(2a) shows that the inalienable possessor *Lisi* and the possessee *tui* 'leg' can appear in different positions, i e in the preverbal and the postverbal positions, respectively However, in (2b), the alienable possessor *Lisi* and the possessee *zhuozi* 'desk' cannot appear in separate positions We argue that this contrast can be accounted for by applying the Chain Condition to the chains formed by the respective dislocated possessors

This paper is organized as follows In Section 2, we will briefly present our analysis of the contrast observed in (1) between the dislocated DP-internal argument and the dislocated DP-internal adjunct Section 3 will show that our analysis based on the LF Chain Condition explains the discrepancy between inalienable and alienable possessors observed in the possessor-raising phenomenon in Chinese, Korean, Japanese and French

2 Dislocated DP-internal arguments versus adjuncts

As mentioned in the introduction, we assume that the Chain Condition, given below, is at work at LF

CHAIN CONDITION The head of an argument must be in a Case-checking position and its tail must be in a θ-position (Kitahara 1997, Chomsky 1995, among others)

Let us first illustrate how this condition is satisfied Consider (3)

(3)   John$_k$ seems to be t_k intelligent

        Case-checked   *θ-marked*

(3) shows that the argument *John* is θ-marked in the base position by *intelligent* Then, it raises to [Spec, T] in the matrix clause, where it is Case-checked This movement forms a legitimate chain, which allows *John* to be linked to the θ-marked position, and to undergo interpretation in that position at LF Let us now return to (1) and see how the Chain Condition applies to dislocated DP-internal arguments and adjuncts

As briefly noted in the introduction, (1a) repeated below as (4) shows that *John-no* 'John-GEN' is an argument of the derived N *oyogi* 'swim', while *kinoo-no* 'yesterday-GEN' is an adjunct Furthermore, they both remain in the object phrase as follows

(4)   Hanako-ga [$_{DP}$ kinoo-no   John-no   oyogi]-o   home-ta
                    Adjunct   **Agent**
                                        θ-marked
        Hanako-NOM yesterday-GEN John-GEN swim-ACC praise-PAST
        'Hanako praised John's yesterday's swimming'

Turning to (1b) and (1c) repeated below as (5a) and (5b), respectively, each sentence contains

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two accusative objects We assume that *John* and *kinoo* with the accusative case-marker raise out of their respective object phrases and are Case-checked in [Spec, v]

(5) a Hanako-ga **John-o**$_k$ [$_{DP}$ kinoo-no t_k oyogi]-o home-ta   **[Argument]**

b *Hanako-ga **kinoo-o**$_k$ [$_{DP}$ t_k John-no oyogi]-o home-ta   **[Adjunct]**

In (5a), *John-o* is θ-marked in the base position and its Case-feature is checked off in its head, forming a legitimate chain   Thus, *John-o* can be linked to the θ-marked position and undergo interpretation there On the other hand, the adjunct *kinoo-o* in (5b) is not θ-marked in the tail position and raises outside the object phrase to have its Case-feature checked, which yields an illegitimate chain   Therefore, it cannot be linked to the base position within the object phrase, and the derivation crashes

In this section, we have provided our analysis with regard to the contrast observed between dislocated DP-internal arguments and adjuncts [1]   We will show in what follows that our analysis can explain the contrast between inalienable and alienable possessors observed in the possessor-raising phenomenon

3 Possessor-raising

In this section, we will argue that the Chain Condition applying at LF accounts for the discrepancy between inalienable and alienable possessors raising out of the object phrase as has been illustrated in (2) above

Following Ura (1996), among others, we define the inalienable possession relationship as a 'permanent' relationship between the possessor and the possessee, as in the whole-part relationship (e g John's arm) and kinship (e g Mary's father)   On the other hand, the alienable possession relationship is defined such that the possessor and the possessee are in a relationship other than a permanent one (e g Bill's car)   As for the difference between these two types of possession relationships, Kitahara (1993 403) points out that in *John's arm*, there is only one interpretation possible, i e the arm that is part of John, whereas *Bill's car* can receive multiple interpretations, e g the car that Bill owns, used to own,

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[1]Italian has the following contrast between arguments and adjuncts in terms of raising (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991 62)

(i)	a	In quel museo si possono vedere opere **di tre pittori fiamminghi**	**[Argument]**
		In that museum it is possible to see works of three Flemish painters	
	b	In quel museo si possono vedere opere **di 300 anni fa**	**[Adjunct]**
		In that museum it is possible to see works of three hundred years ago	
(ii)	a	**Di quanti pittori fiamminghi**$_k$ si possono vedere opere t_k, in quel museo?	**[Argument]**
		of how many Flemish painters is it possible to see works, in that museum	
	b	*****Di quanti anni**$_k$ fa si possono vedere opere t_k, in quel museo?	**[Adjunct]**
		of how many years ago is it possible to see works, in that museum	

(ii) shows that *di quanti pittori fiamminghi* 'of how many Flemish painters', which is an argument of the head N *opere* 'works', is subject to WH-movement, but the adjunct *di quanti anni* 'of how many years ago is not

or loves   This contrast in meaning suggests that the inalienable possessor and its possessee are in a unique structural relationship, while the alienable possessor and its possessee are not   Kitahara claims that the difference is rooted in the fact that inalienable possessors are DP-internal arguments of their head Ns, while alienable possessors are DP-internal adjuncts of their head Ns

This section of the paper is organized in the following way   First of all, we will briefly review the θ-role assigning property of Ns   Second, we will examine possessor-raising in the Chinese *ba* construction   Finally, we will provide our account for possessor-raising in Korean, Japanese and French

3 1 Relational nouns and their θ-role assigning property

It is a standard view in the literature that Ns can be categorized into two types derived Ns and underived Ns   According to Tellier (1990), underived Ns are further subcategorized into two types relational Ns and non-relational Ns   Let us begin this overview with the first category, derived Ns

First of all, derived Ns such as *destruction, examination* and *expression* have θ-roles to assign to their arguments   Take, for example, the derived N *destruction*, which takes an external argument and an internal argument   These two arguments are assigned an Agent role and a Theme role, respectively, as follows

(6)   America's destruction of the military facilities
              ▲   '   ▲
              Agent   '   *Theme*   '

Turning to the two types of underived Ns, it has been argued that a relational N such as *hand* takes an argument (Tellier 1990, among others)

(7)   John's hand
              ▲ *Relational*

(7) shows that the relational N *hand* takes the possessor *John's* as an argument and assigns a relational role to it   In fact, Ns in this subcategory of underived Ns are head Ns that appear in inalienable possessive constructions   Thus, the relational role can be defined as a possessor role that a "part N" (or an inalienable head N) assigns to the possessor DP

The second type of underived Ns is non-relational, which includes nouns such as *table, book, luck* and *desk*   Unlike derived Ns and relational Ns, they have no relational role assigning property For instance, the non-relational N *table* does not assign any role to the possessor *John's* in (8)

(8)   John's table
              No role assigned

The contrast proposed between the two subcategories of underived Ns supports Kitahara's (1993) argument in that inalienable possessors are arguments, while alienable possessors are adjuncts

In the remainder of this subsection, we will show that the subcategorization of underived Ns introduced above, which views the relational role assigning property as an inherent part of relational Ns, is not in accordance with empirical findings. We will propose that the relational role assigning property is an optional feature of underived Ns.

It should be mentioned at first that in the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), any lexical item is considered to be made up of a bundle of features π features to be read at PF, λ features at LF and formal features (FFs) in syntax. In this light, θ-role assigning properties of, say, Ns and Vs, are features as well, i e λ features. Likewise, the relational assigning property is also one of the λ features of underived Ns, and can be represented as [relational]. We will use this notation throughout the rest of the paper. We will show in what follows that [relational] is an optional feature on underived Ns by three pieces of evidence.

The first piece of evidence comes from Modern French. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) point out that even body-part nouns, which have been attested as 'inherently' relational in languages, are ambiguous between relational and non-relational. Consider the ambiguity shown in (9)

(9) Les enfants ont leve la main
     the children have raised the hand
     a 'The children raised the hand'   [alienable]
     b 'Each of the children raised his/her hand'   [inalienable]

The two translations in (9) indicate that the body-part noun *hand* is ambiguous between relational and non-relational [2]. That is, in the first translation, *la main* 'the hand' is not part of any of the children mentioned in the sentence, i e the alienable possession relationship. In the second reading indicated in (9b), however, *la main* is an inalienable part of each child.

The second empirical support for our proposal comes from Ainu, which displays a clear contrast between the two types of possessive constructions (Kindaichi 1960). In this language, the inalienable possessive construction is formed by a possessor DP and an inalienable head N marked by a suffix that has been regarded as a morphological realization of the [relational] feature (see Ura 1996). The alienable possessive construction, on the other hand, consists of a possessor CP, i e a restrictive relative clause, and a head N [3] (10a) and (10b) represent the two possessive constructions (Tamura 1988 33)[4]

(10) a   [DP toan hekaci] cikir-**ihi**   [inalienable]
            that boy   foot-[**relational**]
            'that boy's foot'

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[2] See Yoon (1998) for the ambiguity of relational nouns in Korean
[3] The fact that in Ainu the alienable possessor as in (22b) is a restrictive relative clause like in a few other polysynthetic languages such as Southern Tiwa and Wichita (Baker 1996) supports our claim (cf Kitahara (1993) for a similar treatment) that an alienable possessor adjoins to its head N, in that restrictive relative clauses have properties of adjuncts rather than complements (Radford 1988 218)
[4] The default word order in Ainu is Sub-Obj-V as in (1), which contrasts with that of the alienable possessive construction as in (10b)

(1)   toan hekaci seta kor
       that boy   dog have
       'that boy has a dog'

b   [$_{CP}$ toan hekacı kor] seta   [alienable]
           that boy   have dog
       'that boy's dog'

Returning to our proposal that the [relational] feature on underived Ns is optional, note that in Ainu, seemingly non-relational Ns such as *sake* 'rice wine' and *ay* 'arrow,' for example, can be used both in inalienable and alienable possessive constructions (see Tamura 1988 35) [5]

(11) a *pro* sake-**he**   [inalienable]
          sake-**[relational]**
        'sake (made from *pro* (=some particular rice))'
    b acapo kor   sake   [alienable]
        uncle have sake
        'uncle's sake'
(12) a (kanı) k-ay-**ehe**   [inalienable]
         (I)   1st sg-arrow-**[relational]**
        'my arrow'
    b (kanı) ku-kor   ay   [alienable]
         (I)   1st sg-have arrow
        'my arrow'

(11a) shows that the head N *sake* 'rice wine' and the possessor *pro* (i e the material from which the *sake* is made) are in the inalienable possession relationship, while the relationship between the possessor *acapo* 'uncle' and the head N *sake* in (11b) represents the alienable possession relationship and thus it is expressed by the alienable possessive construction In addition, as (12) clearly indicates, *ay* 'arrow' can occur in the two types of possessive construction as well

      Finally, Old French (i e the French used between the 10th and 13th centuries) provides additional piece of evidence for the optionality in question In this language, inalienable and alienable possession are expressed by two different constructions as in (13) and (14) (De Lage 1972)

(13) a le   filz [$_{DP}$ sainte Marie]   [inalienable]
         the son   St   Marie
        'the son of St Mary'
    b   es braz [$_{DP}$ mon ami]
       in arms   my friend
       'in the arms of my friend'

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[5] Tzutujil (Mayan, Penutian (Dayley 1985, cited in Heine 1997 180) displays a similar contrast between inalienable and alienable constructions, as in Ainu, in that the [relational] feature is morphologically realized In the following examples, *muuj* 'shadow' is used in the two possessive constructions

(i)   nuu-muuj   [alienable]
        my-shadow
        'my shade' (e g of a tree that I am sitting in)
(ii)   n-muuj-aal   [inalienable]
        my-shadow-**[relational]**
        'my shadow'

(14) a   la chanbre   [$_{PP}$ a   la   pucele]   [alienable]
        the bedroom   P   the maiden
        'the maiden's bedroom'
   b   an la prison   [$_{PP}$ au   notonier]
        in the prison   P the   sailor
        'in the sailor's prison'

As shown in (13) and (14), the inalienable possessive construction is formed by the merger of a possessor DP and a head N, while the alienable possessive construction consists of a possessor PP and a head N With regard to the optionality of the feature in question, the underived N *prison* used in the alienable possessive construction as in (14b) can also appear in the inalienable possessive construction as follows

(15)   la   prison [$_{DP}$ le   roi Artu]
        the prison   the king Arthur
        'King Authur's prison'

The occurrence of the same N in both of the possessive constructions shown in (14b) and (15) suffices for supporting our claim that the [relational] feature is optional on underived Ns To be more precise, underived Ns are relational Ns when they are selected from the Lexicon into the Numeration with [relational], and they are non-relational Ns if they are selected into the Numeration without the [relational] feature [6]

      This subsection has proposed that the relational role, namely, the [relational] feature, is optional on underived Ns The next subsection will show that the observed difference between inalienable Ns and alienable Ns in terms of the presence or the absence of the [relational] feature, respectively, has a consequence for the possessor-raising phenomenon

3 2 Possessor-raising in the Chinese *ba* construction

      The contrast between inalienable possession and alienable possession is observed in the so-called *ba* construction in Chinese with respect to the possessor-raising phenomenon, as shown in (2) above To begin our discussion, let us briefly review the *ba* construction

      Although the default word order in Chinese is Subj-V-Obj, Obj must precede V when the particle *ba* appears Consider the following sentences

(16) a   Ta   pian-le   Lisi   **[non-*ba* construction]**
       he   cheat-ASP Lisi
       'He cheated Lisi'

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[6] Following Chomsky (1998), the difference in structure between inalienable and alienable possessive constructions can be explained in terms of two cases of Merge That is, an underived N with [relational] obligatorily merges with a possessor, i e set-Merge In this case of Merge, [relational] is an attractor that selects the possessor from the Numeration In contrast, an underived N without [relational] optionally merges with a possessor, i e pair-Merge This operation pair-Merge is optional in that there is no attractor involved

b Ta ba Lisi pian-le   **[*ba* construction]**
   he ba Lisi cheat-ASP
   'He cheated Lisi'

The Obj *Lisi* appears in the postverbal position in the non-*ba* construction as shown in (16a), whereas it appears in the preverbal position in the *ba* construction as in (16b) Concerning this word-order change with the presence of *ba*, Huang (1982) claims that in the *ba* construction, Obj is moved from the rightmost position to the position between Subj and V in order to escape the Case filter Sharing much with Huang's idea of object-raising, we assume that Obj is raised from the base position to a higher position between Subj and V as illustrated in (17b)

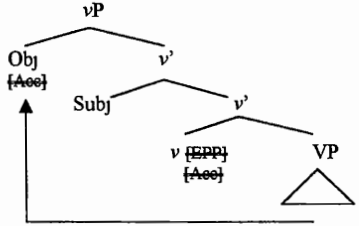(17) a Subj V Obj   **[non-*ba* construction]**

     b Subj **ba** Obj$_k$ V t_k **[*ba* construction]**

In what follows, we will consider how we can capture the object-raising phenomenon in the *ba* construction in minimalist terms

     In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), it is assumed that movement is induced to check off uninterpretable formal features under certain structural conditions Object-raising is motivated by uninterpretable features such as the EPP-feature on v and formal features on Obj and V Since the EPP-feature on v, being an uninterpretable feature, must be checked off before Spell-out, the object must raise and enter into a checking relation with it By this instantiation of the operation Move, the feature in question is deleted along with other formal features on Obj and V such as Case-features and ϕ-features Based on this analysis of object-raising within the framework of the Minimalist Program, we have proposed in our previous study (Oga, Hu & Ayano 1999) that the object in the *ba* construction is raised to [Spec, v] to enter into a checking relation with the EPP-feature of v [7] Hence, the EPP-feature is checked off by the object as are other formal features such as the Case-features on Obj and V This is illustrated in (18)

(18)

(Chomsky 1995)

Having briefly reviewed the structure of the Chinese *ba* construction, we are now in a position to examine possessor-raising in this construction

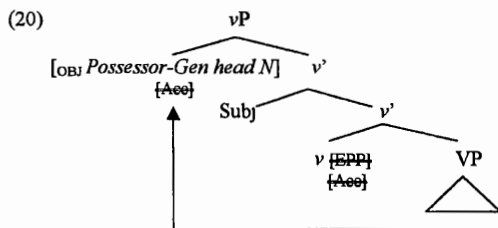   Unlike (2), where only the inalienable possessor raises, when the possessor appears with the

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[7] Oga, Hu & Ayano (1999) have argued that *ba* is a morphological realization of v (Chomsky 1995), and the object-raising is induced by the strong EPP-feature of this overt v

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genitive case-marker *-de*, the entire object phrase raises for both inalienable and alienable possessive constructions as in (19), just as in the case of default object-raising in the *ba* construction as shown in (16)

(19) a Lisi ba [$_{DP}$ Lao Li-de tui]$_k$ duan-le t_k [inalienable]
          Lisi ba   Lao Li-Gen leg   break-Asp
          'Lisi broke Lao Li's legs'
     b Wo ba [$_{DP}$ Lao Li-de juzi]$_k$ bo-le t_k [alienable]
          I ba   Lao Li-Gen orange peel-Asp
          'I peeled Lao Li's orange'

We simply assume that the object DPs raise in (19) for the same reason other objects raise in the *ba* construction as proposed earlier   That is, the possessive phrase in the base object position raises to [Spec, *v*] to check off the EPP-feature of *v*   In this position, the Case-feature [ACC] of the possessive phrase and the Case-feature [assign ACC] of V are also checked off   (20) illustrates the overt possessive phrase movement and the feature-checking relevant to this movement
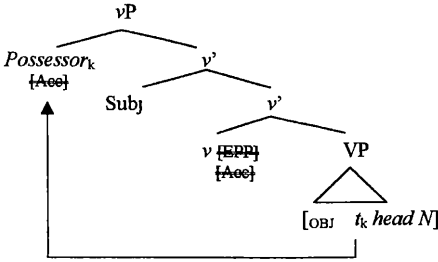
(20)

As opposed to the above case where the entire possessive phrase raises from the base object position, it is important to note that in the *ba* construction, part Ns and kinship terms (i e inalienable possessees) can be postverbal elements, and their inalienable possessors alone are subject to raising to the preverbal position, whereas other types of Ns cannot be postverbal elements, as has been shown in (2) in the introduction (repeated below as (21))

(21) a Ta ba Lisi$_k$ duan-le [t_k tui]   [inalienable]
          he ba Lisi break-Asp leg
          'He broke Lisi's legs'
     b *Ta ba Lisi$_k$ duan-le [t_k zhuozi]   [alienable]
          he ba Lisi   break-Asp desk
          'He broke Lisi's desk'

We assume that both the inalienable possessor in (21a) and the alienable possessor in (21b) bear the Case-feature [ACC], are base-generated in the postverbal position within the object phrase, and raise to the Case-checking position [8]

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[8] Oga, Hu & Ayano (1999) propose that *ba* is the morphological realization of *v* and it has the EPP-feature which raises the inalienable possessor to [Spec, *v*]   A Case-feature on V is checked off against the identical feature on the raised inalienable possessor

(22)

vP

Possessor_k
{Acc}

Subj   v'

v'

v {EPP}   VP
{Acc}

[_OBJ t_k head N]

Recall that the head Ns, *tui* 'leg' and *zhuozi* 'desk' are crucially different in that the former has the [relational] feature, while the latter does not Thus, as for the inalienable possessor, it is base-generated within the object phrase and is θ-marked there by the inalienable head N Then, it alone raises to [Spec, *v*] in order to satisfy the EPP-feature of *v* and to have its Case-feature (i e [ACC]) checked off against the Case-feature of V (i e [assign ACC]) [9] The inalienable possessor raised from the θ-marked position to the Case-checking position in [Spec, *v*] forms a chain that satisfies the Chain Condition This chain formed by the dislocated inalienable possessor undergoes interpretation at LF, and the possessor is interpreted in the base position where it is θ-marked as illustrated in (21a')

(21a') Ta ba Lisi_k duan-le   [t_k tui]   [inalienable]
         ▲ Syntax |▲▲ ;
         |_____LF____|'θ-marked

Turning to (21b), *zhuozi* 'desk' is a non-relational N and it does not have the [relational] feature Thus, the alienable possessor *Lisi* is not θ-marked in the base position, and it raises to the Case position where its Case-feature [ACC] is checked off along with other uninterpretable features

(21b') *Ta ba Lisi_k duan-le [t_k zhuozi]   [alienable]
         ▲   ▲
    Case-checked   Not θ-marked'
    he   ba Lisi break-Asp desk
    'He broke Lisi's desk'

The chain formed by the movement of the alienable possessor *Lisi* does not satisfy the Chain Condition Thus, the alienable possessor cannot be interpreted in such a way that it modifies its possessee in the object phrase   Therefore, (21b) does not converge

3 3 Possessor-raising in Korean, Japanese and French

We will argue that the analysis applied to possessor-raising in the *ba* construction in Chinese accounts for the same phenomenon in Korean, Japanese and French

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[9] As for a Case-feature of the object phrase, it is either overtly checked in situ, or is covertly checked in a higher position

In Korean and Japanese, only the inalienable possessor can appear either with the genitive case-marker or the accusative case-marker, whereas the alienable possessor can appear only with the genitive case-marker   The contrast in Korean is shown below

(23) a Mary-ka   John-**uy**   tali-lul chaessta   [inalienable]
        Mary-NOM John-**GEN** leg-ACC kicked
        'Mary kicked John's leg'
    b Mary-ka   John-**uy**   chayk-ul chaessta   [alienable]
        Mary-NOM   John-**GEN** book-ACC kicked
        'Mary kicked John's book'
(24) a Mary-ka   John-**ul**   tali-lul chaessta   [inalienable]
        Mary-NOM John-**ACC** leg-ACC kicked
        'Mary kicked John's leg'
    b *Mary-ka   John-**ul**   chayk-ul chaessta   [alienable]
        Mary-NOM   John-**ACC** book-ACC kicked
        'Mary kicked John's book'

We can observe the same contrast in Standard Japanese   Consider (25) and (26) [10]

(25) a Hanako-ga   Taroo-**no**   atama-o tatai-ta   [inalienable]
        Hanako-NOM   Taroo-**GEN** head-ACC hit-PAST
        'Hanako hit Taroo's head'
    b Taroo-ga   Hanako-**no**   terebi-o kowasi-ta   [alienable]
        Taroo-NOM   Hanako-**GEN** TV-ACC   break-PAST
        'Taroo broke Hanako's TV'
(26) a ?/??Hanako-ga   Taroo-**o**   atama-o tatai-ta   [inalienable]
           Hanako-NOM   Taroo-**ACC** head-ACC hit-PAST
        'Hanako hit Taroo's head'
    b *Taroo-ga Hanako-**o**   terebi-o kowasi-ta   [alienable]
        Taroo-NOM Hanako-**ACC**   TV-ACC break-PAST
        'Taroo broke Hanako's TV'

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[10] There are two points to be noted   First, (26a) in Standard Japanese shows degraded acceptablity in comparison with (24a) in Korean   We assume that the degraded grammaticality for (26a) is due to the double accusative constraint at PF (see Takano (1996) and the references cited therein, and Ayano (1999))   We would like to emphasize, however, that (26a) is much better than (26b)   Second, in the Hakata dialect of Japanese, inalienable and alienable possessors exhibit the clear contrast as shown below (iia) does not show the degraded grammaticality as opposed to (26a) in Standard Japanese

(i) a   Hanako-ga   Taroo-n   atama-ba   tatai-ta   [inalienable]
        Hanako-NOM   Taroo-GEN head-ACC   hit-PAST
        'Hanako hit Taroo's head'
    b   Taroo-ga   Hanako-n   terebi-ba kowasi-ta   [alienable]
        Taroo-NOM   Hanako-GEN TV-ACC   break-PAST
        'Taroo broke Hanako's TV'
(ii) a Hanako-ga   Taroo-ba   atama-ba   tatai-ta   [inalienable]
        Hanako-NOM   Taroo-ACC   head-ACC   hit-PAST
        'Hanako hit Taroo's head'
    b   *Taroo-ga   Hanako-ba   terebi-ba kowasi-ta   [alienable]
        Taroo-NOM Hanako-ACC   TV-ACC   break-PAST
        'Taroo broke Hanako's TV'

It has been argued that the inalienable possessor with the accusative case-marker in Korean is outside the object phrase, whereas both the inalienable and alienable possessors with the genitive case-marker are within the object phrase as illustrated below (Choe 1987, Maling and Kim 1992, Kitahara 1993, Ura 1996, among others) [11]

(27)   Subj   [OBJ *POSSESSOR-GEN head N*]-*ACC*   V [inalienable] & [alienable]

(28) a   Subj   *POSSESSOR-ACC*ₖ   [OBJ *t*ₖ *head N*]-*ACC*   V   [inalienable]

     b   *Subj   *POSSESSOR-ACC*ₖ   [OBJ *t*ₖ *head N*]-*ACC*   V   [alienable]

Following this idea, we argue that the inalienable possessor with the accusative case-marker is outside the object phrase both in Korean and Japanese   Thus, as for the inalienable possessor, it is assigned a relational role from the head N within the object phrase and raises to [Spec, *v*], where formal features such as the Case-feature [ACC] on the inalienable possessor and the EPP-feature of *v* are checked off   The chain formed by the dislocated inalienable possessor satisfies the Chain Condition   Thus, the dislocated inalienable possessor can be interpreted in the θ-marked position within the object phrase as shown in the Korean example (24a')

(24a') Mary-ka John-ulₖ   [DP *t*ₖ tali-lul]   chaessta   [inalienable]
                         Syntax   **θ-marked**

                    LF
       Mary-NOM John-ACC   leg-ACC kicked
       'Mary kicked John's leg'
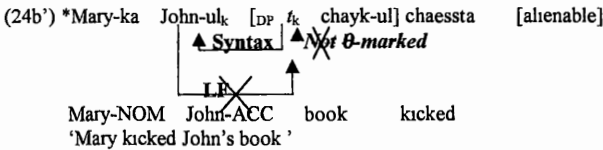
       Let us now turn to the dislocated alienable possessor   We assume that the alienable possessor with the accusative case-marker has a Case-feature [ACC] and is subject to possessor-raising   Within the minimalist framework, uninterpretable features such as Case-features must be checked off   Therefore, we argue that the alienable possessor with the Case-feature [ACC] does raise to [Spec, *v*] for feature-checking in syntax   Given that the alienable possessor is not assigned any θ-role from the head

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[11] Ura (1996) shows that the following adverb test exhibits that accusative inalienable possessors raise out of the object phrase in Korean

(i) a   *Kay-ka   [DP John-uy   ecey   son-ul]   mul-ess-ta   [inalienable]
          dog-NOM   John-GEN yesterday hand-ACC bite-PAST-IND
          'The dog bit John's hand yesterday'
    b   *Kay-ka   [DP John-uy   ecey   chayk-ul]   mul-ess-ta   [alienable]
          dog-NOM   John-GEN yesterday book-ACC bite-PAST-IND
          'The dog bit John's book yesterday'
(ii) a   Kay-ka   John-ulₖ   ecey   [DP *t*ₖ son-ul]   mul-ess-ta   [inalienable]
          dog-NOM John-ACC   yesterday   hand-ACC   bite-PAST-IND
          'The dog bit John's hand yesterday'
     b   *Kay-ka   John-ulₖ   ecey   [DP *t*ₖ chayk-ul]   mul-ess-ta   [alienable]
          dog-NOM John-ACC yesterday   book-ACC   bite-PAST-IND
          'The dog bit John's book yesterday'

Standard Japanese and the Hakata dialect also show the same result with regard to this test

N in the base position, the chain formed by the alienable possessor cannot be interpreted in its tail within the object phrase at LF Thus, the alienable possessor cannot modify its possessee [12] (24b') illustrates our analysis

(24b') *Mary-ka   John-ul$_k$ [$_{DP}$ t_k chayk-ul] chaessta   [alienable]

        ▲ **Syntax** ▲*Not θ-marked*

          LF

    Mary-NOM   John-ACC   book   kicked
    'Mary kicked John's book '

We further argue that the contrast observed in Japanese as in (26) can be accounted for in the same way

Before concluding this subsection, we will show that our argument captures the contrast between inalienable and alienable possessor dative clitics in the so-called possessor dative construction in French In French, the inalienable possessor dative can be expressed either as a clitic or as a PP (i e a + DP) as shown below (Gueron 1985, cited in Landau 1999)

(29) a   J'ai   coupe les cheveux **à Pierre**
         I have cut   the hair   to Pierre
         'I cut Pierre's hair'
     b   Je **lui**$_k$ ai   coupe les cheveux t_k
       I   to-him/her have   cut   the hair
       'I cut his/her hair'

In (29a), the inalienable possessor consists of *Pierre* plus the preposition *a*, which follows the inalienable N *cheveux* 'hair', whereas in (29b), the possessor appears as a clitic *lui* between the subject and the verb

When the head of the object phrase is an alienable N, the alienable possessor cannot appear as a clitic it appears only as a PP as illustrated below

(30) a   (?)J'ai   lave   le chat **à**   **Jean**
         I'have washed the cat   to Jean
         'I washed Jean's cat'
     b *Je **lui**$_k$ ai   lavé   le   chat t_k
         I to-him/her have washed the cat
         'I washed his/her cat'

We assume that these dative possessors are associated with the head Ns of the respective object phrases, not with the verbs Given that inalienable Ns such as *cheveux* 'hair' are selected from the Lexicon with the [relational] feature, the dative possessor phrase *a Jean* 'to Jean' in (30a) is base-generated within the

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[12] Our account also explains seemingly contradictory data in Kinyarwanda, in which dislocated alienable possessors can be interpretable (Bickford 1986) We argue that an alienable possessor in this language is in fact a PP adjunct In cases where Ps are affixal and must incorporate into Vs (Baker 1988), their objects raise to their Case-checking position Thus, an applied object is θ-marked by P within PP, and is Case-checked possibly in [Spec, v] This movement satisfies the Chain Condition, and thus, the derivation converges

object phrase and assigned a relational role from the head N *cheveux* 'hair'   Details aside, we argue that the inalienable dative clitic in (29b) is also base-generated within the object phrase and assigned a θ-role from the inalienable N in the base-position before raising   In (30a), the dative possessor phrase *a Jean* 'to Jean' appears as an adjunct phrase within the object phrase and is not assigned any θ-role from the alienable N *chat* 'cat'   Likewise, the alienable dative clitic is not assigned any θ-role from the alienable N *chat* 'cat' in the base-position   Since the chain formed by the possessor dative clitic does not satisfy the Chain Condition at LF, the clitic cannot be interpreted in the base position

In the present section, we have shown that the analysis provided for the contrast between dislocated DP-internal arguments and adjuncts can explain the possessor-raising phenomenon in Chinese, Korean, Japanese and French

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided an account for the possessor-raising phenomenon observed in Chinese, Korean, Japanese and French, focusing on the contrast between dislocated inalienable and alienable possessors   We have argued that the head N in the inalienable possessive construction bears the optional feature [relational], while the head N in the alienable construction does not   We have also claimed that the inalienable possessor can be interpreted within the object phrase at LF because the chain formed by the inalienable possessor satisfies the Chain Condition   On the other hand, the alienable possessor is not in a θ-marked position in its tail, and, therefore, it cannot go back home to the object phrase

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