

Non-nominative Subjects

Volume 2

edited by Peri Bhaskararao
and Karumuri Venkata Subbarao

Non-nominative Subjects

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Volume 61

Non-nominative Subjects: Volume 2

Edited by Peri Bhaskararao and Venkata Subbarao

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Edited by

Peri Bhaskararao

ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Karumuri Venkata Subbarao

University of Delhi

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List of Authors

- R. Amritavalli** Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad 500007, India. Email: jayamrit@eth.net
- Harbir K. Arora** Dept of Linguistics, Delhi University, Delhi 110007, India. Email: bano_omarora@yahoo.com
- Josef Bayer** Dept of Linguistics, University of Konstanz, Box D 191, 78457 Konstanz, Germany. Email: Josef.Bayer@uni-konstanz.de
- Peri Bhaskararao** ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies 3-11-1 Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo 183-8534, Japan. Email: bhaskar@aa.tufs.ac.jp
- Balthasar Bickel** Dept of Linguistics, University of Leipzig, Beethovenstrasse 15, D-04107 Leipzig, Germany. Email: bickel@uni-leipzig.de
- Bernard Comrie** Dept of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Deutscher Platz 6, D-04103 Leipzig, Germany. Email: comrie@eva.mpg.de
- Probal Dasgupta** Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad 500046, India. Email: pdgalts@uohyd.ernet.in
- Alice Davison** Dept of Linguistics, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, USA. Email: alice-davison@uiowa.edu
- Nick Evans** Dept of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, The University of Melbourne, Victoria, 3010, Australia. Email: nrde@unimelb.edu.au
- Susann Fischer** Institut für Linguistik und Anglistik, Universität Stuttgart, Keplerstr. 17, 70174 Stuttgart, Germany. Email: sfisher@ifla.uni-stuttgart.de
- Peter Hook** Dept of Asian and Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures, PO Box 400781, B027 Cabell Hall, U. of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22904-4781, USA. Email: peh6n@virginia.edu
- K. A. Jayaseelan** Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad 500007, India. Email: jayamrit@eth.net
- Omkar N. Koul** Institute of Language Studies, New Delhi, India. (Contact: C-13 Greenview Apartments 33, Sector 9, Rohini Delhi 110085, India) Email: koulon@now-india.net.in
- B. Lakshmibai** 106, Sriivas Apartments, St.No 8, Tarnaka, Secunderabad 500017, India. Email: laxmib@satyam.net.in
- Howard Lasnik** Dept of Linguistics, 1106 Marie Mount Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, USA. Email: lasnik@wam.umd.edu
- Anoop Mahajan** Dept of Linguistics, University of California at Los Angeles, 3125 Campbell Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1543, USA. Email: mahajan@ucla.edu
- Makoto Minegishi** ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies 3-11-1 Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo 183-8534, Japan. Email: mmine@aa.tufs.ac.jp

- P.J. Mistry** California State University, Peters Business Building, 5245 North Backer Avenue, Fresno, CA93740-8001, USA. Email: pmistry@csufresno.edu
- Annie Montaut** 24 Rue des Marguettes, 75012 Paris, France. Email: Annie.Montaut@ehess.fr
- Michael Noonan** Dept of English, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI 53201, USA. Email: noonan@uwm.edu
- Masayuki Onishi** Department of Japanese and Korean Studies School of Languages and Cultures. The University of Sydney NSW 2006, Australia. Email: masa_onishi@hotmail.com
- V. Sailaja** Dept of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500007, India. Email: vennela_son@yahoo.com
- Mamoru Saito** Dept of Anthropology & Philosophy, Nanzan University, 18 Yamazato-cho, Showa-ku, Nagoya, 466-8673, Japan. Email: saito@ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp
- Asako Shiohara** ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies 3-11-1 Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo 183-8534, Japan. Email: asako@aa.tufs.ac.jp
- Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson** Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, Lund University, Helgonabacken 12, SE-223 62 Lund, Sweden. Email: halldor.sigurdsson@nordlund.lu.se
- Karumuri Venkata Subbarao** Dept of Linguistics, Delhi University, Delhi 110007, India. Email: kvs2811@yahoo.com
- Tasaku Tsunoda** Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113-0003, Japan. Email: tsunoda@tooyo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp
- A. Usharani** Dept of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500007, India. Email: ushaou@yahoo.com
- KashiWali** 7518 Spectrum Way, Fayetteville, NY 13066, USA. Email: kwali1@twcn.rr.com
- Yogendra Yadava** Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal. Email: yyadava@yahoo.com
- James H. Yoon** Dept of Linguistics, Foreign Language Building, 707 South Mathews Avenue, MC-168, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL 61801, USA. Email: jyoon@uiuc.edu

Preface

It is our firm conviction that an explanatorily adequate theory requires to be substantiated by empirical facts while empirical facts in isolation do not have much relevance unless they are properly explained in an appropriate framework. The last two decades have witnessed an enormous emphasis on presenting evidence based on empirical data so that the foundations made for theoretical claims are well laid. Keeping this in view a symposium on *Contact, Convergence and Typology in South Asian Languages* was organized at ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in December 1999 and another one on *Non-nominative Subjects* in December 2001. Most of the papers presented and discussed at the latter were compiled and presented in these two volumes.

The aim of the symposium was to study the nature of non-nominative subjects from theoretical, and applied points of view in different theoretical frameworks from a wide variety of languages. Although in most nominative-accusative languages, the subject is in the nominative case, in quite a few languages the logical subject is case-marked by the nominative, dative, genitive or locative case markers. The phenomenon of non-nominative case marking has implications for a variety of syntactic phenomena such as agreement, antecedent-anaphor coreference, control structures, coordination, occurrence or non-occurrence of lexical subjects in a converbial (i.e. conjunctive participial) construction, etc. While in almost all languages a non-nominative subject can be an antecedent of an anaphor, a controller of PRO, and can trigger 'coordinate nominative or non-nominative subject reduction', the behaviour of the non-nominative subject with regard to agreement is varied and hence, parametric. For instance, in all Indo-Aryan languages (except Maithili) and Dravidian languages (except Manda) the non-nominative subject cannot trigger agreement. In Maithili, Japanese and Korean the dative case-marked noun phrase can trigger honorificity agreement while in Manda a non-nominative subject can trigger person and number agreement (Subbarao 2001). Another interesting case concerns *default agreement* (that is, the verb exhibiting no agreement with any of the constituents in a sentence) when the experiencer/possessor is in the dative/genitive case and the theme is **accusative** case-marked as in Tamil or is null as in Telugu.

Another interesting feature with regard to the non-nominative constructions is whether the anaphor that occurs in such constructions is a monomorphemic or polymorphemic anaphor or indeed whether a pronoun can also function as an anaphor. For instance, in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi the occurrence of a possessive reflexive is obligatory when a genitive Case-marked possessor is coindexed with a nominative subject antecedent while it alternates with a regular possessive pronoun

when coindexed with a non-nominative subject. Further, a possessive pronoun can subcommand PRO in languages such as Hindi–Urdu, Punjabi and Telugu. This shows that the genitive case-marked noun phrase in a subcommanding position behaves like a nominative case-marked subject.

Yet another related phenomenon is that South Asian languages have a construction that is termed as the conjunctive participial construction. The verb in the embedded clause in such a construction is nonfinite in languages such as Hindi–Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi and is finite in languages such as Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and the Dravidian languages. Can a non-nominative case-marked noun phrase occur as the subject of the matrix clause irrespective of the nature of the predicate of the participial clause or are there any constraints imposed on it? The subsequent question that needs to be answered is whether a non-nominative subject can occur in a position where PRO occurs? That is, whether a non-nominative subject can be the subject of a participial clause or not. Hindi–Urdu and Punjabi for example do not permit such an occurrence while the Dravidian languages permit such an occurrence. If it is permitted, its implications for the nature of PRO, namely Case-marking and government, raise further questions.

The transitive/intransitive nature of the predicate in non-nominative constructions has been an issue in recent studies. While some treat such predicates as [+transitive] (Chomsky 2000, 2001, Ura 2000, and see Davison's paper in these volumes), some others treat them as [–transitive] and hence unaccusative (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001, and see Amritavalli's as well as Subbarao and Bhaskararao's papers in these volumes). One piece of evidence in support of the predicate being intransitive comes from the nonoccurrence of the verbal reflexive or reciprocal in the dative subject construction in Dravidian languages. The verbal reflexive functions as a detransitivizer and hence, in the dative subject construction in Telugu the detransitivizer is not permitted as the verb is already intransitive. Further evidence from a wide variety of languages may throw light on this issue.

The occurrence of the non-nominative Case marking itself deserves attention. In the Minimalist Program (MP) and subsequent refinements of it, Case assignment has been dispensed with and only Case checking takes place in MP and the 'probe' attracts the 'goal' under 'strict locality' conditions in Minimalist Inquiries (Chomsky 2000). Case is matched and Case is no longer assigned either 'structurally' or 'inherently'. The question that still remains is: How does the non-nominative Case get to be there? What are the syntactic or semantic elements that are responsible for the occurrence of the non-nominative Case on the subject? Is the nature of the predicate alone that is responsible or the predicate and some other element put together that are responsible for the occurrence of the non-nominative Case on the subject? Some authors have addressed this issue and further research only can shed more light on it.

A crucial issue that needs attention is: What qualifies as a subject? In the MP the question can be raised as: What kind of nominals can occupy the SPEC IP/SPEC AGRPs position. This issue did not arise as clearly in the frameworks that did not

have VP internal subjects (Anoop Mahajan, pc). Scholars working in other frameworks may tackle this issue from their theory-internal view.

From a semantic point of view the non-nominative constructions are interesting. The non-nominative case-marked noun phrase normally indicates possessor (animate as well as inanimate possessor which is language-specific), experiencer of a psychological state/emotions, physiological ailments, natural phenomena pertaining to self's body, perceiver of visual/ auditory activity, subject of predicates expressing obligation or necessity or duty etc. (Verma & Mohanan 1990 and Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001). All the predicates in such constructions are generally nonvolitional where the experiencer subject has no control over the situation and hence, the occurrence of adverbs such as *voluntarily*, *deliberately*, *intentionally* with such predicates is universally prohibited.

From an acquisition point of view the questions that need to be answered are: (i) Does it take a longer period of time for the child to acquire non-nominative constructions, and (ii) are these constructions learnt at a later stage chronologically? From the point of view of syntactic change, the following issues are relevant: what happens when a language with a nominative construction comes in contact with a language that has a non-nominative construction? If two languages in contact have non-nominative constructions that are differently case-marked, what is the direction in which change is likely to take place? From the point of view of language processing too it is desirable to investigate if listeners take more processing time or take the same amount of time as they do for a sentence involving a nominative subject. Another issue that is worth investigating is: How are these constructions manifested in patients with aphasia or dyslexia or in persons suffering from stroke? How are these constructions acquired once the process of 'relearning' takes place? Many of the issues alluded to above have been addressed in the two volumes of *Non-nominative subjects* and we hope that further research will substantiate the findings of this work.

Peri Bhaskararao
Karumuri V. Subbarao

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CHAPTER 1

Subjecthood of non-nominatives in Gujarati *

P.J. Mistry

Studies of different languages have reported nominals that differ from traditionally bonafide subjects in coding properties but exhibit a cluster of other subject-like characteristics. This chapter focuses on such nominals from Gujarati. We now have full-scale studies of some of the major South Asian languages providing substantive structural details including the theme investigated here. A number of articles (Sridhar 1979, Klaiman 1980, Davison 1985, Bhat 1991), including a recent volume (Verma and Mohanan 1990), explore what have come to be known as dative subjects from various languages of the region. This available pool of data and discussion, however, lacks information from Gujarati. The primary objective of this chapter is to fill this gap. The probe is somewhat broader in scope, since nominals bearing other cases are also found to exhibit properties similar to datives. In addition to making the inquiry broader in coverage and empirical in emphasis, this chapter is intended to be informal and descriptive.

The article is organized as follows: In section one we give an overview of relevant nominals and verbal morphology as a base. Section two summarizes settings that have non-nominative nominals fit to be subjects. Section three clarifies effects of syncretism, homophony and mismatching of roles, functions and case-markings. Some of the syntactic behaviors of non-nominatives that argue for their subjecthood are presented in section four, followed by selected distinctive properties of non-nominatives in section five. The last section presents a brief diachrony pertaining to case-marking and verb agreement and speculates about the role of innovations and conservatism in shaping structural differences among descendants. It ends with concluding remarks about case-marking and verb agreement.

1. Nouns, modifiers and verbs: their morphology

A selected segment of the morphological system is introduced as a foundation for the present morphosyntactic inquiry. The morphology that is relevant and repeatedly discussed is inflection. It is divided into three parts: Case-marking on nouns (1.1), Agreement morphology on a modifier (1.2.1), and on a verb (1.2.2).¹

1.1. Nouns

The forms of Gujarati nominals divide into three types: (i) unmarked or citation form, and marked forms subgrouped into (ii) case-marked and (iii) post positional forms.

- (i) unmarked forms: The bare or caseless forms such as *Raj* 'a person's name', *ghar* 'house' or *tū* 'you' are referred to as nominative forms.
- (ii) case-marked forms: see Table 1. Table 1 summarizes the different case-markings suffixed to nouns and pronouns and their traditional names. These case-markings are realized as bound morpheme. Nouns have agglutinative morphology unlike that of (1st and 2nd person) pronouns. Further, Instrumental and Locative pronouns have the genitive form as the base.

Table 1. Different case forms

	raaj [proper name]	ghar 'house'	tū 'you'
Ergative	raaj.e	ghar.e (Locative)	tē
Accusative/Dative	raaj.ne	ghar.ne	tane
Genitive	raaj.n-	ghar.n-	taar-
Instrumental	raaj.thi	ghar.thi (Ablative)	taaraathi
Locative	raaj.māā	ghar.māā	taaraamāā

- (iii) postpositional forms: Forms of Gujarati nominals are also found with one of the postpositions such as *maaTe*, *saaru*, *khaatar* 'for', *joDe*, *saathe* 'with', *badle*, *sthaane* 'in place of', *winaa*, *siwaay* 'without', *lidhe* 'because of', *paase* 'near', *wise* 'about', *wacce* 'between', *nice* 'underneath', *upar* 'above', etc. The postpositions require their object nominals to be inflected for genitive obligatorily with pronouns and optionally with nouns:

- (1) tamaaraa/raaj(naa) winnaa
you.GEN.FX/R.(GEN.FX) without
'without you/Raj'
- (2) tamaari/raaj(ni) paase
you.GEN.F/R.(GEN.F) near
'near you/Raj'

1.2. Effects of unmarked : marked nominals

The unmarked : marked division for nominals at times have effects on the shape of the nominals as well as their sister constituents in a phrase and in a sentence.

1.2.1. Effects within a phrase

Gujarati has a three-way gender system: inherently masculine *kaan* 'ear', feminine *aankh* 'eye' and neuter *naak* 'nose', and formally expressed in nouns such as *maathū*

(neuter) ‘head’, *aangLi* (feminine) ‘finger’ and *cahero* (masculine) ‘face’.

In a phrase, gender distinction is marked formally on variable modifiers — the adjective *bhin-* ‘wet’ and the genitive specifier *tamaar-* ‘your’ as in (3a)–(5a).

- (3) a. *tamaar-ũ bhin-ũ naak/maathũ*
 your-N wet-N nose.N/head.N
 ‘your wet nose/head’
- (4) a. *tamaar-o bhin-o kaan/cahero*
 your-M wet-M ear.M/face.M
 ‘your wet ear/face’
- (5) a. *tamaar-i bhin-i aankh/aangLi*
 your-F wet-F eye.F/finger.F
 ‘your wet eye(s)/finger’

This agreement pattern is restricted to unsuffixed head nouns. When nouns carry a case-marker, the masculine and neuter gender markers get replaced by *-aa-* on nouns and also on modifiers: (3b) and (4b) exhibit effects of the marked noun².

- (3) b. *tamaaraa bhinaa naak-ne/maathaa-ne*
 your.FX wet.FX nose-ACC/head.FX-ACC
 ‘to your wet nose/head’
- (4) b. *tamaaraa bhinaa kaan-ne/caheraa-ne*
 your.FX wet.FX ear-ACC/face.FX-ACC
 ‘to your wet ear/face’

1.2.2. *Effects within a sentence*

A verb template consists of stem (+ causative) + TAM + Agr. The causative is deemed to be unrelated to the present subject matter, and therefore no consideration is given to it. The two other components — stem and Tense–Aspect–Mood morphology — govern the case of their subject as shown in 2.2 and 2.3. Agr(eement) refers to the presence of gender-number or person-number features of one of its arguments on a verb. The pattern associated with this phenomenon is exemplified below. (For more on Gujarati agreement, see Mistry 1976, 1978, and 1997; Dalrymple 1986; Hook and Joshi 1991).

Gujarati does show the general schema of verb agreeing with a caseless subject (i.e. nominative) as in (6) and (7).

- (6) *šilaa kaagaL lakh-t-i*
 S.(F).NOM letter(M) write-PST-F
 ‘Sheela used to write a letter.’
- (7) *šilaa raaj-ne jagaaD-t-i*
 S.(F).NOM Raj(M)-ACC awake-PST-F
 ‘Sheela used to wake up Raj.’

If a subject were non-nominative it would cease to control this agreement. A perfective (6a) instantiates construction with a case-marked subject and a caseless object.

- (6) a. *šilaa-e kaagaL lakh-y-o*
 S.(F)-ERG letter(M) write-PF-M
 ‘Sheela wrote a letter.’

Similar to Hindi and other neighboring languages, the verb form in cases such as (6a) is controlled by the caseless object *kaagaL*. What is distinct about Gujarati is the agreement pattern exhibited in (7a).

- (7) a. *šilaa-e raaj-ne jagaaD-y-o*
 S.(F)-ERG R.(M)-ne awake-PF-M
 ‘Sheela woke up Raj.’

In this sentence, both arguments are case-marked. A case-marked subject ceases to control verb-agreement just like in (6a). But unlike Hindi and several other Indo-Aryan languages, case bearing object arguments control verb agreement in Gujarati as in (7a).

2. Candidates for subjects

Subject refers to the relationship a predicate has with one of its arguments. Traditionally, it is equated with that argument that has the semantic role of an agent. It is also assumed to be coded by a nominative case and control the verb agreement. In recent years the scrutiny of subjects has been extended to their behavioral properties (Keenan 1975).

Semantic and coding properties of subjects do not always coincide. (8) and (9) exemplify such mismatching of these two properties.

- (8) John has inflicted the wounds.

- (9) John has suffered the wounds.

The sentence-initial nominative arguments in these sentences control the verb agreement. But they have different roles: *John* in (8) is agentive, and in (9) an experiencer. One will have to assume that the subjecthood in these cases is based on coding rather than semantic properties.

If we examine the close Gujarati equivalents of (8) and (9) — namely (8a) and (9a) — they depict different word order and strikingly different coding properties.

- (8) a. *John-e patthar maar-y-o*
 J-ERG rock(M) beat-PF-M
 ‘John inflicted the wound.’ (Lit. ‘John threw the rock.’)

- (9) a. John-ne patthar waag-y-o
 J-DAT rock(M) strike-PF-M
 'John suffered the wound.' (Lit. 'To John, the rock struck.')

In these instances the agentive and the experiencer *John* carry different case-markings and the verb agrees with the object. It is the contention of this study that the non-nominative *John* has a subject function in (8a) and (9a). The following section enumerates constructions licensing such non-nominative arguments.

2.1. Non-nominative arguments

Constructions in which a non-nominative can be viewed as a subject divide into 3 types: predicate-governed (2.1.1), possession-governed (2.1.2), and modality-governed (2.1.3) (For in Indo-Aryan languages in general, see Hook 1982, Masica 1991:339–64).

2.1.1. Predicates

A. Sentences with 'hurting' verbs such as: *kaTh* 'hurt', *koL* 'pierce', *khaTak* 'prick', *khunc* 'torment', *cacar* 'sting', *waag* 'strike', *saal* 'bother' and *daajh* 'burn' have the stimulant expressed nominatively and the experiencer, datively as in (10).

- (10) a. naagriko-ne bhaaw-wadhaaro kaTh-š-e
 citizens-DAT price-increase(3) pain-FUT-3
 'Citizens will be pained by the price increase.'
 b. raaj-ne aa prašna khunc-š-e
 R.-DAT this problem(3) torment-FUT3
 'Raj will feel annoyed by this problem.'

B. Sentences with 'psych' verbs such as: *aawaD* 'know', *gam* 'like', *goTh* 'find agreeable', *phaaw* 'find convenient', *ukal* 'unravel', *samjhaa* 'comprehend', *bhaaw* 'relish', *saambhar* 'remember', *parwaD* 'afford', *paalaw* 'afford', *joie* 'wants', *ruc* 'enjoy', *sujh* 'enter one's mind', *sphur* 'occur', *naD* 'obstruct', etc. take a nominative theme and a dative experiencer as in (11).³

- (11) a. paaDoši-ne maraaThi aawD-š-e
 neighbor-DAT Marathi know-FUT-3
 'The neighbor will know Marathi.'
 b. prajaa-ne be waras-māã nawo kaaydo samjhaa-š-e
 people-DAT two year-LOC new law comprehend-FUT-3
 'People will comprehend the new law in two years.'

C. Sentences with a complex predicate consisting of an abstract noun followed by a verb of movement: *ras* 'interest', *waandho* 'dispute', with *paD* 'fall'; *krodh* 'anger', *ris* 'huff', with *caDh* 'climb'; *dashaa* 'condition', *meL* 'comradeship', with *bes* 'sit';

dayaa ‘pity’, *bagaasu* ‘yawn’, with *aaw* ‘come’; *anubhaw* ‘experience’, *gabharaat* ‘agitation’, with *thaa* ‘happen’; *khoT* ‘loss’, *šankaa* ‘suspicion’, with *jaa* ‘go’ occur with a dative and a nominative nominal as in (12).

- (12) a. *kampanio-ne aiTi-mãã ras paD-y-o*
 companies-DAT information.technology-LOC interest(M) fall-PF-M
 ‘The companies got interested in information technology.’
 b. *bhukamp-grasto-ne dukaandaaro-par gusso caDh-y-o*
 earthquake-victims-DAT shopkeepers-on anger(M) rise-PF-M
 ‘The earthquake victims got angry at the shopkeepers.’

D. A dative and nominative nominal are also found in sentences with idiomatic complex predicates consisting of a locative body part (e.g. *kaan.e* ‘on ears’) followed by the verb *paD* ‘fall’ as in (13).

- (13) *šilaa-ne te waat kaan-e paD-š-e*
 S.-DAT that discourse ear-LOC fall-FUT-3
 ‘Sheela will come to know about that discourse.’

2.1.2. Possession

In the absence of a lexical item, Gujarati expresses ‘possessing’ syntactically (For similar constructions in other languages, see Freeze 1992, Mahajan 1994). The verb *ho* ‘be’ co-occurs with a nominative ‘possessee’ and the possessor marked with different cases: *-ne* for mental objects and relatives, *paase* for physical objects, and *-mãã* for inbred virtues or vices.

- (14) a. *raaj-ne anubhaw/be bhaai che*
 Raj-DAT experience/two brother is
 ‘Raj has experience/two brothers.’
 b. *raaj paase paisaa/be gaaDi che*
 Raj near money/two car is
 ‘Raj has money/two cars.’
 c. *raaj-mãã buddhi/adekhaai che*
 Raj-LOC intelligence/jealousy is
 ‘Raj has intelligence/jealousy.’

2.1.3. Modality

Gujarati has several devices in its verbal morphology to denote different modes of reference to events. Subjects also are part of this mechanism as they carry specific case-marking aligned with the particular Tense-Aspect-Mode morphology on verbs. Sentences in (15) illustrate five constructions, each with the case-marking on the subject, modality morphology on the verb and the term for the modality.

- (15) a. Subject-ERG ... V-PF-AGR Perfective
 šilaa-e copDi kharid-y-i
 S.-ERG book(F) buy-PF-F
 'Sheela bought a book.'
- b. Subject-e V-INF-AGR Recommendative⁴
 šilaa-e copDi kharid-w-i
 S.-e book(F) buy-INF-F
 'Sheela should buy the book.'
- c. Subject-(n)e V-INF-AGR ho- Desiderative
 šilaa-(n)e copDi kharid-w-i che
 S.-(n)e book(F) buy-INF-F is
 'Sheela wishes to buy the book.'
- d. Subject-(n)e V-INF-GEN-AGR ho- Obligative
 šilaa-(n)e copDi kharid-waa-n-i che
 S.-(n)e book(F) buy-INF-GEN-F is
 'Sheela has to buy the book.'
- e. Subject-thi V-ABIL-TENSE-AGR Abilitative
 šilaa-thi copDi kharid-aa-š-e
 S.-INST book(3) buy-ABIL-FUT-3
 'Sheela could buy the book.'

Like most South Asian languages, Gujarati is an SOV language. This study about subjects centers on the two constituents located at opposite ends of a sentence. The presented details show that a specific verb or morphology on the verb at one end governs the form of the nominal at the other end. The data presented in (10) to (15) show that arguments to be considered subjects carry different cases⁵. Dative is induced by several frames; hence one finds a significantly large number of instances of datives among the non-nominatives functioning as subject.

2.2. Experiencers, datives and subjects

The discussion of non-nominative subjects frequently focuses on experiencer arguments marked with a dative case. Languages however lack one to one correspondence between such a role of an argument, its case-marking or its function. One thus finds not only Dative but also Nominative as well as Accusative experiencers in Gujarati.

- (16) kišor khub kašTaa-y-o
 K.(M) much be pained-PF-M
- (17) kišor-ne khub kašTa tha-y-ū
 K-DAT much pain(N) happen-PF-N
 'Kishor was greatly pained.'

Example (16) has a verb expressing some sensation as a predicate and a nominative experiencer. The predication in near synonymous (17) contains a complex consisting of noun plus a verb denoting similar sensation, and a dative experiencer. Experiencer arguments thus do not bear a specific case. Examples (18) and (19) exemplify further difference among experiencers.

- (18) *raaj-ne aa waat gabhraaw-ṣ-e*
 R.-ACC this matter(3) fear-FUT-3
 ‘Raj will fear this matter (will be frightened by this matter).’
- (19) *raaj-ne aa waat gam-ṣ-e*
 R.-DAT this matter(3) like-FUT-3
 ‘Raj will like this matter.’

Though (18) and (19) look similar they have different structures that account for the differences in the grammaticality of (18) versus (19).

- (18) a. *raaj-ne aa waat-e gabhraaw-y-o*
 R.(M)-ACC this matter-ERG fear-PF-M
 ‘Raj was frightened by this matter.’
- (19) a. **raaj-ne aa waat-e gam-y-o*
 R.-ne this matter-ERG like-PF-M
 ‘Raj liked this matter.’

Of the two arguments in (18), the presence of ergative in (18a) identifies *aa waat* to be the subject and the agreement morphology on the verb indicates *raaj-ne* to be the accusative object. (19a) is ungrammatical on both grounds; neither *aa waat* functions as a subject nor *Raj* as an object. This is additionally supported by (18b) and (19b).

- (18) b. *raaj-ne gabhraaw-waa-māā aaw-y-o*
 R.(M)-ACC fear-INF-LOC come-PF-M
 ‘Raj was put to fear (was frightened).’
- (19) b. **raaj-ne gam-waa-māā aaw-y-o*
 R.(M)-ACC like-INF-LOC come-PF-M
 ‘Raj was liked.’

In the Gujarati paraphrastic passive the subject is silent, the object occurs with its case, and the infinitive form of the main verb has the locative *-māā* followed by the light verb *aaw* as in (18b). (19b) is ill formed because *aa waat* is not the subject, nor is *raaj.ne* the object. The experiencer *raaj.ne* is the subject and has a dative case governed by the verb *gam*.⁶ In sum, an experiencer could be nominative (16), dative (17 and 19) or accusative (18).

It should also be noted that sentences with dative-bearing inanimate nominals such as (20a–c) are commonplace:

- (20) a. deš-ne simaaDaa naD-t-aa nathi
 nation-DAT boundaries(M) obstruct-PST-M not
 'A nation is not obstructed by boundaries.'
- b. jhaaD.ne phulo phuT.š.e
 tree.DAT flowers(3) burst.FUT.3
 'The tree will (get flowers) burst into bloom.'
- c. chari.ne kaaT caDh.š.e
 knife.DAT rust(3) climb.FUT.3
 'The knife will get rusty.'

Thus the thematic role of an experiencer and dative case-marking do not go hand in hand nor do all Datives have subject function.

3. Cases and morphological case-markings

Table 1 in 1.1 allows cataloging several related forms along with grammatical terms for them in a nutshell. It assumes a consistent one-to-one relationship between the form and the term. This does not hold due to factors like syncretism, homophony, etc. This section examines the two recurring case-markings *-e* (3.1) and *-ne* (3.2) and show that each of them corresponds to different cases. 3.2 presents evidence to differentiate accusative *-ne* from dative *-ne* whereas 3.3 provides a diagnostic to ascertain when a *-ne* bearing nominal is a subject and when a modifier. Table B at the end of Section 3.3 summarizes types of sentences in terms of case-markings on subjects and objects.

3.1. Cases of *-e* marked nominals

A single case-marking *-e* corresponds to different case features in (21):

- (21) ghar.e kišor.e haath.e diwaal rang.y.i
 house.LOC K-ERG hands-INST wall(F) paint-PF-F
 'Kishor painted the wall with(own) hands at home.'

Here *-e* with *ghar* 'house' is Locative; with *kišor*, Ergative; and with *haath* 'hands', Instrumental. Such instances are found in different genres of the language. (22) is a segment from the opening line of a recent poem by Makarand Dave narrating the earthquake-produced disasters:

- (22) ...nagar...dhuL-e daTaayū ne bhaDk-e bhuujaayū
 city dirt-LOC buried and fire-INST burned
 'The city...buried in dirt and burned by fire.'

The *-e* in *duL-e* is Locative and in *bhaDk-e*, Instrumental.

Of these three functionally distinct *-e*, arguments only allow the Ergative, and Ergative arguments are always subjects. A fourth *-e* appears on arguments in modality constructions (2.1.3). It certainly differs from the three discussed above, though what it is is unclear.

3.2. Cases of *-ne* marked nominals

We repeat (23)–(25), the three types of constructions with *-ne* marked arguments discussed earlier.

- (23) *šilaa raaj-ne jagaaD-t-i* (cf. 7)
S.(F)NOM R.-ACC awake-PST-F
'Sheela used to awaken Raj.'
- (24) *raaj-ne aa prašna khunc-š-e* (cf. 10b)
R.-DAT this problem(3) torment-FUT-3
'Raj will feel annoyed by this problem.'
- (25) *raaj-(n)e copDi kharid-w-i che* (cf. 15c)
R.-ne book(F) buy-INF-F AUX
'Raj wishes to buy the book.'

-ne on the object in (23) is accusative and *-ne* on the subject in (24), dative. The *(n)e* on the subject in (25) is puzzling (see 3.2.2). We add three additional occurrences of *-ne* in (26)–(28).

- (26) *šilaa raaj-ne copDi aap-š-e*
S.(3) R.-ne book give-FUT-3
'Sheela will give a book to Raj.'
- (27) *šilaa raaj-ne maL-t-i*
S.(F) R.-ne meet-PST-F
'Sheela used to meet Raj.'
- (28) *šilaa raaj-ne ghar-e ja-š-e*
S.(3) R.-ne house-LOC go-FUT-3
'Sheela will go to Raj's house.'

The *-ne* in (26) is dative, hosted by an indirect object.

3.2.1. *Accusative -ne and dative -ne on direct objects*

Sentences (23) and (27) look similar but their similarity does not hold in (23a) and (27a).

- (23) a. *šilaa-thi raaj-ne (naa) jagaaD-aa-y-o*
S.-INST R.(M)-ne (not) awake-ABIL-PF-M
'Sheela could (not) awaken Raj.'

- (27) a. *šilaa-thi raaj-ne (naa) maL-aa-y-ũ*
 S.-INST R.-ne (not) meet-ABIL-PF-DF
 'Sheela could (not) meet Raj.'

The verb in (23a) and (27a) does not agree with the marked subject as expected. It agrees with a *-ne* marked object in (23a) but not in (27a). That is, *-ne* in (23a) does not block but *-ne* in (27a) does block verb agreement with its object. This is one of the reasons for differentiating *-ne* in (23a) from *-ne* in (27a). We represent this difference by labeling *-ne* in (23a) Acc(usative) and in (27a) as Dat(ive)⁷. For a detailed discussion and arguments for the proposed distinction see Mistry (1997). This calls for a reformulation of the verb agreement system.

A slot on the right edge of a verbal template hosts morphological material encoding some phi-features. The slot carries phi-features of a subject if nominative. In instances with a non-nominative subject, the slot bears the phi-features of a nominative object. This agreement pattern confirms with what is found crosslinguistically. With a non-nominative subject and a non-nominative object the slot carries default morphology in Hindi and several other IA languages whereas Gujarati has a split agreement pattern. It differentiates Accusative *-ne* bearing objects that control verbal agreement (23a) from Dative *-ne* bearing objects that do not (27a).

3.2.2. *-(n)e of modality*

The *-(n)e* in the Desiderative (15c)[=25] and the Obligative (15d) represents two regional variants: *-ne* in the Northern Gujarati and *-e* in the Southern. It however, is a puzzling entity when pronominal forms are considered. The accusative–dative *mane* of the first-person *hũ* does not substitute for *Raaj.ne* only in sentences like (25) and (28) where *maare* is required. Unlike nominals a single pronominal form occurs throughout the speech community and is the only acceptable form even for the Recommendative (15b). It is the expected form in (28) as shown in 3.2.3. What makes such a form licit in (15b–d) and why it is free of regional variation remain elusive.

3.2.3. *-ne on modifiers*

The occurrence of *-ne* in (28) is on a modifier of a locative nominal. Gujarati permits optional case agreement between a nominal and its modifier, when the case-marker is *-e* (ergative, instrumental or locative) and the noun is [–feminine].

In 1.2, it was shown that in a phrase with a bare nominal, modifiers agree with nominals in gender. With a suffixed nominal, semantically empty *aa* replaces gender morphology as in (29a) versus (29b).

- (29) a. *raaj-no moTo dikro*
 R.-GEN.M old.M son.M
 'Raj's elder son.'
 b. *raaj-naa moTaa dikraa.e*
 R.-GEN.FX old.FX son.FX.ERG

- c. raaj-n.e moT-e dikr-e
 R.-GEN.ERG big-ERG son-ERG
 ‘Raj’s elder son.’

When the suffix on the nominal is *-e*, it optionally allows a variant expression with *-e* on all the constituents of the phrase, ensuing both (29b) and (29c). The glosses show that *-ne* in (29c) is not accusative or dative but is bimorphic consisting of (*raaj*).Gen.*e*. The pronominal *maare* substitutes for it, since *maare* is compositionally the same.

3.3. Simple versus bimorphemic *-ne*

The central concern of this study is subject nominals. The discussions of modifiers in 1.1.1 and again in 3.2.3 reveal that the same form may occur as an argument (25) or as a modifier (28). To determine between the two is, at times, problematic.

We begin with (30) and (31) to review the problem. 2.1.1 lists *paD* creating complex predicates with locative marked body parts (*kaan-e* ‘on ears’, *maath-e* ‘on the head’), which take a dative subject.

- (30) šilaa-ne te waat kaan-e paD-š-e
 S.-DAT that discourse ear-LOC fall-FUT-3
 ‘Sheela will come to know about that discourse.’

Under appropriate conditions, *te waat* can be fronted as in (31). (31) could also be understood as if *šilaa-ne kaan-e* is a single phrase with the locative marker *-e* on both constituents resulting from case-agreement. Consequently, (31) has two readings.

- (31) te waat šilaa-ne kaan-e paD-š-e
 that discourse S.-ne ear-LOC fall-FUT-3
 ‘Sheela will come to know about that discourse.’ (dative -ne)
 ‘That discourse will fall on Sheela’s ears.’ (bimorphemic -ne)

It should be noted that these two interpretations correlate with two different intonation patterns. (32) below also instantiates the same structural pattern except that the verb is *caDh* ‘climb’ and the locative body part is *aankh* ‘eyes’. The critical difference is the gender: *aankh* in (32) is feminine unlike *kaan*(*M*) ‘ears’. Feminine gender blocks the case agreement, resulting in (33a). (33b) is possible but has only a single reading.

- (32) šilaa-ne badhi wastuo aankh-e caDh-y-i
 S.-DAT all things(F) eye-LOC climb-PF-F
 ‘Sheela saw all things.’
- (33) a. badhi wastuo šilaa-ni aankh-e caDh-y-i
 all things(F) S.-GEN-F eye-LOC climb-PF-F
 ‘All things came to Sheela’s attention.’

- b. badhi wastuo śilaa-ne aankh-e caDh-y-i
 all things(F) S.-DAT eye-LOC climb-PF-F
 'Sheela saw all things.'

By their form and meaning, (33a) and (33b) exhibit clear distinction between a modifier plus locative nominal phrase and adjacently placed dative subject and a locative nominal. Additional confirmation of their difference comes from substituting pronominals for *Sheela* since pronominals have dative forms distinct from the genitive-locative forms: (34a) takes the complex Genitive plus Locative *maare* and (34b), the dative *mane*.

- (34) a. te vaat maare kaan-e paD-ś-e
 that discourse(3) I-GEN-LOC ears-LOC fall-FUT-3
 'that discourse will fall on my ears.'
 b. te vaat mane kaan-e paD-ś-e
 that discourse(3) I-DAT ear-LOC fall-FUT-3
 'I will come to know about that discourse.'

The examination of critical and recurrent *-e* and *-ne* case-markings makes two things evident: Both case-markings are much more complicated than their description in Table 1 in 1.1. Secondly, in spite of the phonetic non-distinctiveness there are syntactic and semantic bases that reveal differences: The *-ne* in *śilaa-ne* in (30), (32), and (33) is unambiguously Dative. It is Genitive-Locative in (28) and has both possibilities in (31).

Table 2. Types of sentences in terms of case-marking

	Subject	Object
Type 1	Nominative	Nominative
Type 2	Nominative	Accusative
Type 3	Nominative	Dative
Type 4	Non-nominative	Nominative
Type 5	Non-nominative	Accusative
Type 6	Non-nominative	Dative

Thus the subject in Gujarati is either nominative or non-nominative and the object Nominative, Accusative, or Dative. Table 2 lists the resultant six types of sentences. The verb agreement is with subjects in the first three types, with objects in type 4 and 5, and with neither in type 6.

4. Non-nominatives: their subject properties

In the preceding two sections we have dealt with occurrences of non-nominative nominals and what regulates them. In this section we turn to some of their

properties that substantiate their subjecthood. We restrict such considerations to their binding (4.1), control (4.2), and distributional property (4.3).

4.1. Binding

For the subjecthood of nominals, a tried and dependable diagnostic applied across languages has been the subject-oriented property of reflexives. We examine below the Gujarati reflexive *pote* in three domains: as a constituent in a phrase (4.1.1), in a clause (4.1.2), and in a biclausal setting (4.1.3). [For more on *pote*, see Shah 1988, Mistry 2000.]

4.1.1. *Emphatic pote in a phrase*

Pote as a sister constituent of a subject nominal marks emphasis. Its occurrence with non-subjects is judged unacceptable by some and awkward by others.

- (35) a. *šilaa pote copDi kharid-š-e*
S. self book buy-FUT-3
'Sheela herself will buy the book.'
- b. *šilaa-e pote copDi kharid-y-i*
S.-ERG self-ERG book(F) buy-PF-F
'Sheela herself bought the book.'
- c. *šilaa-e pote copDi kharid-w-i*
S.-e self book(F) buy-INF-F
'Sheela herself should buy the book.'
- d. *šilaa-(n)e potaa-ne copDi kharid-w-i che*
S.-(n)e self-ne book(F) buy-INF-F AUX
'Sheela herself wishes to buy the book.'
- e. *šilaa-ne potaa-ne copDi gam-š-e*
S.-DAT self-DAT book like-FUT-3
'Sheela herself will like the book.'
- f. *šilaa-māā potā-māā namrataa che*
S.-LOC self-LOC politeness is
'Sheela herself has politeness.'
- g. *šilaa paase potaa paase VCR che*
S.LOC near self near VCR is
'Sheela herself has a VCR.'
- h. *šilaa-thi potaa-thi copDi naa kharid-aa-š-e*
S.-INST self-INST book not buy-ABIL-FUT-3
'Sheela herself would not be able to buy the book.'
- i. **šilaa-thi potaa-thi raaj naa Dar-š-e*
S.-INST self-INST R. not fear-FUT-3
'Raj will not be afraid of Sheela herself.'

The occurrence of emphatic *pote* is uniformly acceptable with a subject nominal. Such acceptability is available for (35a–h) indicating that different case-bearing nominals preceding *pote* — nominative in (35a) and non-nominative in (35b) to (35h) — are alike. In all of these sentences *pote* as an emphatic entity carries the same case-marking as the preceeding nominals. Though (35h) and (35i) both begin with *šilaathi potaathi*, the grammaticality of (35h) opposed to the ungrammaticality of (35i) confirms that the emphatic *pote* adjoins to a subject in this position⁸.

4.1.2. Reflexive *pote* in a clause

Pote also is used anaphorically and binds to a third-person clause-mate subject. This property of *pote* serves as the most reliable diagnostic for subjecthood of arguments.

- (36) netaao_i raahat.kaam-māā potaane_i sanDow-š-e
 leaders relief.work-LOC self-ACC involve-FUT-3
 ‘The leaders_i will involve self_i in the relief work.’
- (37) raaj-thi_i potaa-ne_i naa sanDow-aa-y-o
 R.-INST self-ACC not involve-ABIL-PF-M
 ‘Raj_i was not able to involve self_i.’

The reflexive object *potaa-ne* in (36) and (37) binds with the antecedent nominative *netaao* ‘leaders’ in (36) and instrumental *Raj-thi* in (37) and thereby reveals their subject function. In (38) to (40), nominals with the same case-marking appear in both (a) and (b) sentences but show differences in co-indexing.

Dative nominal

- (38) a. raaj-ne_i paaDoši potaa-naa_i bhaai-thi wišeš gam-š-e
 R.-DAT neighbor self-GEN brother-INST more like-FUT-3
 ‘Raj_i will like the neighbor more than self’s_i brother.’
- b. raaj-ne_i sudhaa potaa-naa_i bhaai-thi wišeš madad kar-š-e
 R.-DAT S. self-GEN brother-INST more help(F) do-FUT-3
 ‘Sudha will help Raj_i more than self’s_i brother.’

Locative nominal

- (39) a. raaj-māā_i potaa-ni_i patni-thi wišeš ataDaapaNū che
 R.-LOC self-GEN wife-INST more reservedness is
 ‘Raj_i has reservedness more than self’s_i wife.’
- b. John-māā_i raaj-ne potaa-naa_i mitro-thi wišeš wišwaas che
 J.-LOC Raj-DAT self-GEN friends-INST more trust is
 ‘Raj has trust in John_i more than self’s_i friends.’

Nominal plus *paase*

- (40) a. America_i paase potaana_i paaDoši-thi wišeš nišNaato che
 America near self.GEN neighbor-INST more experts is
 ‘America_i has more experts than self’s_i neighbor.’

- b. New Guinea_i paase potaana_{-I} paaDoši-thi wišeš dwipo che
 New Guinea near self.GEN neighbor-INST more islands are
 'There are islands more near New Guinea_i than self's_{-i} neighbor.'

The reflexive *pote* binds with nominal in (a) but not in (b) sentences in spite of the same case-markings on the nominals. This bears out that sentence-initial nominals only in (a) sentences are analogous to *netao* in (36) and *raaj-thi* in (37), namely that all of them function as subjects.

4.1.3. Reflexive *pote* in a biclause

The Gujarati reflexive *pote* exhibits a property of being co-indexed within as well as outside its clause and with multiple subjects. In the data in (41) the reflexive *pote* from a subordinate clause links to the matrix subject *Raj*.⁹

- (41) a. raaj_j šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e em jaNaawe che
 R. S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 thus inform AUX
 'Raj_j informs that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'
 b. raaj_j kišor-ne_k šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j,*k} sanDow-š-e em jaNaawe che
 R. K-DAT S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 thus inform AUX
 'Raj_j informs Kishor_k that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j,*k}.'

As shown by indexing, *pote* is co-referential with its clause mate subject *Sheela* and also with the nominative matrix subject *Raj* in (41a) and (41b). It does not co-index with *Kishor* in (41b) since *Kishor* is not a subject, confirming *pote*'s subject-oriented property. From the same site, *pote* also co-indexes with an Ergative nominal in (42a), a Dative in (42b), a Locative in (42c), a *paase* bearing nominal in (42d) and an Instrumental in (42e). This is an attestation that the sentence initial non-nominative nominals in (42) are all subjects since they antecede the reflexive *pote*.

- (42) a. raaj-e_j šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e em lakh-y-ū
 R.-ERG S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 thus wrote
 'Raj_j wrote that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'
 b. raaj-ne_j šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e evo Dar che
 R.-DAT S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 such fear is
 'Raj_j fears that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'
 c. raaj-māñ_j šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e ewi šraddhaa che
 R.-LOC S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 such faith is
 'Raj_j has faith that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'
 d. raaj_j paase šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e ewi yojanaa che
 R. near S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 such plan is
 'Raj_j has a plan that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'
 e. raaj-thi_j šilaa_i potaa-ne_{i,j} sanDow-š-e e man-aa-t-ū nathi
 R.-INST S. self-ACC involve-FUT-3 that believe-ABIL-PST-DF not
 'Raj_j cannot believe that Sheela_i will involve self_{i,j}.'

We thus find that arguments bearing oblique case exhibit the same antecedent status in a phrase and in mono and biclausal structures as nominative subjects with respect to binding.

4.2. Control

Coreferentiality with a non-overt subject of a subordinate clause instantiated in (43) is another diagnostic for the subjecthood of an argument.

- (43) a. *gaamjano sarkaari madad meLaw-waa icch-š-e/icchaatur*
 villagers.(3) governmental help get-INF hope-FUT-3/hopeful
che
 are
 ‘Villagers will hope/are hopeful to get governmental help.’
 b. *gaamjano-ne sarkaari madad meLaw-waa icchaa che*
 villagers-DAT government help get-INF hope are
 ‘Villagers have hope to get governmental help.’

In (43a), the matrix clause with the adjective-copula complex or the verb has the nominative *gaamjano* ‘villagers’ as the subject (based on its position, case, and verb agreement). The dative nominal co-occurring with a noun-copula complex predicate in (43b) lacks the agreement-controlling property but occupies the same position as the subject in (43a). Additionally, just as the nominative *gaamjano* controls the null subject (PRO) of the infinitive complement in (43a), so does the dative *gaamjanone* in (43b). Instances with other non-nominatives are given in (44).

- (44) a. *sarkaar-māã pratikuL awaajo Daab-waa aawDat che*
 government-LOC unfavorable voices suppress-INF know.how is
 ‘The government has the know-how to suppress unfavorable voices.’
 b. *sarkaar paase pratikuL awaajo Daab-waa sagwaD che*
 government near unfavorable voices suppress-INF facilities is
 ‘The government has facilities to suppress unfavorable voices.’
 c. *sarkaar-ne pratikuL awaajo Daab-waa gam-š-e*
 government-DAT unfavorable voices suppress-INF like-FUT-3
 ‘The government will like to suppress unfavorable voices.’
 d. *sarkaar-thi pratikuL awaajo Daab-waa prayatno*
 government-INST unfavorable voices suppress-INF attempts
kar-aa-š-e
 do-ABIL-FUT-3
 ‘The government would be making attempts to suppress unfavorable voices.’

It is evident that just like nominative subjects, non-nominative nominals occur as matrix subjects and control null subjects of complements.

4.3. Distributional property

The presence of non-nominative nominals in clauses and phrases that have an obligatory subject provides additional evidence for their subjecthood. The examples of non-nominatives in two complete functional complexes (Chomsky, 1986) — participial subject clauses (4.3.1) and noun phrases with adjectival compounds (4.3.2) — show non-nominatives to be on a par with nominative subjects.

4.3.1. Participial clauses

(45) contains the verb *tha* ‘become, happen’, has a Dative argument *baaLak-ne* ‘child’ and denotes age.

- (45) *baaLak-ne be waras tha-y-aa*
 child-DAT two years(N) become-PF-N
 ‘The child became two years old.’

Substituting a sentential argument for the dative nominal in (45) yields (46).

- (46) [*raaj aaw-y-aa-ne*] be *diwas tha-y-aa*
 R. come-PF-FX-DAT two days became
 ‘Raj’s coming took place two days ago (became two days old).’

The verb in the bracketed segment is in the perfective form but without the agreement morphology of the finite clauses. Instead it carries dative case-marking preceded by the expected *-aa-*. Such clauses are CFCs in which a nominal with the subject function is overtly present. That nominal is *Raj* in (46). (47) provides additional examples of the same construction.

- (47) a. [*raaj-e ghar kharid-y-aa-ne*] be *diwas tha.y.aa*
 R.-ERG house buy-PF-FX-DAT two days became
 ‘Raj’s house buying took place two days ago.’
 b. [*raaj-thi lon meLw-aa-y-aa-ne*] be *diwa tha.y.aa*
 R.-INST loan secure-ABIL-PF-FX-DAT two days became
 ‘Raj’s being able to get the loan took place two days ago.’
 c. [*raaj-ne šardi tha-y-aa-ne*] be *diwas tha.y.aa*
 R.-DAT cold happen-PF-FX-DAT two days became
 ‘Raj’s getting cold happened two days ago.’
 d. [*raaj-māā nabLaai aaw-y-aa-ne*] be *diwas tha.y.aa*
 R.-LOC weakness come-PF-FX-DAT two days became
 ‘Raj’s becoming weak took place two days ago.’

Raj appears with different case-marking in the bracketed perfective clauses above. These different case-markings are not indicators of differences in functional structures. They correlate with lexical or morphological differences in predicates. Thus, the non-nominative *Raj* in (47a–d) has the same analysis as the nominative in (46).

The ergative-marking in (47a), additionally, leaves no doubt of their subjecthood.

Such sentential clauses carry other cases and permit other types of participials too. Consequently, quite a substantive amount of data exist in the language showing the same pattern of distribution of nominative and non-nominative subjects. For example, (48a–c) instantiate constructions with the Instrumental marker affixed to the perfective and infinitive participials.

- (48) a. [raaj aaw-y-aa-thi/aaw-w-aa-thi] šilaa
 R. come-PF-FX-INST/come-INF-FX-INST S.(F)
 harkhaa-y-i
 become happy-PF-F
 ‘Sheelaa felt happy by Raj’s coming.’
- b. [raaj-e ghar kharid-y-aa-thi/kharid-w-aa-thi] šilaa
 R.-ERG house buy-PF-FX-INST/buy-INF-FX-INST S.(F)
 harkhaa-y-i
 became happy-PF-F
 ‘Sheela felt happy by Raj’s house-buying.’
- c. [raaj-māā nabLaai aaw-y-aa-thi/aaw-w-aa-thi] šilaa
 R.-LOC weakness come-PF-FX-INST/come-INF-FX-INST S.(F)
 gabhraa-y-i
 fear-PF-F
 ‘Sheela felt frightened by Raj’s getting weak.’

Though the participial forms and case-markings on them are different, nominative as well as non-nominative arguments occur as overt subjects of such clauses.

4.3.2. Evidence from compounds

Among compounds in Gujarati, a limited number are made up of a noun plus a participial. They are adjectival and modify a noun in a noun phrase as illustrated in (49) to (52).

- (49) bhaan-bhulyaa maaNaso
 consciousness-forgotten men
 ‘men with lost consciousness’
- (50) awsar-cukyaa maaNaso
 occasion-missed men
 ‘men with missed opportunities’
- (51) dew-didhi sampatti
 god-gave wealth
 ‘god-given wealth’
- (52) man-bhaawti waangio
 mind-pleasing preparations
 ‘mind-pleasing preparations’

Such noun phrases are CFCs, akin to constructions with a two-place predicate. In (49) and (50), the noun in the compound is the object and the head noun is the subject of the verb, similar to the English compound *debt-incurred companies*. (51) and (52) on the other hand, instantiate just the reversed functions for such two nouns as is the case in the English compound *company-sponsored programs*. That is, the first member in (51) and (52) functions as a subject. Noun-participial compounds divide into these two groups.

In compounds such as in (51) and (52), whether subjects are nominative or non-nominative cannot be ascertained since compounds do not license case-marking on the first member of their constituents. However, that information is associated with the root verb of the participial. The verb *de* 'give' of (51) takes a nominative-ergative subject: *deve didhi* (God.Erg given) 'God given'. *bhaaw* 'please' of (52) is among the verbs that take a dative subject: *man.ne bhaawti* (mind.Dat pleasing) 'mind-pleasing'. Thus compounds consisting of a noun plus a participial with a subject-verb relationship exists for verbs requiring nominative as well as non-nominative subjects.

On the bases of binding, control and distribution, we have shown non-nominatives to be analogous to nominative subjects. The status of these non-nominatives as subjects also assures uniform and general account of many phenomena in the language.

5. Non-nominatives: Their special properties

The preceeding section took up some of the syntactic properties that nominatives and non-nominatives share. In this section we turn to one special characteristic of non-nominative subjects, namely case preservation (5.1), and also discuss two instructive gaps (5.2) in their distribution.

5.1. Case preservation

Some verbs take both a finite and nonfinite complement as illustrated in (53) and (54).

- (53) *sudhaa-ne* [*raaj rajaa-māã aaw-š-e*] *te gam-š-e*
 S.-DAT R.3 holiday-LOC come-FUT-3 that like-FUT-3
 'Sudha will like that Raj will come during the holidays.'
- (54) *sudhaa-ne* [*raaj-nũ rajaa-māã aaw-wũ*] *gam-š-e*
 S.-DAT R.-GEN holiday-LOC come-GRND like-FUT-3
 'Sudha will like Raj's coming during the holidays.'
- (55) *sudhaa* [*raaj-nũ rajaa-māã aaw-wũ*] *wakhaaN-š-e*
 S.3 [R.-GEN holiday-LOC come-GRND] praise-FUT-3
 'Sudha will praise Raj's coming during the holidays.'

The finite complement of (53) has a nominative subject *Raj*, which surfaces with a genitive *raaj-nū* in the nonfinite (gerundial) in (54). (55) repeats the same nonfinite but as a complement of *wakhaaN* ‘praise’. Sentences in (56) are additional instances.

- (56) a. sudhaa [raaj-thi aaTlū saarū samjaaw-aa-wū] wakhaaN-š-e
S.3 [R.-INST so much good explain-ABIL-GRND] praise-FUT-3
‘Sudha will praise Raj’s being able to explain so well.’
b. sudhaa [raaj-ne aaTlū saarū French aawaD-wū] wakhaaN-š-e
S.3 [R.-DAT so.much good French know-GRND] praise-FUT-3
‘Sudha will praise Raj’s knowing French so well.’
c. sudhaa [raaj-māā aaTlū badhū gnaan ho-wū] wakhaaN-š-e
S.3 [R.-LOC so.much all knowledge be-GRND] praise-FUT-3
‘Sudha will praise Raj’s having so much knowledge.’
d. sudhaa [raaj paase aaTlū saarū ghaDiyaL ho-wū] wakhaaN-še
S.3 [R. near so.much good watch be-GRND] praise.FUT-3
‘Sudha will praise Raj’s having such a nice watch.’

Sentences in (56) show gerundial clauses occurring with different case-bearing subjects: Instrumental (56a), Dative (56b), Locative (56c), and *paase* (56d). A comparison with the corresponding gerundial-finite clauses show that the case-marking of these subjects remains invariant irrespective of whether they are in finite or gerundial clauses. This absence of case alternation of the subject is a special feature of non-nominatives. That non-nominative subjects preserve their case is substantiated in several other instances. For example, non-nominative subjects do not allow case alternation in the imperfective-perfective context:

- (57) a. šilaa copDi kharid-š-e
S. book buy-FUT-3
‘Sheela will buy the book.’
b. šilaa-e copDi kharid-y-i
S.-ERG book(F) buy-PF-F
‘Sheela bought the book.’
(58) šilaa-ne copDi gam-š-e/gam-y-i
S.-DAT book(F) like-FUT-3/like-PF-F
‘Sheela will like/liked the book.’

In (57) the nominative–ergative subject alternation correlates with the imperfective-perfective-distinction, but (58) has the dative subject in both contexts. Similarly, the case alternation of raising constructions is absent with non-nominative subjects.

- (59) a. dardi-ne dawaa pi-t-o kar-w-o muškel che
patient(M)-ACC medicine drink-PST-M do-INF-M difficult is
‘It is difficult to make a patient drink the medicine.’

- (59) b. dardi-ne dawaa gam-t-i kar-w-i muškel che
 patient(M)-DAT medicine(F) like-PST-F do-INF-F difficult is
 'It is difficult to make a patient like the medicine.'

The main verb *pi* 'drink' in (59a) takes a nominative subject. The biclausal structure of the verbal sequence raises the nominative subject of the original subject to the object of the second verb *kar* 'do', resulting in the accusative form of the original subject. The masculine marker *-o* on both verbs points to *dardine* being accusative in (59a). In (59b) the main verb *gam* 'like' is a dative-inducing verb and the dative *dardine* remains invariant in the biclausal structure, evidenced by the lack of agreement with both the verbs of the verbal sequence.

This case-preserving property could offer an explanation for the gaps in modality constructions. For example, we obtain the abilitative construction corresponding to sentences with a nominative subject but not for dative-subject sentences. Hence, for a non-nominative subject construction, a modality construction with a different case-carrying subject does not exist.

There are other differences too. In 4.1.1, we reported emphatic *pote* adjoining to nominative and non-nominative subjects. This emphatic can float less freely when the subject is non-nominative. Thus unlike nominatives, non-nominatives do not freely allow disjointing of such an appositive constituent. Similarly, sentences with non-nominative subjects have less freedom of word order. That is, what has been observed as 'word order freezing' for dative subject sentences (Mohan and Mohanan, 1994) extends to non-nominative subjects in general.

5.2. Distributional gaps

We have shown that non-nominative subjects encompass nominals with several case-markings. These markings appear with varied degrees of frequency. Additionally, there are gaps in their distribution. We present two gaps, chosen for being informative about influencing factors in such instances.

In 4.3.1, the consideration of non-nominative arguments as a perfective subject has not considered one expected construction exemplified in (60a).

- (60) raaj paase jaruri saadhano ha-t-aa
 R. near necessary tools(N) be-PST-N
 'Raj had the necessary tools.'

In this 'have' construction, the verb *ho* 'be' co-occurs with the possessor argument marked with *paase* 'near'. In this case, the perfective participial clause (60a) analogous to (46) is not available.

- (60) a. *raaj paase jaruri saadhano ho-y-aa-ne
 R near necessary tools be-PF-FX-DAT

This gap is due to the verb *ho* that lacks the perfective form. The absence of (60a)

does not invalidate syntactic properties of *raaj paase*. The verb *ho* however does have an infinitival form and yields (60b) similar to (48a).

- (60) b. raaj paase jaruri saadhano ho-w-aa-thi
 R. near necessary tools be-INF-FX-INST
 ‘because Raj has necessary tools’

Thus, the seeming gap *raaj paase* as a perfectival subject is due to a paradigmatic gap for the verb *ho*. *Raaj paase* is eligible for the same analysis as other case-suffixed occurrences of *Raj* in (47) and (48).

A second instance of gap pertains to long distance binding. The examples in 4.1.3 show the reflexive *pote* binding to a matrix subject. This does not hold in (61).

- (61) dilip-e_j lakh.y.ũ ke raaj-mãã_l potaa-nũ_{i*}; aagwũ Wyattitwa che
 D-ERG wrote that R.-LOC self-’s unique individuality is
 ‘Dilip_i wrote that Raj_j has self’s*_{i/j} unique individuality.’

Here *potaa-nũ* of the embedded clause coindexes only with the local subject *Raj* but not with the matrix subject *Dilip*. This is so since the locative possessor construction predicates only ingrained property as indicated in 2.1.2. Consequently, the reflexive *potaa-nũ* of the embedded clause can only refer to its clause-mate subject *Raj*. It fails to link with the higher subject *Dilip* — non-nominative or nominative — on pragmatic grounds. Thus, gaps do not necessarily reflect ‘defectiveness’ in the property of nominals but draw attention to influencing factors that range from morphology to pragmatics as our discussion has shown.

6. Conclusion

This section deals with two topics: a brief diachrony (6.1) and a few concluding comments (6.2). Since the aim has been to present details rather than a specific analysis, the comments concern what the details suggest.

6.1. Diachrony

This study has brought attention to non-nominative constructions with formatives located at two end points of a sentence, the unusual verb agreement, and the case preservation. Available literary texts from the 13th century onward attest that the caseless (nominate) subject has continually triggered agreement on the verb, as is commonly found. Most of the available works up to the 19th century are versified compositions in which metrical requirements at times mandate compromise about grammatical features. This diachronic note inquires about a) what features are found at the earlier stage of the language, b) what features have higher ‘ranking’ in versified compositions, and c) how atypical verb agreement emerged in Gujarati different from Hindi.

Constructions with non-nominative subjects are found in 15th century texts. Bhayani (1988:202) cites a possessive construction from a 1469 work *Shilopadesh-maalaa* by Merusundar:

- (62) te putri-nai bhartaar hosii
that daughter-DAT husband.3 be.FUT.3
'That daughter will have a husband.'

Another contemporary work, *Kaahnadade Prabandh* (KP) composed in 1456 by Padmanabh (Vyas 1953), has another type of a dative construction.

- (63) solahi-nai waagyau (KP2.120)¹⁰
dancer-DAT struck
'The dancer got hurt.'

Here the verb *waagyau* shows agreement with a covert object and is preceded by a dative subject. (62) exemplifies a copula governed and (63), a specific verb governed, dative constructions much like their present day counterparts.

Below are five segments taken from the verses of KP.

- (64) jih upari waalhima-nai hej (KP2.16)
he(who) on guardian-DAT love
'The guardian has love on him.'
- (65) amha wituẽ juh (KP2.150)
we suffered.N what(N)
'What we suffered.'
- (66) amha waraasau witau (KP1.53)
we hardships(M) suffered.M
'We suffered hardships.'
- (67) laaj amha aawi (KP2.76)
embarrassment(F) we came.F
'We were embarrassed.'
- (68) alukhaan je wituũ (KP2.58)
A what(N) suffered.N
'What Alukhan suffered.'

These sentences exemplify features that got retained and relinquished to meet the specifications of meters. The possessive (64) has a dative-marked *waalhima* 'guardian' but a zero copula. (65) to (68) have their verbs agree with the object even when the subjects are caseless. Though the subject in (65)–(67) is a pronoun, the absence of case is not restricted to pronouns as is evidenced by the caseless subject *Alukhan* in (68). Even with a caseless subject agreement taking place with an object makes the language highly atypical. It turns out to be only falsely atypical once we realize that in the 15th century verses, the copula may be dropped but the case-marking of

the subject is retained in a possessive construction (64), and in a dative construction, the case-marking of the subject may be discarded but the verb agreement with the object is preserved. The case preservation property seems to have a lower ranking than the verb agreement in earlier versified compositions.

With respect to verb agreement and case-marking of arguments, modern Gujarati has an uncommon pattern of the phi-features of an accusative object morphologized on the verb (2.2). This has been noted and commented upon in the literature. Comrie (1984) states that in Gujarati overt case-marking blocks verb agreement when on the subject but not when it is on the object. For Falk (1991), agreement with a case-marked object constitutes a basis for grouping Gujarati with marked languages. We briefly report here what appears to be the kind of diachrony associated with this atypical or marked property of the language. For this, we begin with sentences (69) to (72) taken from the 1456 literary work KP.

- (69) puNyawantanai sahu namai (KP1.225)
meritorious.one.DAT all bows
'Everybody bows to the meritorious one.'
- (70) (paatasaahi) waac-i-au lekh (KP2.80)
emperor.ERG read-PF-M document.M
'The emperor read the document.'
- (71) tiNi awagaN-i-au Maadhawa (KP1.13)
he-ERG ignore-PF-M (M)
'He ignored Madhav.'
- (72) raai hu awagaN-i-au (KP1.25)
king.ERG I (M) ignore-PF-M
'The king ignored me.'

nam-‘bow’ is among the verbs that take dative objects in present day Gujarati.¹¹ (69) instantates the dative-marked object in the 15th century Gujarati. (70) to (72) have ergative subjects and verb agreement with caseless objects. In modern Gujarati, *Madhawa*, a personal name in (71), and *hu* ‘I’, a personal pronoun in (72), invariably bear accusative *-ne* in their occurrence as objects. This innovation is now very wide spread as evidenced by a single piece from a recent newspaper. Scanning a review of a film (Barot 2001) from the weekly *Gujarat Times* yielded the following sentences with accusative objects.

- (73) amaldaar haajarjawaabi wyaktitwa-ne saakhi šak-t-o nathi
officer(M) ready-witted personality-ACC bear be able-PST-M not
'The officer is not able to bear the ready-witted personality.'
- (74) aamirkhaan-e karelaa saahas-ne hū birdaawū chū
A-ERG done venture-ACC I applaud AUX
'I applaud Amirkhan's venture.'

- (75) paristhiti-ne kendra-māã raakhine samwaado lakh-aa-y-aa che
situation.ACC center-LOC keeping dialogs(M) write-ABIL-PF-M AUX
'Dialogs are written, focusing on the situation'
- (76) —wyaktitwa-ne, —sneh-ne, —laacaari-ne digdarśak-e
personality-ACC affection-ACC helplessness-ACC director-ERG
raju kari
present do-PF-F
'The director has presented —personality, —affection, —helplessness.'
- (77) —manogat-ne, —wartaNuk-ne, —wigato-ne aamir-e aatmasaat
sentiment-ACC behavior-ACC details-ACC Amir-ERG adapt
kari
do-PF-F
'Amir has attuned himself to —sentiments, —behavior, —details.'
- (78) nrutyašaili-ne te baakaat raakhi śak-y-o che
dance.style-ACC he apart keep be able-PF-M AUX
'He has been able to keep the dance style apart.'

Traditional accounts of Gujarati report the presence of accusative *-ne* on personal names, pronouns or animates. The six sentences (73)–(78) from a recent newspaper, however, have ten instances of accusative objects — all of them inanimates.

This brief survey affirms that Gujarati has changed from having solely caseless objects to very many accusative *-ne* carrying objects. More appropriately, the earlier dative marker *-ne* now marks both dative and accusative. A single case-marker for accusative and dative is common in Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Hindi *ko* or Marathi *la*)¹². One can speculate that the same line of development for this case-syncretism is operating in other Indo-Aryan languages, especially in Hindi since Hindi and Gujarati had a common history for a considerably long time (Tessitori 1914).

Returning to the 15th century sentences (70) to (72), they exhibit an expected pattern typologically as well as theoretically in having verb agreement with caseless objects because they have ergative subjects. The extension of dative marker also as an accusative marker renders constructions like (79a) for Hindi and (79b) for Gujarati.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| (79) | a. | raaj-ne | šilaa-ko | pakaD-aa | Hindi |
| | | R.(M)-ERG | S.ACC(F) | catch.PF-DF | |
| | b. | raaj-e | šilaa-ne | pakaD-i | Gujarati |
| | | R.(M)-ERG | S.-ACC(F) | catch.PF-F | |
| | | 'Raj caught Sheela.' | | | |

In the Hindi sentence the verb has a default agreement indicating that i) *ko* surfaces as an accusative marker and ii) brings with it its property of blocking verb agreement with the object. In the Gujarati sentence, *-ne* has emerged as an accusative marker but the earlier verb agreement pattern still persists. The atypical property of

Gujarati could thus be attributed to its conservatism about one of the two innovations that have shaped Hindi and other IA languages. This conjecture might be extended to the abilitive construction in which verbs agree with their objects, and the accusative marker is preserved in Gujarati (80b) but not in Hindi (80a).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|----------|
| (80) | a. | raaj-se šilaa nahī pakaD-i gay-i | Hindi |
| | | R.(M)-INST S.(F) not catch.PF-F go.PF-F | |
| | b. | raaj-thi šilaa-ne nahi pakaD-aa-i | Gujarati |
| | | R.(M)-INST S.-ACC(F) not catch.ABIL-PF-F | |
| | | ‘Raj could not catch Sheela.’ | |

6.2. Summing up

The study begins with the essentials of nominal and verbal morphology as a base. The discussion of case-markings attempts to unmask the complexity resulting from syncretism and homophony. The account of verb agreement shows a somewhat atypical system at work. The data also indicates lack of a straightforward relationship among case-markings, theta roles and subject. The inventory of predicates that require a non-nominative argument includes expressions of possession, modality or mental attitudes. The non-nominatives then are argued to have subject properties of reflexive binding and PRO-controlling and differ from nominatives by their case preservation property. A brief diachrony speculates a possible course of development for an atypical agreement pattern in Gujarati and a typical one in Hindi.

Throughout the chapter, case-marking and verb agreement have remained a recurrent theme. The case-markings under study are restricted to those on arguments. Cases in current syntactic investigations are categorized into lexical (or inherent) and structural. This study benefits from and supports such a division. It benefits by being able to group varied entities into a single category. It supports such a classification by empirical verification and by ascertaining their properties. A non-nominative nominal with a lexical case has a thematic role. A special property of such a case is that it is invariant.

As for verb agreement, we find that a nominative subject always controls it irrespective of the object being nominative or non-nominative. When the subject is non-nominative, the verb agrees with a nominative or an accusative object but has a default agreement if the object is dative. A non-nominative subject refers to a subject with lexical case. Similarly, a dative object means an object with lexical case. The general observation that becomes possible now is that in Gujarati nominals bearing lexical case do not control verb agreement.

The traditional notion of subject has been based on pervasive occurrences of a prominent argument having a nominative case and its phi-features on the verb. We however find sentences that lack a nominative argument or no argument controlling verb agreement. The critical feature appears to be ‘prominence’ that stems from the convergence of a host of properties such as reflexive binding, PRO control etc. at

the sentence initial position. Different case markings at this position can be viewed as special elements for a subject relation — different cases being regulated by differences in predicates. What is being referred to as a non-nominative subject thus consists of a nominal exhibiting ‘prominence’ and bearing a lexical case. Lexical cases, through their case-preservation property, show that they are also endowed with similar traits. The study thus demonstrates the non-nominatives to be subjects and in the process also discloses the kind of elements that they are made of.

Notes

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1. The abbreviations used in this chapter are as follows: ABIL ‘abilitative’, ACC ‘accusative’, DAT ‘dative’, DF ‘default agreement’, ERG ‘ergative’, FUT ‘future’, F ‘feminine’, FX ‘fixed form (-aa-), GEN ‘genitive’, GRND ‘gerundial’, INF ‘infinitive’, INST ‘instrumental’, LOC ‘locative’, M ‘masculine’, N ‘neuter’, NOM ‘nominative’, PST ‘past’, PF ‘perfective’, 3 ‘third person’. Number always accompanies Gender and Person and therefore is not separately specified. Nominative being the caseless form, Nom appears in the gloss only when deemed necessary. Valid glosses haven’t been easy for certain case-markings as pointed out in 2.1.3. In an effort to bring out grammatical features of the language, the English equivalents of the Gujarati examples have at times suffered in their naturalness. For the same reason the Gujarati examples have perfective–feminine verbs in their pre-*y*-deletion form.

2. The [–feminine] gender markers are found in word final position and get replaced by *-aa-* when in nonfinal positions: *mahino* ‘month’ (Masculine): *mahinaa.māā* ‘in a month’; *athwaaDiyū* ‘week’; (Neuter): *athwaaDiyaa.māā* ‘in a week’. Traditional grammars prescribe nasalized *-aa-* for neuters. No such nasalization exists in my dialect.

For suffixation, a modified base for nouns with formally marked gender is not restricted to Gujarati among Indo-Aryan languages. I view this as a phenomenon in which gender-coded phonetic material gets replaced by material devoid of any gender information. The evidence comes from the fact that for the masculine *chokro* ‘boy’, we get *chokraa.ne* ‘to the boy’ but for the masculine plural *maaNas.o* ‘men’ we get *maaNas.o.ne* ‘to men’ and, for the feminine *gho* ‘lizard’ we get *gho.ne* ‘to a lizard’. Thus, only the gender-coded *o* gets replaced by *-aa-*.

The stipulation that only the masculine and neuter markers are replaced, not the feminine is puzzling just like the first and the second-person pronouns showing a different system from the third person found in several languages. Cases of all genders being suppressed also exist. The endings *-o*, *-i*, and *-ū* in *aawyo/i/ū* ‘came’ correlate with masculine, feminine, and neuter subjects, respectively. When such a subject + verb complex occurs as a reason clause, the gender-bearing endings get replaced by *aa* and the instrumental *-thi* is suffixed. *šilaa aaw.y.i* (*aaw.PF.F*) ‘Sheela came’ but *šilaa aawy.aa.thi* (*aaw.PF.FX.INST*) ‘by Sheela’s coming’.

3. A frequently used verb not included here is *maL* 'get, find, meet' I suspect that a range of meanings associated with it results from the failure to differentiate between two homophonous verbs. One that takes a dative subject typically has an inanimate object and conveys 'finding, receiving' as in (i). The other one requires a dative object, typically human, and expresses 'coming in contact, meeting' as in (ii).

- (i) *šilaa.ne copDi maL.y.i.*
S.DAT book(F) receive.PF.F
'Sheela received/found the book.'
- (ii) *šilaa raaj.ne maL.y.i.*
S.(F) R.DAT meet.PF.F
'Sheela met Raj.'

4. Grammatical accounts of Gujarati (Taylor 1866, Trivedi 1919, Cardona 1965, Vyas 1977, Desai 1992) have not differentiated this construction from the construction exemplified in (15c). The proposed distinction between constructions in (15b) and (15c) is based on: i) different case-markings on subjects in some dialects, ii) presence versus absence of auxiliary, and iii) difference in their semantic import. The unconventional term 'recommendative' is used to refer to 'recommended action' expressed by the construction in (15b). The gloss for the affix *w* on the verbs in (15b–d) is just a label. It is not clear at present whether it is the same morpheme that appears on verbs in infinitival clauses.

5. No glosses are given for case-markings on Sheela in (15b–d) because what cases they represent is not clear, as discussed in 3.2.2.

6. Constructions such as (19) may appear to be instances of inversion: the dative argument has moved in a presubject position. Our analysis reveals that the inversion is in (18). It has OSV order. (19) shows characteristics of a construction in its canonical order.

7. For verb agreement with *-ne* bearing objects in Gujarati (1.2), Masica 1982 observes: "the presence of the dative marker on the object does not block agreement." A single marking for Accusative and Dative among Indo-Aryan languages has been a source of much confusion in the grammatical literature, both descriptive and historical. Neither the features of nominals nor the structural configuration associated with them in instances like (23) and (27) prove helpful in setting apart the homophonous *-ne* into Accusative and Dative.

8. As Babu Suthar (p.c.) has pointed out *pote* appositive to an NP is found with non subjects as well. It should be noted that in such occurrences, it is a contrastive-marker. The one discussed here marks prominence and occurs with a sentence-initial argument. For a similar distinction see Baker (1995) for his analysis of British English.

9. The complement clauses in (41) and (42) could also occur post verbally. This however has no effect on the details of binding discussed in this section.

10. Kahnadade Probandh (KP) has four cantos. The three-piece information accompanying the examples refer to the abbreviation for the text, the canto number and the couplet number.

11. *aD(ak)* 'touch', *bheT* 'embrace', *coT* 'cling', *Dās* 'sting', *karaD* 'bite', *maL* 'meet', *nam* 'bow', *paraN* 'marry', *praNam* 'bow', and *waDh* 'rebuke' constitute a class of verbs which select for a Dative object. The term 'dative' is used to refer to the presence of a property by which such an object never triggers verb agreement. Among verbs that assign lexical case, they do so to only one of their arguments. The language consequently has sentences either with a dative subject (10) or with a dative object (27).

12. The marking of objects introduced a specificity-marking system among the Indo-Aryan languages. In Mistry 1997 it is argued that what is labeled as accusative is primarily a specificity-marker in Gujarati, different from an object marker termed 'dative' here.

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CHAPTER 2

Oblique main arguments in Hindi as localizing predications

Questioning the category of subject

Annie Montaut

1. Introduction: split subject properties and subjecthood*

The terms of dative or ergative subject, less often genitive subject, are currently used in Indo-Aryan languages to design the term which is generally in the first position in the sequential chain, and which generally controls coreference, whereas the coding properties are attached to another term in the sentence.¹ The more important among the subject properties, which according to Keenan and Comrie (1977) are the coding properties (case marking, agreement), are thus very often attached to the non ‘subject’, the ‘subject’ being only endowed with most of the semantico-referential properties. That led some scholars (Saxena 1985) to argue that agreement is a purely formal rule in Hindi/Urdu, having nothing to do with semantics or even syntax. Since then, extensive work in the generativist frame has given various syntactic explanations of agreement (Davison 1991, Mohanan 1994), without challenging the relevance of the very category of subject for Indo-Aryan languages. Yet a number of studies have convincingly argued that, if subject is to be defined as a universal notion, it dilutes into a plurality of properties of various levels (about thirty in Li and Thomson 1976) which makes its use problematic when these properties are not attached to a single term. It has since been claimed that the notion of subjecthood is not a universal category (Li and Thomson 1976, Hagège 1978, Martinet 1985, Lazard 1994, Kibrik 1997, and, with reference to Hindi, Montaut 1991) and should not be imposed on languages where it is not relevant. It seems that Hindi is such a language.

1.1. Methodological and theoretical assumptions

Since subjects where they are easily discernable do not have a unique notional correlate but encode semantic, communicative and deictic dimensions, it is necessary to take into account these three dimensions. Languages can encode them separately or cumulatively, exhibiting “separatist” or “cumulative” strategies (Kibrik 1997). Semantic roles is the dimension better studied, from the pioneering work of Tesnière (1965) on actancy to the definition of hyperroles (Foley and Van Valin 1984) or

protoroles (Dowty 1989). This is the first dimension encoded by languages (in this way we can say that the nominative alignment is subject prominent, whereas the ergative alignment is patient oriented). The second dimension is what Kibrik calls the communicative status, that is, how the information-flow or “flow dimension” is mapped in a sentence: topic/comment, theme/rheme, given/new, focus, empathy, viewpoint, play a crucial role in the grammatical structure. The third dimension is that of speech-act anchoring, opposing speech-act participants to others, what Kibrik refers to as the “deictic dimension”. The separate coding of each of these dimensions occurs in what he calls “separatist” languages, and, as well as the absence of coding devices (isolating languages), it rules out grammatical categories like subject: “the syntactic relation of subject only ensues from the cumulative principle of coding, when one marker syntagmatically co-expresses several relevant features of NPs” (Kibrik 1997:295). Tsunoda’s chapter in this volume also assumes that syntactical relations do not prevail in all languages, and that languages which tend to systematically mark semantic roles are better analysed by describing the properties of this casual morphology than by forcing syntactic relations on it.

According to Kibrik, subject oriented languages behave as highlighting one or two central argument positions (subject and object), the subject being the core argument without any specific semantic role attached to it — almost any argument can be promoted to the subject position, the highest ranking argument — and tend to have a fixed word order with a partly flexional morphology. Subjectless languages on the other hand tend to prefer agglutinative morphology and free word order, exhibiting no hierarchy of arguments — for instance active languages have two equally core roles, Undergoer and Actor. Subject oriented languages are clear examples of a “non-separatist” strategy, the subject being at the same time the highest role and the topic. Langacker’s (1990:247) trajectorial model of transitivity is a convenient metaphor for opposing this “dovetailing” to a “diverging” strategy: the action head is the natural starting point in the causal chain, and languages often map it into a subject (grammatical head), in the first position of the sentence (sequential head), with clear subject and object categories. “Each starting point (word ordering, grammatical subject, action head) represents the initial step in assessing a complex structure in a cognitively natural sequence. These alternate paths in a clause can either dovetail or diverge, and their interplay is an essential aspect of grammatical structure”. Only if they dovetail can we consider the category of subject as relevant, that is, when a given language uses a cumulative strategy for encoding the main entity at the various levels of linguistic expression (coding of semantic roles, of the flow of information, deixis or speech-act anchoring). But some languages may also map the causal chain differently, and make the endpoint a subject for instance (ergative pattern: the grammatical starting point, subject, is the patient, the sequential starting point is the agent). The surface differences relate to radically distinct cognitive scenario, since marking the main argument in an oblique case, semantically loaded, maps a different representation of the event than a transparent grammatical case. Whatever the cognitive relevance of this metaphor, it shows that natural languages

do not all highlight one central argument to which should be attached the properties of various levels (mainly role and flow properties).

1.2. Aim of the study

Hindi clearly encodes semantic roles in a rather separatist way for most of its elementary statements (agents of perfect transitive processes, experiencers, possessors are coded distinctively). Its morphology is fairly agglutinative. As for the flow dimension, it is mostly coded by the sequential position, the topic occurring first without morpho-syntactic modifications.² It is well known that a three-word sentence allows all the 6 possible combinations SOV, SVO, OSV, OVS, VSO, VOS (Dvivedi 1994: 95, Mohanan and Mohanan 1994: 169–70). The first only is considered as unmarked (hence Greenberg's claim that Hindi is a rigidly SOV language), but others are in no way deviant (hence the opposite affirmation in Mohanan 1994 that Hindi is a free word order language). Yet Hindi cannot be deemed a purely role dominated language, since agent for instance may be coded in the ergative or in the nominative (unmarked), and in a limited number of sentence patterns there is a clearly identifiable subject, endowed with subject properties pertaining to various linguistic levels irrespective of its semantic role (intransitive patient or agent, transitive agent in nonperfect tenses, experiencer with adjectival predicates, etc.). Besides being a mixed language, as most natural languages, Hindi presents a variety of sentence patterns which are typical of subjectless languages. I intend to show here that such patterns, where subject properties are distributed on more than one entity, amount to various *diatheses*, in the literal meaning of the term (Greek "disposition"), although verbal morphology is less crucially distinctive than verbal semantics here. The ergative alignment is only one of those patterns which differ from the nominative–accusative alignment and questions the validity of such categories as subject and object. A parallel hypothesis is that the stricter is the encoding of semantic roles, the looser is the grammatical status of the argument: ergative for instance is less semantic (less "colored" in Langacker's terms) and behaves more as a subject (Section 2) than experiencers (3) or other localizers like instrumental agents (4). A causal model derived from transitivity with a clear opposition subject/object, is certainly too concretely iconic to account for the diversity of the various morpho-syntactic configurations of Hindi elementary statements, in a language which tends to map as the main figure the less cognitively salient participant in asymmetric relations.

2. Ergative agents

2.1. Traditional and nontraditional views

A structure is considered ergative (Dixon 1979, 1994) when it treats the patient (the 'object') of a transitive verb similarly as the single participant of an intransitive verb

(1), whereas the accusative (or nominative) structure treats the agent (subject) of a transitive verb as the intransitive subject (2):³

- (1) laRke.ne apnii kahaanii
 boy.M.SG.OBL.ERG REFL.F.SG story.F.SG
 likhii/likhii.hai/likhii.thii
 write.SG.PAST.F.SG/write.PFT.F.SG/write.PPFT.F.SG
 'The boy wrote/has written/had written his story.'
- (2) laRkaa apnii kahaanii likhtaa-hai/likhega
 boy.M.SG REFL.F.SG story.F.SG write.M.SG-PRES.3/write.FUT.3M.SG
 'The boy writes/will write his story.'

In (1) the predicate agrees with the patient (*kahaanii*) throughout the accomplished aspect, with similar endings for the nominal class and the predicate (MS: -aa, FS: -ii), whereas in the unaccomplished system (present, imperfect, future) the predicate agrees with the agent (2).⁴ This opposition is generally assumed to be strictly grammatical, (1) representing simply an inversion of (2), without cases having any specific semantic meaning: the couple ERG-ABS does not represent any semantic role and is as strictly 'grammatical' (or 'colourless', semantically and pragmatically unmarked) as is the couple NOM-ACC, both couples encoding a transitive process, within the same natural logic: transitivity establishes a direct relation between a source and a goal. In one case the starting point is the source, in the other case, as a mirror image of the first case, it is the goal, with the same deep structure. This was claimed by Kachru and Pandharipande (1977, 1979) because the "syntactic pivot", as in a wide number of ergative languages, remains the agent, even if morphologically the patient dominates the ergative alignment. In both alignments, the agent controls the reflexive (1, 2), controls and undergoes the conjunctive participle reduction (3) and other tests of equi-NP deletion (Montaut 1991), although the patient has subject coding properties:

- (3) laRke.ne pen lekar ek kahaanii likhii
 boy.M.SG.OBL.ERG pen take.CP one story.F.SG write.SG.PAST.F.SG
 'The boy took a pen and wrote a story.'

Whether the agent in the ergative alignment has then been equated with the syntactic subject (Dixon), or the patient (Schuchart 1905, Plank 1979), this mirror image of the accusative alignment does not question the relevance of the category of subject in the ergative pattern.⁵

However, the reasons claimed in order to account for a double (opposite) treatment within the spatial frame of transitivity cast some doubt about the similarity of the cognitive operation which underlies them. If the trajectory is reversed (goal first and not source) in the ergative alignment when there is an aspectual split, it is due to the prominence of the patient, being affected by the result of the process in the accomplished aspect, as shown by Delancey (1981). Aspectual semantics requires the viewpoint to be associated with the result (hence the goal) and not with the source at

the “natural” origin or the process, which is encountered secondarily (consequently marked), upstream. Hence the pragmatic properties attached to the patient, which led Kachru (1987) and Montaut (1991, 1996) for instance to acknowledge that the ergative subject behaves less as a subject than the nominative subject. But if we follow Delancey’s logic, the source no longer remains in the same relation with the process and its goal, which means that the ergative case is not a simple grammatical marker used to reverse the same trajectory. As Langacker (1999: 35) puts it, *ERG* encodes an altogether different relation, involving a different perceptive strategy, thus being rather a semantically significant case and “only incidentally associated with grammatical relations”. (1) only profiles the last part of the clause as “onstage” (the “trajector” and main figure being the patient), in an autonomous way (not dependant on the source), whereas (2) profiles the full path (the “trajector” and main figure being the agent), building the relation as dependant on the source. (1) is then more like an intransitive structure, corresponding to what Langacker calls a thematic relation (‘the ice melted’, profiling only the end part of the action chain, whereas ‘Bob melted the ice’ profiles the whole chain). As a thematic relation, “it enjoys a certain autonomy vis-à-vis the agent and the flow of energy, even for inherently energetic processes” (Langacker 1990: 245–8). It is a starting point with conceptual autonomy from the source, a reason why “the path involved is more abstract and of lesser cognitive salience”. Both structures are thus shown to differ more deeply than at the morpho-syntactic level, the ergative marker (Hindi *ne*) is more than a grammatical ‘colourless’ case. Even if such cognitive scenarii have only a metaphoric value, they help understanding non-traditional views (Kibrik 1997), according to which ergative alignment is not a symmetric replica of the accusative alignment, for the reason (among others) that there is no cumulation of coding devices on any NP.

2.2. Ergative as a thematic predication with stative affinities

The profiled figure for (1) is *kahaanii*, the patient. Irrespective of its semantic prominence, the agent is only a secondary figure: in the ergative “the second distinct participant is encountered outward from the nucleus, hence upstream along the action chain” (Langacker 1990: 247). The ergative case then, unlike a strictly grammatical case, fully ‘means its role’ which amounts to transforming the profiling of the action head. The action head may besides be omitted, thus resulting in a kind of intransitive structure like impersonal passives: *likhaa hai* (write.pft.3ms) “it is written”.

But unlike the passive, ergative patterns exhibit a nominal polarity, and strong stative affinities, as shown in series (4a–b): possible presence of the stative marker *huua* (f. *huii*), nominal relator (genitive: *kaa/kii*) for adverbial precisions and for the agent in participialization, both impossible with passive equivalents (4c):

- (4) a. aaNkheN muuNd lo! maiNne kab-kii muuNdi.huii haiN
 eyes close take! I.ERG when-GEN close.PFT.3F.PL+‘hua’
 ‘Close your eyes ! I have closed them long ago.’ (TP)
 (have been keeping them closed for a long time)

- b. aapkii pahle-kii likhii huii kavita
 you.GEN before-GEN written.F.SG + 'hua' poem.F.SG
 'your long before written poem': the poem you wrote long ago
- c. ramesh ke.dvaaraa/*kii pahle (*kii) likhii.gaii
 Ramesh passive.AG/*GEN before (*GEN) write.passive.F.SG
 (*huii) kavita
 (*hua) poem.F.SG

Such affinities with the nominal class are synchronically meaningful: despite their perception as processes, such predicates share some properties of states, which is congruent with the formation of perfects by means of static components (Cohen 1989: 59–66, 108–13). The result is what Langacker (1999: 30) views as “an absolute construal which we can conceive in isolation, independently of causation or the transmission of energy from another part”, in concord with the historical origin of the structure in Indo-Aryan.

2.3. The ergative alignment: a locative predication

2.3.1. *Origin of the ergative pattern*

It is a nominal form of the verb ('verbal adjective' or past passive participle: *ita* > *aa*) which has given rise in classical Sanskrit to the will-be ergative structure of new Indo-Aryan languages, as evidenced by a wide literature, from Bloch (1906, 1965) to Breunis (1990), Montaut (1996) and Peterson (1998):

- (5) mayaa/mama tat kritam Sanskrit
 I.INSTR/I.GEN that.NOM.NS done.NOM.NS
 'I did that.'
- (6) a. susai (yah baat) kahii Braj, from Kellogg
 hare.M.SG.OBL (this thing) said.F.SG
 'The hare said (this thing).'
- b. eben maī bujhila Old Bengali, from Chatterji
 now I.INSTR understood.NS
 'Now I understand.'

This nominal origin is still obvious in the Hindi morphology of the simple accomplished form (base + gender number). The reinforcement of the oblique case by a specific marker (*ne*, of obscure etymology) is recent and absent or optional from some neighboring languages.

If in the course of times, the meanings associated with this form, which got soon grammaticized as the only way for expressing a past transitive process, shifted from resulting state to the inclusion of the event at the origin of this state and later on to the event itself (then a new form developed for including the resulting state such as *likhii hai*, written is, 'has written').⁶ This shift is quite ordinary in the history of perfects (Cohen 1989: 98, 108), well-documented for Sanskrit (Bloch 1906, Breunis

1996) and Persian (Kuryłowicz 1960: 104–8). But the Hindi morpho-syntax still reminds us of this stative core.

After and against the traditional interpretation of such patterns as “passive”, the now classical analysis of such structures argues for a ‘possessive’ meaning: Benveniste (1966: 176–86) has convincingly shown that the old Persian structure (quite similar to (5) in Sanskrit) is intrinsically possessive in its meaning, and is analogous with the Roman periphrastic perfects in late Latin (*mihi id factum*, me-DAT this done), which replaced the old synthetic perfect *feci* before being transformed into an active transitive form with “have” (*habeo id factum*): *mihi filius est*, ‘I have a son = me-DAT son is’ with a “possessive” dative, is structured in the same way as *mihi id factum* ‘I have done it = to me this done’. I have given elsewhere a detailed argumentation for the interpretation of such a structure as a predication of localization (Montaut 1996, 1998). Since in Indo-Aryan the construction clearly shows an instrumental case which is also the case marker of the passive agent, it is hardly arguable that a passive interpretation is ruled out, as Benveniste claims for Avestic and Persian. Plank (1979) and Comrie (1979) convincingly trace the origin of aspectually split ergative structures to passives in a variety of languages, as does Breunis and Bloch for Indo-Aryan, and Tiwari (1961) for Hindi. A less precisely semanticised interpretation may then better account for the Indo-Aryan facts: the predication is located in relation with its source, whereas the patient (result) only is represented as internal to the predication, the externality of the agent being congruent with the aspectual semantics of the accomplished.

2.3.2. The similar origin of the modal future

Interestingly, at the same time in the history of Indo-Aryan languages, another passive participle happened to be used in a predicative way, with the same construction, later grammaticized into a future: the obligative passive participle in *-tavya* is the historical origin of the synthetic form of futures in *-b-*, common in Eastern languages like Bengali (see Chatterji 1986) and Eastern Hindi (for Awadhi, see Tiwari 1966: 169–71, for Bhojpuri, Saxena 1972). Originally obligative, this form lost its modal meaning in the course of time and acquired a simple temporal meaning, still retaining its oblique agent and unmarked (nominative) patient with which it agreed:

- (7) a. na kSeptavyaa brahmavaadinaa Sanskrit
NEG neglect.OBLIG.PL.NOM.MP brahma.logist.NOM.MP
nacaavamaanyaah
NEG.contempt.OBLIG.PL.NOM.MP
'Knowers of Veda should not be neglected nor contemplated.' (Bubenik and Paranjape 1996)
- b. tribhir yaatavyam Sanskrit
three.INSTR go.OBLIG.PL.NOM.N
'the three will go.' (Lit. 'should be gone by the three') (Bloch 1906)

- c. ghara kaise paiThaba maĩ Old Awadhi
 house how enter.b I.OBL
 ‘How should I/shall I enter the house now?’
- d. maĩ dibi piricha Old Bengali
 I.INSTR give.b.F.PL question.F.PL
 ‘I will ask questions.’

Series (7) shows the Sanskrit origin (a, b) of the Eastern Hindi (c) and Bengali (d) futures, both transitive and intransitive: in the latter the agent is in the oblique and the predicate, which otherwise agrees with the patient, shows default agreement. The parallel with the pre-ergative and ergative structure in the past is striking, as illustrated by the following statement by Asoka (2nd C. BC, from Bloch 1950) involving first past then future forms:

- (8) iyam dhammalipii devaanampriyena
 DEM.NOM.F.SG law.writing.NOM.F.SG god.GEN.MP.beloved.INSTR.M.SG
 priyadassina raañña lekhaapitaa
 friend.look.INSTR.M.SG king.INSTR.M.SG written.NOM.F.SG
 idha na kimci jivam aarabhitpaa prajuuhitavyam
 here NEG some life.NOM.NS kill.CP sacrifice.OBLIG.PL.NOM.NS
 na ca samaajo kattavyo
 NEG and assembly.NOM.M.SG do.OBLIG.PL.NOM.M.SG
 ‘The friendly looking king beloved by the gods has written this law-edit.
 Here one shall not kill and sacrifice any living thing nor hold assembly.’
 (‘here no living thing is to be sacrificed by killing and no assembly is to be done.’)

To-day Eastern Hindi speeches as well as Bengali or Oriya language have a nominative structure both in future and past. But up to the 14th–15th centuries both were of the ergative type, presenting past sentences like (9), from Chatterji, quite comparable to (7d):

- (9) kona puraane sunilii kaahini
 which myth hear.I.F.SG story.F.SG
 ‘In which myth did you hear this story?’

The morpheme *-l-*, which is to-day reanalyzed in Eastern IA as a past tense marker (accomplished) is originally a nominal enlargement suffix. As for the personal endings, added when such statements were restructured with a nominative agent, and transformed into active structures (Chatterji 1986: 808), both involve the same paradigm, distinct from the present personal endings. This fact is an argument for a deep similarity between future and perfect, a formal symmetry emphasized by Kuryłowicz (1965) for Roman languages on account of the similar history of their periphrastic formation. The ‘have’ future (French infinitive + *-ai*, *-as*) originates from the same type of periphrastic renewal as the perfect: *mihi colenda est virtus* (to me is to be cultivated virtue, ‘I shall cultivate virtue’) with a verbal adjective agreeing with the

patient and a dative agent), replacing the old synthetic future, has in its turn been replaced by the nominative–accusative structure (*ego*) *habeo coleri virtutem* with an infinitive and ‘have’. As shown in Montaut (1996), we may equate the Bengali innovation (personal endings and case restructuring) with the Roman refection, in the absence of a verb ‘have’.

Such future and perfect, both originating from a possessive or localizing predication, share a common morpho-syntactic evolution, echoing their common difference from the present: as Benveniste (1965) puts it, they are not really actions, but views on action from the present. The result in one case, the aim in the other case, are viewed from the present of utterance, as something (a state) reached at or aimed at by the ‘subject’. This type of ‘oblique subject’ should not be considered in Indo-Aryan as constrained only by aspect, since modality too may trigger a specific coding of the first argument in two place predicates, mapping the statement into a predication of localization which has little to do with the canonical transitive statement, and consequently with the syntactic categories of subject and object derived from such canonic mappings of the source-goal transmission.

3. Dative experiencers

3.1. Alternance between dative and ergative

We have seen that ergative-like patterns are structured as possessive or localizing patterns and do not necessarily involve anteriority nor transitivity since modal futures historically followed the same path. This historical parallel between ergativity and modality also exists in modern IA languages: whereas standard Hindi expresses obligation with the dative of the main participant, and agreement with the patient of the infinitive verb if it is transitive, in some substandard Delhi variants, the dative is substituted by the ergative marker *ne* irrespective of transitivity (10):

- (10) a. maiNne jaanaa hai Delhi Hindi
 I.ERG go.INF be.PRES.3SG
 ‘I must go.’
 b. maiNne sabzii khariidnii hai
 I.ERG vegetable.F.SG buy.F.SG be.PRES.3SG
 ‘I must buy vegetables.’

Whether or not this substandard use represents influence of Panjabi, the analogy has been integrated, showing that the reanalysis of *ne* as a localizer (besides marking ergative agents of past transitive verbs) is possible, as well as the reanalysis of the obligation structure as a similarly locative predication. This means that the analogy of dative (experiencer marker, obligation, etc.) and ergative is perceptible enough to account for such alternations, although the experiencer is supposed to mean a non-agent (devoid of control) whereas *ne* is supposed to mean a controller. Apart from the radically different semantic roles attached to both markers and the absence of

Tense-Aspect constraints on the experiential structure, both structures are strikingly similar at the morpho-syntactic level in standard Hindi: (11) can be compared to (1).

- (11) a. mujhko angrezii nahiiN aatii
 I.DAT English.F.SG NEG come.PRES.3FS
 'I do not know English.'
- b. hamko yah film bahut pasand aaii
 we.DAT DEM film.F.SG much taste come.SG.PAST.F.SG
 'We liked this film very much.'
- c. use uuNce pahaaR diikh.rahe.the
 he.DAT high mountain.MP appear.PROGR.IMPFT.MP
 'he saw (could see) high mountains.'

Whereas in standard Hindi only dative can mark the subject in deontic statements, with a predicate unrelated to the historical evolution summarized in 2.3, standard Marathi provides still better evidence: not only does it exhibit an alternation of DAT/ERG for obligation (13) such as the nonstandard Hindi (10), but verbal modalities directly derived from the old obligative participle (*-tava*>*av/aw*) may still retain their original constructions (14). The standard ergative marker of agents (12) is also used as a localizer for modal statements, irrespective of their transitivity (examples from Pandharipande 1997):

- (12) tyaane gaanii mhaTlii
 he.ERG song.NP sing.SG.PAST.NP
 'He sang songs.'
- (13) a. tyaane/tyaalaa patra lihili paahidzet
 he.ERG/he.DAT letter.NP written.NP OBLIG.PRES.NP
 'He should write letters.'
- b. tyaane/tyaalaa ghari gela paahidze
 he.ERG/he.DAT home.LOC gone.NS OBLIG.PRES.NS
 'He must go home.'
- (14) a. tyaane ghari yaave/to ghari yaava
 he.ERG home.LOC come.OPT.NS/3M.SG.NOM home.LOC come.POT.3SG
 'He should come home.'
- b. tyaane kaama karaawit
 3M.SG.ERG job.NP do.POT.NP
 'He may do the jobs.'

3.2. The dative of the experiencer

Both in Hindi and Marathi, the dative of the first participant is the typical case for the "experiencer subject", required for the expression of subjective states of mind or

feelings. The dative argument controls reflexivation, equi-deletion and conjunctive participle reduction, but unlike ergative agent it does not undergo conjunctive reduction (Kachru 1991: 64–5, Montaut 1991: 155–69). The statement is a localizing predication of the Hindi type in (11), the state or feeling being localized in relation to the experiencer. Hindi examples are followed by the Marathi equivalents on the second line:

- (15) a. anuu ko mohan acchaa.lagtaa.hai
 anuulaa mohan aawaDto
 Anu.DAT Mohan.M.SG good.seem.PRES.3M.SG
 ‘Anu likes Mohan.’
 b. anuu ko krodh aayaa
 anuulaa raag aalaa
 Anu.DAT anger.M.SG come.SG.PAST.M.SG
 ‘Anu got angry.’

The embarrassment of Langacker (1990: 239, 253) in treating the experiencer is significant: even in the dative case, the experiencer is “thought of as the source of the mental or perceptual path” yet not profiled on the onstage domain, as opposed to the nominative EXP in the main figure and starting point of the path. In both patterns, the experiencer is considered as the head of the perceptual chain (“upstreams” then, belonging to the source domain), a representation which accounts for the analogy of structures with ERG or DAT marking for first participants, but does not really reflect the semantic specificity of the cases, since experiencer is intuitively as well as cross-linguistically collapsed with patient in the hyperrole of Undergoer.⁷

In Hindi, the semantic role is strictly coded, and the fact that experiencers sometimes occur in the nominative always means a change in role. As it will appear in the next sub-sections, the specific coding of the semantic role EXP (in the dative), irrespective of the information flow, makes the category of subject irrelevant for such alignments.

3.3. The degree of consciousness: a relevant feature for the Hindi dative experiencer and a problem for the causal model

The uneasiness in dealing with EXP seems to be related to the assumption of the action model as the paragon for all linguistic statements. The action chain, causal by nature, is constrained by directionality. The reason why EXP is taken as a source (fully profiled or not) is that it is the locus of cognitive activity, a metaphoric actor, able to initiate a mental path. But in Hindi, such metaphoric actors, more or less endowed with volition and control, are never coded as dative EXP. Alternations as (16a–b), show that (b) in the nominative involves more volition and control than (a) in the nominative, and for the same reason imperative statements, involving volition, require the shift from dative alignment to nominative alignment, with transitive light verb like ‘do’ instead of ‘be’ in the predicate (17a–b):

- (16) a. mujhe yah film bahut pasand aa*ii*
 I.DAT this film.F.SG much taste come.SG.PAST.F.SG
 'I liked this film very much.'
 b. tum kyaa pasand karoge
 you INTERR taste do.FUT.2
 'What will you chose?'
- (17) a. mujhe cintaa ho rahii hai
 I.DAT worry.F.SG be PROGR.F.SG PRES.3
 'I am worrying.'
 b. (tum) cintaa mat karo/
 (you.NOM) worry.F.SG NEG do.IMPER.2/
 *(tumheN) cintaa mat ho
 (you.DAT) worry.F.SG NEG be.IMPER.2
 'Do not worry.'

Besides, quite a few facts in Indo-Aryan go against the directionality (source/EXP → goal) of the trajectory in experiential statements. First, the motion verbs which occur frequently instead of the static "be" as predicate in (16a) or (17a) above, like 'touch/reach' (*lag*), 'come' (*aa*) in (18a), or vector verb 'come' (*aa*) used for aspectual information in (18b), indicate a move from the experienced object (the stimulus) towards EXP (see ex. 11).

- (18) a. mujhe Dar lagaa
 I.DAT fear.M.SG touched
 'I was afraid.'
 b. usko baahar jaane-kii icchaa ho aa*ii*
 3SG.DAT out go.INF.OBL-GEN desire.F.SG be come.SG.PAST.F.SG
 'He felt like going out.'

Case marking itself finally suggests that EXP belongs to the target domain, the dative involving benefit and allation for the main argument as well as for a second or third argument (like in 'call somebody-DAT/ACC' or 'show something to somebody-DAT').

Besides, the cognitive activity of the experiencer is crucial for equating it to a causal head in a trajectorial model. But Hindi shows that, on the contrary, the dative marking emphasizes lack of consciousness and reflexive activity, as in (19a), whereas in (19b), with a cognitively active experiencer, the head is in the nominative, and (20) only allows a dative EXP because lack of consciousness is explicit:

- (19) a. laRke-ko ThaND mahasuus ho.rahii.thii
 boy-DAT cold.F.SG feeling be.PROGR.IMPFT.F.SG
 'The boy was feeling cold.'
 b. laRkaa ThaND mahasuus kar.rahaa.thaa
 boy.NOM cold.F.SG feeling do.PROGR.IMPFT.M.SG
 'The boy was feeling cold.'

- (20) us vaqt tumheN mujhse irSyaa thii/*/tum mujhse irSyaa
 that time you.DAT I.of jealousy was/*you.NOM I.of jealousy
 karte.the *magar tumheN iskaa bodh nahiiN thaa*
 did.MP but you.DAT this.GEN awareness.M.SG NEG was
 'At that time you were jealous of me but you were not aware of it.'

The conscious perceiver of the experienced state is in the nominative, represented as the initiator of the path, a plausible analog to the starting point of the action chain schema: experiencer as a locus of cognitive activity in Hindi is collapsed into the hyperrole Agent by the feature reflexive consciousness, even if it lacks volition and control. But dative experiencer is simply the animate localizer of the predication with no active or conscious implication.⁸

3.4. Subjecthood in active alignments?

What is crucial then is the semantic role: if the dative EXP exhibits a number of subjunctal properties like nominative subjects (or ERG agents), it is because of its topic position and communicative status (ranking first in the information flow) in a given statement. This does not mean it behaves as a subject: the casual morphology encodes a semantic role, not a syntactic function. To behave as a subject, it takes more than such referential properties as control of reflexivation or of conjunctive reduction, as convincingly argued by Moore and Perlmutter (2000) who discuss the Russian data: among the two classes of dative first arguments in Russian, those like the Hindi experiencer are not considered as possible subjects, but only those triggering some features of agreement (in infinitival clauses). In Hindi, as soon as the topicality of the dative EXP decreases, so does its ability to trigger reflexivation, irrespective of the direction of pronominalization, which is not the case with ergative: (21a) has backward pronominalization and still EXP controls reflexivation, whereas in (21b–c) EXP does not control reflexivation:

- (21) a. apnii aavaaz kii corii kaa khyaal mujhe us samay nahiiN ayaa
 REFL voice of theft of thought I.DAT that time NEG came
 'At that time I did not think of the theft of my voice.' (KBV)
 b. hamaarii cazii hameN mil gaii.hai
 our (pro) Chazi.f we.DAT be.found go.PFT.3FS
 'We have found our Chazi.' (BhS)
 c. mere beTe-kaa skuuTar zaruur use mil jaegaa
 my (pro) son-of scooter surely he.DAT be.found go.FUT
 'My son will certainly find back his scooter.' (BhS)

What accounts for (21) reflexivation is also the use of first-person singular, ranking first in the hierarchy of persons, which makes the speech-act anchoring (third dimension in Kibrik's view) prevail upon the other two dimensions (role and information flow).

Clearly in Hindi information-flow and semantic roles are coded separately, and the language is largely of the “separatist” type. The distinct coding of nonagent participants in the same fashion for one-place and two-place predicates evokes what has been called the active alignment. Such an alignment is defined by Klimov (1974) as having a distinctive coding for single arguments: some of them are similar to agent-like arguments and others to patient-like arguments of two-place predicates. The Hindi marker for EXP is also the marker for animate patients (*ko*). In active alignments it is nearly impossible to decide what NP is the subject (Kibrik 1997: 285, Durie 1987) and it has often been argued that ‘active’ languages lack syntactic categories and relations. Hindi is of course not a purely active language, but presents active-like alignments as well as ergative alignments. The Hindi experiential alignment amounts to a specific diathesis (semantically close to middle voice), distinct both from active and ergative, involving an affected participant, devoid of control, volition and reflexive consciousness. In contrast, reflexive awareness is characteristic of the active and ergative diathesis, even in the absence of the other two features (see ‘to find’, a +erg verb, *paanaa*, as well as ‘to consider’, *maannaa*).⁹

4. Instrumental noncanonical agents

4.1. Inadvertent actors

An agent devoid of control and conscious responsibility is represented in the instrumental case (the case for inanimate cause and noninitiator agents of causative verbs), specially for the sake of denying his own participation and responsibility. It is made into an inadvertent actor rather than an agent, not clearly controlling conjunctive reduction (22b).¹⁰ Such a construction, both with medio-passive (22a, b, d) and with stative verbo-nominal predicates (22c), is the canonical representation of a person denying her personal involvement in a process, while admitting her participation, by mistake, like in (22)c, during a trial. Example (22d) answers an accusation of fruit stealing, by saying that the fruit detached spontaneously in his hands:

- (22) a. mujhse gilaas gir gayaa
I.INSTR glass fall go.SG.PAST.M.SG
‘I let the glass fall by mistake.’
- b. baRhiyaa kaaNc kaa gilaas mujhse girkar TuuT gayaa
wonderful glass GEN glass I.INSTR fall.CP break go.SG.PAST.M.SG
‘I break a beautiful glass by mistake.’ (NKK)
- c. tumhiiN ne uskaa khuun kiyaa
you.EMPH ERG he.GEN blood do.SG.PAST
saahab maiNne khuun nahiiN kiyaa. mujhse ho.gayaa
Sir I.ERG blood NEG do.PAST I.INSTR be.go.SG.PAST
khuun maiNne jaanbuujhkar kiyaa.thaa vah to mujhse
blood I.ERG deliberately do.PPFT that but I.INSTR be

- ho.gayaa
 go.SG.PAST
 ‘You killed him. — Sir, I did not kill, it happened (by me). Could I kill consciously? No, it happened by me.’ (A)
- d. yah daftar kaa kaTahal hai. mujhse galtii
 this office GEN jackfruit.M.SG is I.INSTR mistake.F.SG
 huii. Daftar ke ahaate meN lagaa.thaa mujhse
 be.SG.PAST.F.SG office GEN yard LOC be.planted.PPFT.M.SG I.INSTR
 TuuT gayaa
 break go.SG.PAST.M.SG
 ‘This is a jackfruit from the office. I made a mistake. It was planted in the office yard. I plucked it (inadvertently).’ (NKK)

With the shift of the agent from ergative or nominative to instrumental, the action becomes a nonaction process: the verb is the intransitive counterpart of the transitive factive.¹¹ Instead of a real agent (prototypically a human controller), the main participant is made into a nonvolitional actor, a kind of reluctant (unbelieving) spectator of what happened. The result is acknowledged, but the source denied as such, along with the action chain. The absence of the feature <conscious assumption> for an actor rules it out of the class of agents in Hindi, and triggers a nonnominative coding (instrumental), in the same way as the absence of the same feature <conscious assumption> for an experiencer triggers the nonnominative coding (dative).

4.2. Inefficient and reluctant agents: Instrumental in negative environment

The same diathesis with the instrumental case marking of the main participant also occurs with passives (specially intransitive (24a, 24c), but transitive too (24b)) and medio-passive intransitives (23a–b) or stative verbo-nominal expressions (23b), in a negative or paranegative (23b) context. Inefficient agents control reflexivation and conjunctive reduction (24b).¹² The meaning is always modal, conveying incapacity in both cases, and the instrumental encodes the ‘noncanonical agent’ of the negated predicate as its first or single role:

- (23) a. darvaazaa khiiNkar rakho mujhse sankaal nahiiN khul
 door pull.CP hold.IMPER I.INSTR chain.F.SG NEG open
 rahii.hai
 PROG.PRES.F.SG.3
 ‘Hold the door pulled ! I can’t manage to open the chain.’ (NKK)
- b. mujhse jo.kuch banaa kiyaa ab mujhse nahiiN hogaa
 I.INSTR whatever was.made did now I.INSTR NEG be.FUT.3M.SG
 ‘Whatever I could do, I did. Now I won’t be able to make it.’

- (24) a. mujhse uThaa nahiiN gayaa
 I.INSTR get.up NEG passive.SG.PAST
 ‘I was totally unable to get up/I could not bring myself to get up.’
- b. prayaas karke bhii usse paRhaa nahiiN jaataa
 effort do.CP even he.INSTR study NEG passive.PRES.M.SG
 ‘In spite of his efforts he could not study.’
- c. lekin mujhse jaayaa nahiiN gayaa. pair maano
 but I.INSTR go NEG passive.SG.PAST.M.SG feet as.if
 jam.gae.hoN
 freeze.SUBJ.PFT
 ‘But I could not make a step. My legs had become like frozen.’ (TP)

However there is a difference between periphrastic passives (24) and intransitives (23) in such constructions: (23) refers to disabling conditions (physical or external) which make the agent inefficient (he cannot make it), whereas the passive of (24) refers to an inner repulsion, which eventually can be overcome. Davison (1980) for instance suggests a possible continuation for (24) type in the form of ‘however he did’.

In order to better understand the difference, let us first look at some contrasts involving the same verb root (cognate intransitive and transitive pairs). A dialogue in a train in the pre-partition context exhibits in the same sequence both uses of the incapacitative structures, one on the intransitive base (*uTh* ‘get up, lifted’: 25a), the other on the transitive base (*uThaa* ‘lift’: 25b). Both statements (25a) and (25b) can be translated by ‘be unable to lift’ (the luggage from the rack in the compartment):

- (25) a. biibii, terii gaThrii maiN uThaa luuNga. is guuNge se
 lady your bag I lift take.FUT this mute INSTR
 nahiiN uThegii
 NEG get.up.FUT
 ‘Woman, your bag, I’ll take myself, this mute is not able to take it.’
 (GHZ)
- b. mujhse apnaa Trank nahiiN uThaayaa jaaegaa, na hii ghii kaa
 I.INSTR REFL suitcase NEG lift passif.FUT NEG just ghee of
 Tin
 box
 ‘I could not (bring myself to) take my suitcase, nor even the box of ghee.’

But (25a) suggests that the agent (the mute boy) is not able to lift the luggage — is too weak or egoistic — and one should not rely on him. (25b) suggests a strong reluctance on the agent’s part, frightened by the threatening appearance of his compartment neighbor: he intends to shift but feels psychically unable to take his suitcase, and even his tin (which weighs less than two pounds). Similarly (26) in the passive, which contrasts with (23a) with intransitive above, requires a context where the

speaker for instance is horrified by the experience or the sight he will be confronted with (his wife with her lover, a burglar in the house, an exam jury, etc.):

- (26) mujhse darvazaa kholaa nahiiN gayaa
 I.INSTR door open.TR NEG passive.SG.PAST
 'I could not bring myself to open the door.'

The intransitive statement with *khulnaa* 'be open' in (23a) above only means that the door resists or that the speaker is inefficient, unable for some reason to perform the job, whereas the passive of the transitive cognate base (*kholnaa*) suggests the agent is reluctant.

The semantic difference is correlated to the morphosyntax of the construction, which itself is correlated to the argumental structure of the verbal base. Passivable verbs, whether they have one or two arguments, always contain an agent (sometimes in the wider meaning of subject of consciousness: see 3.3–4), and the agent is dominating on the patient: the negation, which allows the weaker implicature alone to be retained (Davison 1980), bears on the relation of the predicate and the agent, the main role, so that a noninitiated process obtains because of agent's inhibition. With an intransitive predicate, the patient (hyperrole Undergoer) is the main role, corresponding to the single argument, or to the main argument if a second argument is added (instr. NP). If a second argument adds to a single place predicate (like 'be lifted', 'be opened'), it cannot get the features of a typical agent, since an argumental structure agent-patient would constrain the selection of the transitive verbal base: medio-passive verbs usually only tolerate an inanimate cause in the instrumental as an optional second role. If this position is filled by a human entity, it stands as the simple localization of an ability, determining the conditions of feasibility of the process and not its cause (since a human cause is a responsible volitional agent). Negation, which allows the weaker implicature to be retained, bears on the feasibility of the process and its result, that is, on the relation patient-predicate, resulting in a noneffective process associated to an inefficient actor.

Note that the same verb *uThnaa* 'get up', 'be lifted', used in a medio-passive meaning (25a) with a patient in the main role, is more frequently used as a typical middle with a human subject (patient and agent collapsed, starting point and endpoint collapsed), in which case it is compatible with imperative (*uTho!* 'get up') and allows the capabilitative construction in the passive (24a), which the medio-passive does not. A fixed argument structure then should not be attached to each predicate in the lexicon. What determines the possibility of passivation (modal or not) is the presence of an agent role in the argument structure, whether the predicate is transitive or intransitive. Conversely, what is required for the intransitive capabilitative construction is the presence of a patient in the main role in a negative context. As for the inadvertent constructions of intransitive predicates with instrumental adjunct of an animate NP, this NP takes the only features left available: agentivity is ruled out since the couple agent-patient would require a transitive predicate: the only feature left is negative, — control, — volition, — consciousness, hence the nonintentionality.

What is crucial is the presence of a Patient as the first role in a nonnegative context: those intransitive predicates which do not have a typical inanimate patient do not allow the inadvertent construction (*mujhse cillaayaa gayaa*, I-instr scream passive, cannot mean ‘I inadvertently screamed’).

Both representations of the inefficient agent allow volition, as opposed to the inadvertent actor. They do not undergo but control conjunctive reduction as well as reflexivation, yet the three of them lack a characteristic feature of the prototypical agent (either efficiency or volition), which explains that they are not marked as agents in a real action clause but as locators in a rather descriptive state of affairs.¹³ They may be the main participant, but they are coded for their semantic role and not for a syntactic function.

5. Conclusion: A separatist strategy for coding roles echoed by a low degree of subjecthood

I shall simply mention, for lack of space, the other two major classes of oblique main arguments. Locative arguments (postposition ‘in’ for the possessor of defects and qualities, ‘near’ for the possessor of acquired objects) are clearly localizing predication; they exhibit lower referential properties (do not control conjunctive reduction) and appear to stand at the bottom of the hierarchy as far as subject properties are concerned. As for statements involving genitive possessors (parts of the body, family members), they are absolute construals, which do not even profile the main participant as a secondary figure: they make it part of the predicative relation as a nominal expansion. But when used with verbo-nominal predicates, as in (27), they control equi-NP deletion (as well as reflexivation and conjunctive reduction):

- (27) a. uskii bahaar jaane kii icchaa huii
 he.GEN outside go GEN desire.F.SG be.SG.PAST.F.SG
 ‘He felt like going out.’
 b. apnii baat kii dhun meN siitaa kaa dhyaan is taraf
 REFL thing GEN tune in Sita GEN attention.M.SG this side
 nahiiN gayaa
 NEG went.M.SG
 ‘Absorbed in her own world, Sita did not pay attention.’

Such constructions amount to maximally background the main participant, as well as euphemistic locutions involving a metonymy of body parts to self, which also allow the genitive argument to control reflexivation or conjunctive reduction:

- (28) yah sunkar uske dil meN kritagyataa kii bhaavnaa
 this hear.CP he.GEN heart LOC gratitude GEN feeling.F.SG
 jag.uThii
 wake.got.up.F.SG
 ‘Hearing this, he felt a sudden feeling of gratitude (in his heart).’

Oblique main arguments are definitely not fully endowed with subjecthood: they all lack coding properties and their referential properties vary along the following hierarchy: ergative (with all but coding properties) is the highest, instrumental noncanonical agents (do not undergo conjunctive reduction but control it as well as reflexivation) and experiencers (same properties, no control of reflexivation if low topicality) come next, then possessors (varying properties according the class of predicate).

Such a hierarchy fits Tsunoda (1981, 1985)'s hierarchy of transitivity, the highest pole of which involves the binary relation of a typical agent with a typical patient, both participants being clearly symmetric, and the lowest pole distributed on less polar roles (experiencer–theme, possessor–possessed) with predicates more stative than active, with often oblique case marking for the main participant. Transitivity may not be the most relevant factor in the structure of simple statements in Hindi/Urdu (experiential statements for instance may involve one or two participants), yet this scalar representation of the semantics of the predicative relation fits the data. If we agree on considering the various casual markings of the main argument as meaningful, and if we agree that reshaping the argument configuration amounts to a specific diathesis depending on the nature of the predicate, we find 5 basic diatheses in Hindi-Urdu: (1) the nominative accusative diathesis represents action processes, (2) the ergative diathesis represents action processes but viewed from the viewpoint of the result (aspectual split), and not as an action, (3) the dative diathesis describes experiential processes, (4) the instrumental diathesis describes nonvolitional actions in the affirmative and unfeasible actions in the negative, centered on actors lacking some of the features of the agent, (5) the locative and genitive diatheses describe states.¹⁴ Only the first one really represents action (as an action chain fully profiled): the action model is clearly marginal. All other predications, with the main argument dissociated from the predication, profile thematic relations and represent autonomous predications in absolute construals: the profiled segment always leaves the cognitively more salient entity in a secondary position, so that the less salient entity is the starting point from the linguistic viewpoint. Hindi indeed shows a clear preference for profiling less salient entities as starting points in asymmetric relations: a patient is less salient than an agent, a stimulus has less cognitive salience than an experiencer. And even a marked patient is no longer a possible starting point in the ergative sentence because it is salient: human or specific patients, that is, atypical patients not clearly opposed to typical agents, require the dative marking, which rules out verb agreement (default agreement: *-aa*, ms), in (29) where none of the arguments are in the masculine singular:

- (29) hamne is laRkii ko nahiiN maaraa
 we.ERG this girl.F.SG DAT/acc NEG beat.SG.PAST.M.SG
 'We did not beat this girl.'

Full subjecthood is restricted in Hindi/Urdu to action phrases and single arguments of simple verbs. The category of subject, an amalgamation of properties (coding,

topicality, control) attached to a single term, is a historical result in languages which favor it, more a coincidence than a universal category. If various properties, of distinct levels, came to be attached to the same term, a topic tending to acquire coding and syntactic properties and to become a subject, conversely those properties may drift apart, a topic becoming autonomous from the grammatical subject: such a cyclic evolution is described by Hagège (1978), under the significant title ‘from topic to topic, going through subject’, after Li and Thomson (1976). Hindi is far less subject prominent than was Sanskrit, and the emergence of the ergative pattern out of a passive topicalizing the patient (agent often in the second position) is a good example of this cyclicity, coding and topic properties drifting apart. The modern language presents a stage where subjects are marginal in front of the variety of oblique markings for main participants. The oblique NPs which occupy the first sequential position of unmarked statements are coded according to their semantic role, their position encoding their rank in the information-flow. Here two distinct strategies are used to encode both dimensions (semantic role, information-flow): no wonder if the identification of a subject NP is problematic here, since in “separatist” languages the notion of subject is irrelevant (Kibrik 1997: 295). But Hindi is not a “pure” language although the “separatist” coding of semantic roles is quite extensive. There is a class of statements (nominative main argument) for which the category of subject is relevant, not only because of the morphological coding, but because for such nominative NPs the nominative (unmarked case) does not encode any specific role (it can refer to agents, patients, experiencers: several features are co-expressed, particularly the position in the information-flow (communicative status) and the grammatical function, in a “cumulative” strategy. But other types of statements, which strictly encode semantic roles, depend on a more “separatist” strategy, which allows for a relatively free position in the sequence: marked orders do not require any additional device than the positional shift and that too is characteristic of “separatist” subjectless languages.

The mixed state of modern Hindi probably reflects a transitional phase of its evolution: the role domination (and subjectless feature) has been a gradual process, still very much alive, whereas the ergative structure has largely grammaticized, losing its semantic motivation and acquiring more subject properties than other oblique arguments (what is semantically motivated is transitivity and not the ergative marking of agents, which surface in the nominative at the required aspect).

Notes

* I would like to thank T. Tsunoda, A. Davison and K. Wali for their comments.

1. Since Verma (1976). Word order is an important criterion in languages where it is relatively rigid, that is, in Greenberg’s meaning, for unmarked or least constrained statements (including intonational constraints). This does not necessarily mean that the unmarked statements are the most frequent, specially in oral production.

2. Particles also help defining a topic (*to*) and a focus (*hii*), but the simple ordering of terms is enough for making a topic of the first entity (and a focus of the pre-verbal entity), the postverbal position generally corresponding to a delayed topic.
3. Abbreviations used: M, F, and N stand for the three genders, SG, PL, for the two numbers. NOM, ERG, DAT, LOC, INSTR, GEN, OBL stand for nominative, ergative, dative, locative, instrumental, genitive, oblique cases, AG, for agent (passive). PRES (present), CP (conjunctive participle), P (participle), POT (potential), OPT (optative), INF (infinitive), OBLIG (obligative). In transcribed/transliterated items, capital letters stand for retroflex consonants, and N for nasalization of the preceding vowel.
4. Tenses morphologically related to the simple past (s.past), perfect (pft), pluperfect (ppft), and subjunctive as well as conditional perfect forms, are all built on the accomplished participle. 'Accomplished' is preferred to 'perfective' since there is also in Hindi a perfective/imperfective opposition comparable to the one in Slavonic languages (see Nespital's recent Hindi Dictionary of verbal pairs).
5. Nor do the scholars who advocate an "ambivalent" point of view, basing subjecthood on language specific morpho-syntactic properties of NPs, like Melcuk (1988, 1992), Comrie (1979), Manning (1996).
6. As the nominal sentence is no longer perceived as a stylistically marked device, it acquires a general meaning and the copulative sentence (past participle + copula) acquires a marked meaning expressing "state" or "condition" (Breunis 1990: 141), and when this "expressive" meaning becomes fully grammatical in association with the copulative construction, the meaning of the noncopulative construction becomes restricted to the event at the origin of the state, excluding the state itself.
7. All the four roles in Langacker (experiencer, mover, patient and Ø) can be collapsed into the major role Theme, pertaining to the target domain and opposed to the source domain (agent and instrument as respectively active and passive participants). As for the distinction between target and source, it too is based on energy transmission. Target is also equated to recipient.
8. Arguments and examples from Montaut (1993). See also Butt (1993) and Mohanan (1994: 72–5).
9. Significantly, such verbs, which require ergative in the accomplished, can passivize, a transformation which in Hindi requires an Agent as its first (or sole) argument, Agent being understood in terms of the hyperrole (with the feature ⟨reflexive consciousness⟩ as its minimal feature): *maiNne siitaa ko akele rote hue paayaa* (I-ERG Sita-ACC/DAT alone crying being found), 'I found Sita crying alone'; *siitaa ko akele rote hue paayaa gayaa* (Sita ACC/DAT alone crying being found PASSIVE-SP), 'Sita was found crying alone'.
10. If we interpret the reduced sentence to be like (22a), then the conjunctive reduction is controlled by the first participant of main clause "I". If we interpret the reduced sentence to be *gilaas gira*, 'the glass fell' (*gilaas* main participant), then *gilaas* controls the conjunctive reduction.
11. Similarly the intransitive *gir*, 'fall', is used for inadvertent processes (22a) whereas the transitive *giraa* 'make fall', is used if you knock something down or push somebody down deliberately.

12. See Mohanan (1994) who convincingly argues that the *se* arguments of such “pseudo-passives” are more “subject-like” in this respect than the agents of true passives.
13. On the affinity of ‘capabilitative’ passives and descriptive state, see Gaeffke (1967:39–74).
14. We of course find frequent overlapping, extension of a diathesis from its prototypical area to adjacent ones, as well as “exceptions” like the well-known class of ergative intransitive (cough, sneeze, etc.) or inactive transitive with ergative main argument (*paanaa* find).

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CHAPTER 3

Subjectless clauses in Irish

Michael Noonan

1. Introduction

The topic of the symposium for which this chapter was written was ‘non-nominative subjects’. For some languages, the range of phenomena which would meet this characterization might be immediately obvious, but for Irish, the language discussed in this chapter, some preliminary definitions are necessary in order to characterize exactly what phenomena are to be included under the rubric of ‘non-nominative subjects’ for the purposes of this chapter.

In this discussion I am assuming that all languages have transitive and intransitive clauses, and that the core arguments in these clauses can be characterized in terms of A, S, and O, following Dixon (1994). ‘Nominative’ is the term used for the case marking associated with subjects [A and S arguments] in accusative systems: therefore, in accusative systems, a ‘non-nominative’ subject would be an A or S which is marked in a case other than nominative.

In Irish, an exclusively nominative case-marked form is available only for a few pronouns. While these nominative [or subjective] pronominal forms are important diagnostics, it is probably best in the Irish context to talk more broadly about ‘canonical subject properties’, and so, for purposes of this chapter, by ‘non-nominative subject’ I will mean an A or S which lacks canonical subject properties.

2. Properties of nominative [canonical] subjects in Irish

For purposes of establishing benchmarks for nominative [or canonically-marked] subjects in Irish, I will use a construction-type which I will refer to as the ‘accusative construction’. This construction displays a straightforwardly accusative syntax and is the basis for the traditional classification of Irish as a VS(O), accusative language. Irish would once have been classified unproblematically as an accusative language on the basis of this and other constructions, but over the last millenium a number of old construction-types have evolved a less straightforwardly accusative syntax and a number of new constructions have appeared which do not display accusative syntax at all. Irish is now a mixed system, as will be illustrated below, but the accusative pattern is likely still the dominant one.

Nominative [or canonically-marked] subjects in Irish have the following seven properties which can be used as diagnostics for distinguishing nominative from

non-nominative subjects. In the following, ‘subject’ means nominative or canonical subject:

(i) *Only subjects condition verb agreement*

As regards argument-verb agreement, Old Irish was consistently synthetic, having distinct subject agreement affixes for all tense-aspect-mood categories. [Only subjects conditioned verb agreement.] The trend in recent centuries has been toward a more analytical syntax, with tense-aspect-mood distinctions still signaled synthetically, but with leveling within paradigms in favor of the third-person singular form throughout. No dialect has carried this to completion, however: in all dialects, some synthetic distinctions remain within certain TAM conjugation categories. In Munster, where the greatest number of synthetic distinctions are retained, one can find paradigms like the following for the verb *dún*-‘shut’:

(1)	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past perfective</i>
1s	<i>dún-aim</i>	<i>dhún-as</i>
2s	<i>dún-air</i>	<i>dhún-ais</i>
	<i>dún-ann tú</i>	
3s	<i>dún-ann sé, sí</i>	<i>dhún sé, sí</i>
1p	<i>dún-amíd</i>	<i>dhún-amair</i>
2p	<i>dún-ann sibh</i>	<i>dhún-abhair</i>
		<i>dhún sibh</i>
3p	<i>dún-aid</i>	<i>dhún-adar</i>

The third-person singular form is best viewed as a ‘neutral’ form for a given TAM category: in the present paradigm illustrated above, the neutral form is used in the second and third-person singular and in the second-person plural, and in just those cases it is accompanied by the appropriate pronoun [*tú* ‘you-SG’, *sé* ‘he’, *sí* ‘she’, *sibh* ‘you-PL’: the pronouns are in italics in (1)]. Where the neutral form is used, it must occur with an overt subject NP; on the other hand, the synthetic forms may *not* occur with an overt subject NP. So 3p *dún-aid* is used as long as there is no overt subject NP, but the neutral form must be used when there is an overt subject NP:¹

- (2) a. *Dúnaid é*
shut.PRES.3P 3SM.OB
‘They shut it.’
b. *Dúnaid an fear é*
shut.PRES the man 3SM.OB
‘The man shuts it.’²
c. *Dúnaid na fir é*
shut.PRES the men 3SM.OB
‘The men shut it.’
d. **Dúnaid na fir é*
shut.PRES.3P the men 3SM.OB
‘The men shut it.’

- e. *Dúnann é
 shut.PRES 3SM.OB
 'He/they shut it.'

Note also that in the paradigms given in (1) the present and the past perfective differ in which person-number distinctions require the neutral form and for which the neutral form is optional: in the present, the neutral form is optional in the second-person singular and obligatory in the second-person plural, whereas in the past perfective the neutral form is not used in the second-person singular and is optional in the second-person plural.

Where synthetic forms are used — and overt subject NPs therefore prohibited — a special set of 'emphatic' pronominal clitics can be suffixed onto verbs when the subject argument is in focus. These same clitics can be suffixed onto other parts of speech as well:

- (3) Dúnaid-sean é
 shut.PRES.3P-3P 3SM.OB
 'they shut it.'
- (4) a bpáirc-sean
 their field-3P
 'their house.'
- (5) díobh-san
 from.3P-3P
 'from them.'³

(ii) *Subjects are in immediate-postverbal position*

In the 'accusative construction' the subject is in immediate post-verbal position:

- (6) Chonaic Máire Seán
 see.PPRF Mary John
 'Mary saw John.'

In simplex constructions with analytic verbal inflections, this rule is invariable.⁴

(iii) *Subjects are placed immediately after the auxiliary verb in the progressive and similar constructions*

An active sentence like

- (7) Cheannaigh sí beacán
 buy.PPRF 3SF.SB mushrooms
 'She bought mushrooms.'

has a progressive counterpart in:

- (8) Bhí sí ag ceannach beacán
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB at buy.NOM mushrooms.GEN
 'She was buying mushrooms.'

Other constructions with predicates expressed as verbal nouns, such as the necessitative-prospective, work in a similar way. The nominative subject of the corresponding non-progressive is placed immediately after the auxiliary *bí* ‘be’ in the progressive.

(iv) *Certain pronominal subjects have a special subjective case*

Nouns display two concord classes [traditionally called masculine and feminine] and distinguish four cases: a vocative case, an absolutive case [used for subjects and direct objects], a genitive case, and a case usually referred to as ‘dative’, which is restricted to objects of prepositions. Only the genitive is consistently distinguished from the absolutive, the vocative and dative being distinguished from the absolutive only for certain nouns and in certain fixed expressions, and even then not consistently. In terms of case, personal pronouns distinguish only absolutive from genitive forms, save in the third person and the second-person singular, where there are distinctive subjective and objective forms:⁵

- (9)

	2s	3SM	3SF	3P
SUBJECTIVE	tú	sé	sí	siad
OBJECTIVE	thú	é	í	iad
- (10)

Chonaic sí é

see.PPRF 3SF.SB 3SM.OB

‘She saw him.’
- (11)

Chonaic sé í

see.PPRF 3SM.SB 3SF.OB

‘He saw her.’

The subjective pronouns are used to mark subjects in intransitive as well as transitive clauses:

- (12)

Chuaigh sí don Fhrainc

go.PPRF 3SF.SB to.the France

‘She went to France.’

The third-person masculine pronoun is used when a dummy subject is required, as in expressions referring to ambient conditions or to extraposed ‘heavy NP’ subjects:

- (13)

a. *Ambient conditions*

Tá sé fuar

be.PRES 3SM.SB cold

‘It’s cold.’

b. *Extraposed heavy subjects*

Tá sé scríofa go ...

be.PRES 3SM.SB write.PRT that ...

‘It is written that ...’

(v) *Subjects are ‘demoted.’ [i.e. are deleted or become obliques (objects of prepositions)] in passive and autonomous constructions*

There are two sorts of constructions which can be viewed as derivationally related to the accusative construction [in the sense of ‘derivation’ in traditional transformation accounts] and in which the subject of the corresponding accusative construction is either not referenced in the clause [i.e. is deleted] or is rendered as an object of a preposition [i.e. as an oblique]. One of these sorts is really a set of related constructions collectively referred to as ‘passives’; the other is a structurally distinct construction traditionally referred to as the ‘autonomous’ construction. The passive is formed from transitive constructions and has a ‘derived’ subject, i.e. the O becomes a subject; the autonomous is formed from any sort of clause which has a nominative [canonical] subject [i.e. from transitive, intransitive, and certain copular constructions] and lacks a derived subject, i.e. is formally subjectless.

The passive is available to a class of periphrastic constructions formed with *bí*, one of the two copular verbs.⁶ In all of these constructions, the predicate is expressed as a verbal noun preceded by a preposition, though the details of the syntax are rather different in the various constructions. I will briefly illustrate the passive with two of these constructions, the progressive and the necessitative-prospective:

(14) *Active progressive*

Bhí sí ag ceannach beacán
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB at buy.NOM mushrooms.GEN
 ‘She was buying mushrooms.’

(15) *Active necessitative-prospective*

Bhí sí le beacán a cheannach
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB with mushrooms to buy.NOM
 ‘She had/was to buy mushrooms.’

In both constructions, the active subject follows the copula and is in the subjective form of the pronoun. The patient argument is in the genitive in the progressive and the object of the preposition *le* ‘with’ in the necessitative-prospective.⁷ When the patient is a pronoun, in both constructions it is rendered as a genitive pronoun, requiring various structural adjustments:

(16) *Active progressive*

Bhí sí á gceannach
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB to.3P.GEN buy.NOM
 ‘She was buying them.’

(17) *Active necessitative-prospective*

Bhí sí lena gceannach
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB with-3P.GEN buy.NOM
 ‘She had/was to buy them.’

In the passive, the patient becomes the subject and the agent is expressed as the object of the preposition *ag* ‘at’:

- (18) *Aassive progressive*
 Bhí siad á gceannach aici
 be.PPRF 3P.SB to.3P.GEN buy.NOM at.3SF
 ‘They were being bought by her.’
- (19) *Aassive necessitative-prospective*
 Bhí siad le ceannach aici
 be.PPRF 3P.SB with buy.NOM at.3SF
 ‘They had/were to be bought by her.’⁸

The passive progressive requires a resumptive pronoun, but this is not the case for the necessitative-prospective. This means that an agentless passive of the necessitative-prospective is ambiguous and could be given an intransitive reading:

- (20) Bhí siad le ceannach
 be-PPRF 3P.SB with buy.NOM
 ‘They had/were to be bought.’ or ‘They had/were to buy.’

This ambiguity does not exist in the progressive.

The autonomous⁹ is quite different from any of the Irish passive constructions in two important respects: in terms of the status of the arguments *vis-à-vis* the corresponding active, and in terms of what the corresponding actives are. As regards the first, from a transformational perspective, in the passive the basic subject is demoted to the status of an oblique [or omitted] and the object is promoted to subject. In the autonomous, on the hand, the subject is demoted, but there is no corresponding promotion to subject. As regards the second, the passive has only transitive counterparts, but an autonomous can be formed from almost any Irish sentence, whether it is transitive, intransitive, copular, or even passive. The only requirement seems to be that there be a referential subject which can be deleted or demoted: those clause-types which are subjectless [i.e. do not have nominative (or canonical) subjects] or have non-referential subjects do not have autonomous counterparts.¹⁰

Each tense/aspect/mood inflectional category of the Irish verb has an autonomous inflectional form. The autonomous forms differ from their ‘active’ counterparts in inflection and also, potentially, in the mutation of the initial consonant. As the forms are autonomous [i.e. subjectless], there is only one autonomous form for each TAM category.

Examples for two verbs, *bris* ‘break’ and *bí* ‘be’, are given in (21). The active forms are represented by the neutral form for the given inflectional category:

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (21) | <i>Active</i> | <i>Autonomous</i> | <i>Active</i> | <i>Autonomous</i> |
| PRESENT | briseann | bristear | tá | táthar |
| PAST PERFECTIVE | bhris | briseadh bhí | bhíothas | |
| PAST IMPERFECTIVE | bhriseadh | bhristí | bhíodh | bhítí |

FUTURE	brisfidh	brisfear	beidh	beifear
CONDITIONAL	bhrisfeadh	bhrisfí	bheadh	bheifí
PRES SUBJUNCTIVE	brise	bristear	raibh	rabhtar
PAST SUBJUNCTIVE	briseadh	bristí	beadh	beití
	<i>bris</i> ‘break.’		<i>bí</i> ‘be.’	

Notice that in the past perfective, regular verbs like *bris* have the initial mutation known as lenition in the active, but not in the autonomous.

Now consider the following sentences:

(22) *Active: non-autonomous*

Thug siad **Siobhán** abhaile inniu
bring.PPRF 3P.SB Joan home today
‘They brought Joan home today.’

(23) *Autonomous*

Tugadh **Siobhán** abhaile inniu (leo)
bring.PPRF.AUT Joan home today with.3P
‘Joan was brought home today (by them).’

Example (23) is the autonomous counterpart of (22). The argument that is expressed as the subject in (22) is rendered as an oblique in (23), though, interestingly, as an object of a different preposition than is used for demoted subjects in the passive.¹¹ The translation of (23) is not literal since there is no derived subject in Irish corresponding to the passive subject of the English translation. A more literal translation would be ‘there was a bringing home of Joan today (by them).’

In Noonan (1994) there is a demonstration that *Siobhán* is not the subject of (23). Since this analysis conforms to the traditional one, I will not repeat the demonstration here. Note only that if *Siobhán* in (23) is replaced with a pronoun, it is the objective form *í*, not the subjective *sí*, that is found, and this object pronoun obeys the rule that places direct object pronouns last in their clauses.¹² Compare (24) with (23):

- (24) Tugadh abhaile inniu (leo) *í*
bring.PPRF.AUT home today with.3P 3SF.OB
‘She was brought home today (by them).’

As noted, any clause with a nominative [canonical] subject can have an autonomous counterpart. Some examples follow:

(25) a. *Intransitive*

Siúlann siad feadh an chladaigh
walk.PRES 3P.SB extent the shore.GEN
‘They walk along the shore.’

b. *Autonomous of an intransitive*

Siúltar feadh an chladaigh
walk.PRES.AUT extent the shore.GEN
‘One walks along the shore.’

- (26) a. *Intransitive*
Seasann carranna anseo
stand.PRES cars here
'Cars stop here.'
- b. *Autonomous of an intransitive*
Seastar anseo
stand.PRES.AUT here
'One stops here.' ~ 'Cars stop here.' ~ 'There is stopping here.'
- (27) a. *Copular clause*
Tá na daoine cairdiúil anseo
be.PRES the people friendly here
'The people are friendly here.'
- b. *Autonomous of a copular clause*
Táthar cairdiúil anseo
be.PRES.AUT friendly here
'They are friendly here.' ~ 'People are friendly here.'

Notice that autonomous clauses are often best translated with the generic pronouns *one* or *someone*, or the generic sense of *they*.¹³

Passives too can have autonomous counterparts, as we see in (28):

- (28) a. *Active progressive*
Bhí Seosamh ag bualadh Thomáis
be.PPRF Joseph at hit.NOM Thomas.GEN
'Joseph was hitting Thomas.'
- b. *Active progressive autonomous*
Bhíothas ag bualadh Thomáis
be.PPRF.AUT at hit.NOM Thomas.GEN
'One/someone was hitting Thomas.' ~ 'There was hitting of Thomas.'
- c. *Active progressive autonomous*
Bhíothas ag bualadh Thomáis le Seosamh
be.PPRF.AUT at hit.NOM Thomas.GEN with Joseph
'Thomas was being hit by Joseph.' ~ 'There was hitting of Thomas by Joseph.'
- d. *Passive progressive*
Bhí Tomás á bhualadh ag Seosamh
be.PPRF Thomas to.3SM.GEN hit.NOM at Joseph
'Thomas was being hit by Joseph.'
- e. *Passive progressive autonomous*
Bhíothas á bhualadh ag Seosamh
be.PPRF.AUT to.3SM.GEN hit.NOM at Joseph
'There was hitting (of someone) by Joseph.' ~ 'One [generic] was being hit by Joseph.'

Sentence (28a) is the active progressive. (b) and (c) are both autonomous counterparts of (a), with (b) being agentless and (c) agentful. (d) is the passive counterpart of (a), and (e) is the autonomous of (d). Notice that in (e), a trace of the patient argument remains in the form of the merged preposition + genitive pronoun *á*: we know the patient argument was masculine and singular. Were the patient argument first-person singular, for example, we would have the following corresponding to (d) and (e):

- (29) d. *Passive progressive*
 Bhíos do mo bhualadh ag Seosamh
 be.PPRF.1s to 1s.GEN hit.NOM at Joseph
 ‘I was being hit by Joseph.’
 e. *Passive progressive autonomous*
 Bhíothas do mo bhualadh ag Seosamh
 be.PPRF.AUT to 1s.GEN hit.NOM at Joseph
 ‘There was hitting of me by Joseph.’

In (29d), we find the first-person singular form of the copula *bhíos*, attesting to the subject status of the first-person singular argument; we also have the trace of the first-person argument as patient in the form of the genitive pronoun *mo*. The trace remains in (29e), which nonetheless is subjectless.¹⁴

(vi) *Subjects are pivots in coordinated clauses*

In the second of two clauses with identical subjects, the subject may be deleted [or represented by a zero pronoun]. So, if

- (30) Chuaigh an madra amach
 go.PPRF the dog out
 ‘The dog went out.’

is conjoined to

- (31) Chonaic an madra an fear
 see.PPRF the dog the man
 ‘The dog saw the man.’

the subject of the second clause may be deleted:

- (32) Chuaigh an madra amach agus chonaic an fear
 go.PPRF the dog out and see.PPRF the man
 ‘The dog went out and saw the man.’

Example (32) cannot mean ‘the dog went out and the man saw it’, for which meaning one would have to say

- (33) Chuaigh an madra amach agus chonaic an fear é
 go.PPRF the dog out and see.PPRF the man 3SM.OB
 ‘The dog went out and the man saw it.’

with an overt object NP.¹⁵

(vii) *In relative clauses, resumptive pronouns are not possible in subject position, but are possible in all other NP positions*

In relative clauses, resumptive pronouns are obligatory for all relativized NPs save for subjects and direct objects, and they are optional for direct objects. When the following sentence is embedded as a relative clause,

- (34) Labhair sí leis
 speak.PPRF 3SF.SB with.3SM
 ‘She spoke with him.’

we have:

- (35) an fear ar labhair sí leis
 the man REL speak.PPRF 3SF.SB with.3SM
 ‘the man that she spoke with’

The ‘conjugated’ preposition *leis* ‘with him’ is required: the preposition *le* ‘with’ without an object would be ungrammatical. The relative construction

- (36) an sagart a phóg an bhean
 the priest REL kiss.PPRF the woman

can mean either ‘the priest who kissed the woman’ or ‘the priest whom the woman kissed’, i.e. with either the subject or direct object deleted under identity with the head. (36) can be disambiguated, however, with a resumptive pronoun in the direct object position:¹⁶

- (37) an sagart ar phóg an bhean é
 the priest REL kiss.PPRF the woman 3SM.OB
 ‘the priest whom the woman kissed’

A resumptive pronoun in subject position is not allowed.¹⁷

3. Constructions without nominative [canonical] subjects

We saw in the last section that the autonomous construction lacks a [derived] subject. In fact, it is one of a number of constructions in Irish lacking a nominative [or canonical] subject. These constructions, a structurally diverse assemblage, will be surveyed in this section.

3.1. The prepositional active

The first construction in this class I will refer to as the ‘prepositional active’, for want of a better term. McCloskey (1996, 1999) refers to these constructions as ‘unaccusatives’ [‘salient unaccusatives’ (1996: 242) and ‘putative unaccusatives’ (1996: 251) and provides an extensive list (1996: 276–8)]. As the examples below will make clear, not

all of these are unaccusative in the strict sense since A and O arguments can cooccur, as in (38). Some examples follow:

- (38) Chuaigh air aici
go.PPRF on.3SM at.3SF
'She defeated him.'
- (39) Bhris ar an bhfoighne agam
break.PPRF on the patience at.1s
'My patience was exhausted.'
- (40) Mhéadaigh ar mo mhisneach
increased.PPRF on my courage
'My courage increased.'
- (41) Dhubhaigh aige
blacken.PPRF at.3SM
'He became depressed.'
- (42) Nár chuir ort fós
NEG.INTER put.PPRF on.2s yet
'Aren't you dressed yet?'

In the prepositional active, the verb appears in the neutral form for its TAM category and the arguments are all rendered as objects of prepositions. There is no regular syntactic process which could be viewed as converting an ordinary active into a prepositional active, though many prepositional actives have ordinary active counterparts. So, corresponding to (40) is (43):

- (43) Mhéadaigh mo mhisneach
increased.PPRF my courage
'My courage increased.'

For some, ordinary active counterparts have somewhat different meanings. Compare (38) with (44):

- (44) Chuaigh sí air
go.PPRF 3SF.SB on.3SM
'She went/worked against him.'

The A argument in (38) and the S argument in (40) are rendered as prepositional phrases, and hence as non-nominative subjects by our earlier definition. In the great majority of examples I have found, however, the prepositional active clauses have a single core argument. In some cases, one could easily reconstruct a NP which could serve as nominative subject, with meaning more or less preserved. So, for example, the prepositional active sentence at (45),

- (45) D'éirigh idir na fir
 rose.PPRF between the men
 'The men quarreled.'

has an ordinary, subjectful, active counterpart in:

- (46) D'éirigh troid idir na fir
 rose.PPRF fight between the men
 'A fight/quarrel broke out between the men.'

Note, however, that the meaning is not quite the same and, in any case, not all examples could reasonably be viewed as involving an unexpressed argument: (40) is such a case.

No argument in these prepositional actives qualifies as a subject under the seven diagnostics for nominative subjects presented in Section 2. In (38), repeated here as

- (47) Chuaigh air aici
 go.PPRF on.3SM at.3SF
 'She defeated him.'

no argument conditions verb agreement, is obligatorily placed in immediate post-verbal position, or can have the special subjective case form. (47) does not have a passive or autonomous counterpart [because it has no nominative subject]. It does have a progressive counterpart, but in the progressive of (47) no subject is placed immediately after the auxiliary because there is no subject in the corresponding non-progressive:

- (48) Bhí ag dul air aici
 be.PPRF at go.NOM on.3SM at.3SF
 'She was defeating him.'

And when (47) is conjoined, neither prepositional phrase can be deleted without change of meaning. So, (49) cannot mean 'she went out and defeated him':

- (49) Chuaigh sí amach agus chuaigh air
 go.PPRF 3SF.SB out and go.PPRF on.3SM
 'She went out and it went against him.'

Rather, the sentence is interpreted as a conjunction of the first clause and the prepositional active in (50):

- (50) Chuaigh air
 go.PPRF on.3SM
 'It went against him.'

Lastly, resumptive pronouns are required for both arguments in (47) when they contain the NP coreferential with the head in a relative clause: all objects of prepositions require resumptive pronouns in such circumstances.

3.2. Subjectless constructions with the *bí* copula

Many constructions formed with the *bí* copular verb have nominative subjects, for example the passives illustrated earlier and basic copular clauses like:

- (51) Tá sé anseo
be.PRES 3SF.SB here
'He is here.'

However, there are others that lack them. I'll consider only three sorts here. The first sort involve lexicalized expressions consisting simply of *bí* and a prepositional phrase,¹⁸

- (52) Bhí linn
be.PPRF with.1P
'We won.'

- (53) Ná fuil ort fós
NEG.INTER be.PRES on.2P yet
'Aren't you dressed yet?'

or a preposition/adverb followed by a prepositional phrase:

- (54) Tá thiar orm (le mo chuid oibre)
be.PRES behind on.1s with 1s.GEN share work.GEN
'I'm behind (with my work).'

The next class consists also of lexicalized expressions involving a predicate adjective:

- (55) Beidh daor ort
be.FUT dear on.2P
'You'll be sorry.'

The last class involves a large group of semi-lexicalized expressions with experiencer arguments in which the predicate is expressed as a noun. The experiencer is a prepositional phrase with the preposition *ag* 'at', and the O is also a prepositional phrase, with any of a number of possible prepositions. Some examples follow:

- (56) Tá grá aige di
be.PRES love at.3SM to.3SF
'He loves her.'
- (57) Tá trua aige di
be.PRES pity at.3SM to.3SF
'He pities her.'
- (58) Tá meas aige uirthi
be.PRES respect at.3SM on.3SF
'He respects her.'

- (59) Tá dúil agam ann
 be.PRES desire at.1s in.3SM
 'I desire it.'

Neither the A [the experiencer] nor the O argument (1) conditions subject–verb agreement, (2) is placed in immediate post-verbal position [and the prepositional phrases in (56)–(59) can be placed in any order relative to each other], and (3) can be represented by a subjective pronoun. Further, there are no passive nor autonomous counterparts to these sentences, since there is no nominative subject. There is no progressive, but one would not be expected in any case since most of these sentences have stative meanings. In coordinated sentences, neither the A nor the O may be deleted under identity with a subject in a preceding clause. In relative clauses, the predicate noun may be omitted without a resumptive pronoun,¹⁹ but both the A and the O require a resumptive pronoun as objects of prepositions.

3.3. Constructions with the *is* copula:

There are two copular verbs in Irish, *bí* and *is*. Clauses with *bí* — to this point, all the copular verbs in the examples in this chapter have been *bí* — can have subjects, have dedicated person–number agreement forms like other verbs in Irish [an example can be found in (29d)], and have autonomous counterparts [as in (28)–(29)]. In contrast, *is*-copular constructions lack subjects, and therefore lack dedicated person–number agreement forms and autonomous counterparts.²⁰

Is-copular constructions ordinarily have a single NP which is not an object of a preposition:

- (60) Is maith liom an leabhar-so
 be.PRES good with.1s the book-this
 'I like this book.'

When this NP is rendered as a pronoun, the pronoun takes the objective form and obeys, where relevant, the usual rules about final placement of objective pronouns:

- (61) Is maith liom é
 be.PRES good with.1s 3SM.OB
 'I like it.'

The *is*-copular constructions are a complex assemblage, and I won't try to review all of them here. Suffice it to say that none of them contain an argument that has the characteristics of a nominative [canonical] subject as defined in Section 2. Among this assemblage, there are also constructions that have no NP which is not an object of a preposition. Example of this sort follow [from McCloskey (1999)]:

- (62) Is as Doire dó
 be.PRES from Derry to.3SM
 'He's from Derry.'

- (63) Ní fada dhom in bhur gcathair mhór
 NEG.be.PRES long to.1S in 2P.GEN city big
 'I haven't been long in your great city.'

3.4. The perfect

The Irish perfect can be formed from almost all construction types. In the perfect, the copular verb *bí* functions as an auxiliary and the predicate is expressed as a [past] participle. In its basic syntax, the perfect follows an ergative syntactic pattern since only Ss and Os can be subjects, as illustrated below:

- (64) *Intransitive non-perfect* *Intransitive non-perfect*
 a. Chuaigh sí abhaile c. Bhris an fhuinneog
 go.PPRF 3SF.SB home break.PPRF the window
 'She went home.' 'The window broke.'
Intransitive perfect *Intransitive perfect*
 b. Bhí sí imithe abhaile d. Bhí an fhuinneog briste
 be.PPRF 3SF.SB go.PRT home be.PPRF the window break.PRT
 'She had gone home.' 'The window had broken.'
- (65) *Transitive non-perfect*
 a. Bhris sé an fhuinneog
 break.PPRF 3SM.SB the window
 'He broke the window.'
Transitive perfect
 b. Bhí an fhuinneog briste aige
 be.PPRF the window break.PRT at.3SM
 'He had broken the window.' ~ 'The window had been broken by him.'

Intransitive subjects (64a,c) remain subjects in the perfect (64b,d); transitive subjects, however, are demoted and are expressed as objects of the preposition *ag* 'at', the same preposition that is used for demoted subjects in the passive [though not the same as for demoted subjects in the autonomous: n.9], with direct objects becoming derived subjects as (65a–b) illustrate.²¹ In transitive perfects, the agent argument may be deleted, but agentful transitive perfects are quite common, and the agent, when expressed, is the most topical argument, as shown in Noonan (1994).

While the prototypical perfect follows an ergative subject pattern in that Ss and Os occupy subject position, there are three sorts of perfects which lack subjects. One such is simply the autonomous of the perfect: because prototypical perfects have nominative subjects, they can form autonomous [impersonal] constructions. The autonomous counterpart of (65b) is:

- (66) Bhíothas briste aige
 be.PPRF.AUT break.PRT at.3SM
 'There had been a breaking by him.' ~ 'He had broken [something].'

The second sort is the perfect of the prepositional active. Example (39), repeated here as (67),

- (67) Bhris ar an bhfoighne agam
break.PPRF on the patience at.1s
'My patience was exhausted.'

has the perfect counterpart:

- (68) Bhí briste ar an bhfoighne agam
be.PPRF break.PRT on the patience at.1s
'My patience had been exhausted.'

Consider also the prepositional active

- (69) Rith leis féin
run.PPRF with.3SM REFL
'He did well.'

and (70), its perfect counterpart:

- (70) Bhí rite leis féin
be.PPRF run.PRT with.3SM REFL
'He had done well.'

The third sort is a bit more interesting. These have their non-perfect counterparts in clauses with ordinary accusative syntax with nominative [canonical] subjects. In some examples, the non-perfect counterpart is intransitive, but the S is demoted to an oblique, in the manner of an A, leaving the sentence subjectless:

- (71) Bhí feicthe aige air
be.PPRF see.PRT at.3SM on.3SM
'He had looked at it.'

Compare (71) with (72), its non-perfect counterpart:

- (72) Chonaic sé air
see.PPRF 3SM.SB on.3SM
'He looked at it.'

All the examples like this that I have encountered are formally intransitive, but have nonetheless two participants: the clauses in this way resemble transitives, in whose perfect counterparts we would expect the agent to be expressed as an oblique [i.e. as a prepositional phrase with *ag* 'at']. In other examples, however, the clause is semantically transitive, but the patient, which would be the derived subject, is not expressed [example from McCloskey (1999)]:

- (73) Bhíodh scríofa chuige roimh ré
be.IMPF write.PRT to.3SM before period
'He used to be written to beforehand.'

Clauses like these with an unexpressed patient resemble clauses with an extraposed 'heavy' NP patient/derived subject, clauses which regularly have no dummy pronoun in subject position:

- (74) Tá ordaithe dom ag Éamon Ó Cuív Uasal, T.D.,
 be.PRES order.PRT to.1s at Éamon Ó Cuív Mister, [member of the Dáil]
 Aire Stáit ag an Roinn Ealaíon, Oidhreachta,
 minister state.GEN at the department arts.GEN heritage.GEN
 Gaeltachta, Oileán, **tagairt a dhéanamh don iarratas uaibh...**
 Gaeltacht.GEN islands.GEN response to do.NOM to.the request from.2P
 'I have been ordered by Mr. Éamon Ó Cuív, T.D., Minister of State at the
 Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht, and Islands to respond to your
 request ...'

There is no cataphoric pronoun standing in subject position [immediately after *tá*] for the extraposed subject, typed in bold. Examples like these, which are not infrequently encountered, instantiate a pattern consisting of a copula, followed by the participial predicate, followed by the arguments expressed as prepositional phrases, and could thus provide models for subjectless clauses like (73), which do not involve an extraposed subject, but for which the patient is omissible on pragmatic grounds.

4. Summary of construction types in Irish

It has been shown that Irish has a large number of construction types which lack nominative subjects. In fact, every major construction type in the language has a counterpart which lacks a nominative subject, but the reverse is not true: there are constructions lacking a nominative subject with no counterpart in a construction which has one. A list of the main construction-types discussed in this chapter are presented in (75):

(75) <i>Has nominative subject</i>	<i>Lacks nominative subject</i>
Basic 'accusative' construction Ex. (6)	Prepositional active Ex. (38) Autonomous of 'accusative' construction Ex. (23)
Passive Ex. (18)	Autonomous passive Ex. (28b)
<i>bí</i> copular constructions Ex. (51)	Subjectless <i>bí</i> copular constructions Ex. (52) Autonomous <i>bí</i> copular constructions Ex. (27b) <i>is</i> copular constructions Ex. (62)
Perfect Ex. (64b)	Subjectless perfect Ex. (71) Autonomous perfect Ex. (66)

This simple dichotomy of constructions that are subjectful [i.e. have a nominative subject] and subjectless [i.e. lack a nominative subject] doesn't quite capture the full range of possibilities, nor is it adequate from an historical perspective. In fact, the discussion in the last two sections revealed that finite clauses in Irish are better divided into three groups on the basis of the kinds of grammatical roles available to their arguments:

(76) Type 1: accusative

Exhibit straightforward accusative syntax, assigning a central role to A and S [which function as subjects] and O [which functions as direct object]; A, S, and O are all simple NPs [not PPs].

Type 2: subjectless clauses with one bare NP

One argument can be an NP [not a PP], and that argument has most (or all) of the grammatical properties of a direct object in accusative clauses.

Type 3: prepositional

All arguments are PPs; no syntactic role assigned to A, S, and O. [The ergative perfect, which constitutes a fourth type, shares with the accusative the subject role, assigned to S and O arguments.]

Accusative clauses have core arguments as NPs, not PPs; the core arguments distinguish A [transitive subject] from O [direct object], with S [intransitive subject] behaving like As, i.e. the clauses show a basic accusative syntax with some pivot conditions on clause combining. Section 2 describes the properties of subjects in these clauses.

Subjectless clauses with a bare NP have only one NP not associated with a preposition: this NP lacks the properties of a subject and behaves in many (or most) respects like a direct object. These clauses lack pivot conditions on clause combining. Autonomous clauses and some *is*-copular clauses (such as those discussed in Section 3.3) exemplify this type.²²

Prepositional clauses do not assign a central role to A, S, and O; instead they mark arguments with prepositions indicating their semantic role. No argument possesses the properties of a nominative subject and these clauses lack pivot conditions on clause combining. The prepositional active and subjectless *bí*-copular clauses, among others, exemplify this type.

Looked at from an historical perspective, the accusative clauses are the oldest; during the Old Irish period, the syntax that these clauses exhibit completely dominated the grammar. However, during this period, subjectless clauses with a bare NP began to develop. Further, in the Old Irish period, the autonomous construction retained some syntactic properties of a passive. For example, verbs could agree in number with third-person derived subjects. However, by the Middle Irish period, the construction had become completely impersonal, lacking a derived subject. Also during the Middle Irish period, the *is*-copula lost person-number contrasts and retained only a single form for each TAM category. So, by the Middle Irish period, type 2 syntax was well established alongside type 1. In the Modern Irish period,

type 3 syntax, the prepositional type, becomes established in the language as well.

How this syntactic pattern arose is a matter for speculation, but the following no doubt contributed to its development. First, in type 3 syntax, the semantic role of an argument is marked by the preposition that accompanies it. A number of clause types which are not strictly type 3 nonetheless resemble type 3 in using prepositions to indicate the semantic role of core arguments. For example, in passive clauses, which are generally associated with type 1 syntax, the agent argument is also marked by a preposition. In the Modern Irish period, we see the rise of a new pragmatics of passive in which passive clauses are favored over their active counterparts. This means that passive sentences like (77), which are pragmatically implausible in English, are not simply possible in Irish, but are actually preferred over their active counterparts:²³

- (77) Tá a cuid gruaige á cíoradh aici
 be.PPRF 3SF.GEN share hair.gen to.3SF.GEN comb.NOM at.3SF
 'Her hair is being combed by her.'

Sentences like (77) are syntactically marked *vis-à-vis* their active counterparts, but have come to be pragmatically unmarked: as demonstrated in Noonan (1994), immediate post-predicate position is now the preferred position for the most topical arguments, even when the predicate is non-finite and the arguments are prepositional phrases.

Second, recall that the perfect construction displays an ergative syntax in which As are rendered as objects of prepositions. Like the passive, therefore, the perfect would provide many examples of a highly topical agent marked with a preposition.

Third, the subjectless *bí*-copular construction, which has been around since the Old Irish period, would provide additional examples of sentences with semantic roles marked directly by prepositions. And fourth, type 2 syntax, well established by the Modern Irish period, provides examples of sentences without a subject NP. This combination of frequently occurring construction-types containing core arguments coded as prepositional phrases and frequently occurring construction-types lacking subjects no doubt contributed to the development of construction types straightforwardly exhibiting type 3 prepositional syntax.

In (78) the prepositions most frequently used to mark core arguments are listed. Their basic locative/relational senses are: *ag* 'at', *ar* 'on', *chun* 'toward', *di* 'from', *do* 'to', *le* 'with', *ó* 'from'.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------------|--|
| (78) | AGENT | <i>ag</i> | in passive, perfect, prepositional active clauses
where agents are foregrounded |
| | | <i>le, ó, di, ar</i> | in autonomous clauses, where agents are back-grounded |
| | EXPERIENCER | <i>ag</i> | in <i>bí</i> -copular clauses |
| | | <i>le</i> | experiencer as source in <i>is</i> -copular clauses |
| | | <i>do</i> | experiencer as beneficiary in <i>is</i> -copular clauses |

PATIENT	<i>ar</i>	particularly in association with an adversative
	<i>le</i>	sense
GOAL	<i>do, chun</i>	indirect objects

5. Non-nominative subjects in Irish

So, what of non-nominative subjects in Irish? The prototype cases of non-nominative subjects, as the phrase is usually used, are found in languages which have subjects identified by a set of coding and behavioral properties which are consistently applied save to a relatively small set of cases which have all, or most of, the coding and behavioral properties of subjects with the exception of case marking. By this standard, Irish lacks non-nominative subjects: subjectless clauses [types 2 and 3], lack arguments with subject properties, at least as they were defined in Section 2.

By the laxer standard adopted here, one which we look for A and S arguments that lack canonical subject properties, Irish has many instances of non-nominative subjects. But because such As and Ss lack canonical subject properties, it is best not to consider them true subjects, and because no other argument in a variety of clause types has canonical subject properties, it is best to consider these clause types subjectless. Arguments in subjectless clauses which correspond to As and Ss in subjectful clauses in Irish and in other languages are plentiful and various in semantic role. Those corresponding to As may be experiencers [ex. (52)] or agents [ex.(38)], and those corresponding to Ss may be patients [ex. (40)] or experiencers [ex. (41)].

The grammatical properties that these non-nominative subjects do not possess have already been discussed. The properties that they do possess are difficult to generalize across the entire set since these non-nominative subjects occur in a variety of different clause-types. Nonetheless, some generalizations are possible as regards the properties of these arguments.

As noted in various places in this chapter, the position of highest topicality in Irish is consistently in immediate-post predicate position. Since semantic predicates may be nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, as well as verbs, the high-topicality position within an Irish clause varies syntactically from clause-type to clause-type. In many cases, non-nominative subjects occupy this high-topicality position. When they do, the grammatical properties, such as control, that follow from high topicality may be associated with non-nominative subjects. For example, non-finite subordinate clauses in Irish typically have an implicit subject controlled by an argument in the superordinate clause. A non-nominative subject can function as the controller. In (79), we have an *is*-copular construction with *liom* 'with me' functioning as a non-nominative subject:

- (79) Ba mhaith liom iad a fheiceáil
 be.COND good with.1s 3SP.OB to see.NOM
 'I would like to see them.'

Liom controls coreference in the subordinate clause, in which the subject is the pivot. Where the controller and the pivot are not coreferential, a non-finite complement is still possible:

- (80) Ba mhaith liom í iad a fheiceáil
 be.COND good with.1s 3SF.OB 3SP.OB to see.NOM
 'I would like her to see them.'²⁴

An object cannot serve as the pivot,

- (81) Ba mhaith liom í mé/*Ø a fheiceáil
 be.COND good with.1s 3SF.OB 1s.OB to see.NOM
 'I would like her to see me.'²⁵

nor can a non-nominative subject [cf. (82) with (38)]:

- (82) Ba mhaith liom dul air agam
 be.COND good with.1s go.NOM on.3SM at.1s
 'I would like to defeat him.'

If *agam* is omitted from (82), the sentence would mean 'I would like it to go against him' -cf (50). Two additional facts should be noted about (82). First, neither argument in the complement in (82) may be moved to the left of the nominalized predicate, unlike subjects and objects, which, with this sort of nominalization, must be fronted. [Prepositional phrase arguments are never fronted in this way.] Because of this, the complement lacks the particle *a* 'to', which is otherwise omitted only in intransitive complements in which the complement subject is coreferential to the controller, i.e. in clauses where there is no subject or object argument which can be moved to the left of the nominalization:

- (83) Ba mhaith liom labhairt leis
 be.COND good with.1s speak.NOM with.3SM
 'I would like to speak with him.'

Similarly, control of reflexives is possible for non-nominative subjects:

- (84) Bhí trua aige dó féin
 be.PPRF pity at.3SM to.3SM REFL
 'He pities himself.'

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, non-nominative subjects have been shown to lack the properties of canonical nominative subjects in Irish. These arguments may possess some control properties, but these appear to be pragmatically, not syntactically based.

Irish appears to be evolving from a 'reference-dominated' language, in the sense

of Foley and Van Valin (1984), to a ‘role-dominated’ language lacking syntactic pivots. In its type 1 accusative syntax, Irish possesses syntacticized discourse pragmatic factors in the form of syntactic pivots and other syntactic properties associated with A and S [nominative] subjects. In its type 2 and type 3 syntax, Irish has developed a role-dominated syntax which operates without such syntacticized discourse pragmatic properties. What makes Irish interesting in this perspective is that these two sorts of syntactic patterns coexist — with an ergative construction thrown in. An examination of the historical development of types 2 and 3 syntax could be very illuminating.²⁶

Abbreviations

1s: first-person singular; 2s: second-person singular; 3s: third-person singular; 3SF: third-person singular feminine; 3SM: third-person singular masculine; 1P: first-person plural; 2P: second-person plural; 3P: third-person plural; aut: autonomous; COND: conditional; GEN: genitive; IMPF: past imperfect; INTER: interrogative; NEG: negative; NOM: nominalization; OB: objective case; PPRF: past perfective; PRES: present; PRT: [past] participle; REL: relative particle; REFL: reflexive; SB: subjective case

Notes

1. See Ó Siadhail (1989: 179ff) for more discussion.
2. In the examples, neutral forms are glossed only for tense whereas synthetic forms are glossed for tense and person-number: cf (2a) and (2b).
3. *-sean* and *-san* are phonologically conditioned variants. *Díobh* ‘from them’ is an example of the ‘conjugated prepositions of Irish: further examples will be found throughout this chapter.
4. Apparent exceptions will be discussed below.
5. The objective pronouns are clearly the unmarked, default forms. They are used in apposition to subjects and in conjoined subjects when they are not the first conjunct:
 - (i) Rinne Seán é féin é
do.PPRF John 3s.OB REFL 3s.OB
‘John himself did it’
 - (ii) Chuaigh Seán agus é abhaile cf. Chuaigh sé agus Seán abhaile
go.PPRF John and 3s.OB home go.PPRF 3s.SB and John home
‘John and he went home’ ‘He and John went home’
6. The other copular verb, *is*, will be discussed below.
7. Actually, the construction formed by the object + verbal noun together *-beacáin a cheannach* in (15) — is the object of *le* ‘with’.

8. The English versions of these sentences sound pragmatically implausible, but the Irish versions are actually quite natural and are commonly encountered, as discussed in Noonan (1994).

9. This construction is also referred to as the 'impersonal' and the 'impersonal passive'.

10. By non-referential subject I mean subjects of clauses like:

- (i) Tá sé fuar
be.PRES 3SM.SB cold
'It's cold'

11. In the passive, the agentive preposition is *ag* 'at'; in the autonomous, the most common preposition is *le* 'with', but *ó* 'from', *di* 'from', and *ar* 'on' are also found. As discussed in Noonan (1994), demoted subjects of autonomous verbs are not nearly as commonly encountered as demoted subjects of passives, which are very common.

12. The principle that in finite clauses direct object pronouns occur dead last is a general rule, though not an absolutely inviolable one [see Ó Siadhail (1989:207–10)]. Compare (i) and (ii):

- (i) Thug siad Siobhán abhaile inniu
bring.PPRF 3P.SB Joan home today
'They brought Joan home today'
(ii) Thug siad abhaile inniu í
bring.PPRF 3P.SB home today 3SF.OB
'They brought her home today'

As McCloskey (1999) notes, in sentences like (iii)

- (iii) Chuir sí i mullach a chéile ar an urlár iad
put.PPRF 3SF.SB in top each.other on the floor 3P.OB
'She put them on top of each other on the floor'

the direct object pronoun *iad* is placed last even though it occurs to the right of a reciprocal which it binds: a corresponding nominal direct object would occur immediately after the subject *sí*.

13. In Noonan (1994) it is shown that these generic references cannot function as antecedents of personal pronouns or reflexives, unlike their English translations.

14. If (29e) were agentless, it would be ambiguous between a passive progressive autonomous reading and an active progressive autonomous reading. An agentful active progressive autonomous would be *Bhíothas do mo bhualadh le Seosamh*, with the preposition *le* 'with' [or, possibly, *ó* 'from', *di* 'from', and *ar* 'on'], but not *ag* 'at', which is found with passives.

15. Ó Siadhail observes (1989:212) that direct objects may occasionally be deleted along with subjects in conjoined clauses:

- (i) Bhuail sé buille don tuiargín ar an Olltach agus do mhairbh
hit.PPRF 3SM.SB blow to.the pounder on the Ulsterman and PAST kill.PPRF
'He dealt a blow of the pounder to the Ulsterman and killed [him]'

The direct object, however, may not be deleted unless the subject is too.

16. This entails a change in the relative particle from *a* to *ar*, the latter signaling the presence of a resumptive pronoun.

17. It is worth noting that the direct object argument in autonomous constructions allows a resumptive pronoun, which is especially felicitous when there are adverbials in the clause as well. This constitutes an additional argument that these clauses are subjectless.
18. (52)–(55) are from McCloskey (1999).
19. The predicate noun in (56)–(59) has traditionally been considered the subject of these clauses, even though it functions semantically as the predicate. As the predicate, it is not referential and cannot be replaced by a pronoun.
20. As regards their basic uses, the distinction between *bí* and *is* resembles the distinction in Spanish between *estar* and *ser*, respectively: see Ó Máille (1912), O’Nolan (1934). In Old Irish, *is* was conjugated for person: like the autonomous, *is*-constructions have evolved to become impersonal, i.e. subjectless.
21. The sense of this construction is resultative-perfect. For details, especially for an illustration of its ‘recent past’ sense, see Noonan (1994), where the construction is referred to as the ‘participial ergative’.
22. Type 2 clauses have a number of interesting properties that cannot be discussed here. One such property is that while type 1 and type 3 clauses can appear as nominalizations, type 2 clauses have no nominalized counterparts: when they are embedded, they must be embedded as finite clauses.
23. In Noonan (1994) I discuss the pragmatics of these clauses and offer an explanation for this state of affairs in Modern Irish.
24. As this example shows, in nominalized clauses, an SOV order is possible. Nominalized clauses have a basically accusative syntax.
25. With *mé* omitted from (80), the sentence would be grammatical, but would have to mean ‘I would like to see her’.
26. I would like to thank Edith Moravcsik for helpful comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

Instrumental subjects in Motuna*

Masayuki Onishi

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the functions of the instrumental suffix in Motuna, a Papuan language from Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. The focus of the discussion is on its ergative function (as a marker of the transitive subject) *vis-à-vis* other peripheral functions of the same suffix.

Motuna is a typical agglutinative language with both suffixing and, to a lesser degree, prefixing. It is a double marking language (Nichols 1986:65). The verb obligatorily marks the person and number of one core argument in the case of an intransitive verb, and of two core arguments (Actor and Undergoer) in the case of a transitive verb. NPs are also marked by case. Motuna distinguishes seven cases — nominative (unmarked), instrumental, comitative, purposive, locative, ablative and similative. Of these, only the functions of the nominative and instrumental will be discussed in this chapter.

Verbal marking and NP case marking in this language show different patterns. Verbal personal marking is primarily based on the distinction of the semantic roles of core arguments. NP case-marking, on the other hand, shows a split-ergative (Dixon 1994) pattern, in that the intransitive subject and the transitive object are always unmarked, while the transitive subject may optionally be marked by a distinct case marker *-ki*.¹

In addition to this ergative function, NPs or nouns marked by the suffix *-ki* fulfill other functions as well — they may, for example, indicate an instrument, the location of a participant in a state, the passage of an action, a possessor in a possessive construction, etc. Such multiple functions of an “ergative marker” are commonly found in Australian and Papuan languages (cf. Dixon 1980 and Foley 1986). In such cases, two different labels — “ergative” and “instrumental” — are often used to distinguish core functions from peripheral functions (e.g. Dixon 1980: 303–4; see Mel’čuk 1987 for a critique of this view).

In this chapter, I will simply use the name “instrumental suffix” to label the suffix *-ki* in any syntactic function.² This is because most of the functions fulfilled by NPs or nouns marked by *-ki* in this language are typically covered by instrumental NPs in other languages.³ Besides, it is not clear to what extent the function of the suffix *-ki* attached to a transitive subject is genuinely grammatical. As mentioned above, Actor and Undergoer NPs of a transitive verb are obligatorily cross-referenced by verbal marking in Motuna. Moreover, the transitive subject may be unmarked for

case, and in this instance the order of the two core NPs indicates which is in subject function. The primary function of the suffix *-ki* may lie elsewhere.

This chapter is organised as follows: In §2, I will briefly overview the coding properties of core arguments in Motuna. I will look at both verbal marking, case marking as well as constituent order of core NPs. In §3, all the usages of the instrumental suffix *-ki*, except for its ergative function, will be presented and analysed. In §4, I will try to establish a unified account for the various functions of the suffix in the language.

2. Coding properties of core arguments

In general, languages may employ one or more of the following strategies to indicate the grammatical functions of core NPs (see Keenan 1976 and Onishi 2001): (a) verbal agreement; (b) NP case marking; and/or (c) constituent order of core NPs. In the following subsections I will briefly look at these three strategies in Motuna. Since case marking of core NPs in transitive clauses interacts with their constituent order, (b) and (c) will be discussed together.

2.1. Verbal agreement

Verbs in Motuna obligatorily mark the person/number of core argument(s) with a distinction of active and middle voices.

In the case of a transitive verb (always in active voice), two slots are available for person suffixes next to the verb stem, of which the first slot marks the Undergoer argument and the second slot the Actor argument. I will call the person suffix which fills the first slot the U suffix, and the one which fills the second slot the A suffix.⁴ They are represented by capital U and A, respectively, in the interlinear gloss. I will also label the NP which is cross-referenced by an A suffix the A NP and the one cross-referenced by a U suffix the U NP. Examples:

Transitive verb *tanguh*- ‘slap’

- (1) a. Aanih nii tangu-m-u-i-na.
 ‘female.name’ 1SG slap-1U-3A-NRPAST-F
 ‘Aanih (F topic) slapped me.’
 b. nii Aanih-ki tangu-m-u-u-ng.
 1SG ‘female.name’-INST slap-1U-3A-NRPAST-M
 ‘I (M topic) was slapped by Aanih.’

Examples (1a) and (1b) show two alternative patterns of a transitive clause. The verb *tanguh*- ‘slap’⁵ in each example takes the first-person U and the third-person A suffix. The final suffix marks the gender of the clausal topic by default.⁶ In (1a) *Aanih* is the topic and the feminine gender of this argument is marked on the verb. In (1b), on the other hand, *nii* is the topic and the masculine gender of this argument is marked on the verb. (The passive translation of this sentence simply suggests this fact; (1b)

is not derived from (1a) in any sense.) Note that in (1a) both the A NP (*Aanih*) and the U NP (*nii*) are unmarked, while in (1b) the A NP is marked by the suffix *-ki*. I will come back to this point in 2.2 below.

Motuna has a small class of “impersonal” transitive verbs:

Impersonal verb *toko=tokoh*- ‘feel hot’ (reduplication of the root is obligatory)

- (2) *nii toko=toko-m-u-u-ng.*
 1SG feel.hot-1U-3A-NRPAST-M
 ‘I feel hot.’

As seen above, impersonal verbs take a U person suffix and the invariable third-person A suffix *-u*. Syntactically they can take an unmarked Undergoer (experiencer or patient) NP cross-referenced by a U suffix (*nii* in (2)) but no NP argument which corresponds to the third-person A marking. Therefore they are morphologically transitive, and syntactically intransitive. In general, this U NP shows syntactic subject properties in verbal derivations and switch-reference clause combining.

A small number of impersonal verbs require another unmarked NP, e.g.

Impersonal verb *haa*- ‘want’

- (3) *nii tuu haa-m-u-u-ng.*
 1SG water want-1U-3A-NRPAST-M
 ‘I want water.’

The second NP *tuu* ‘water’ in (3) is syntactically obligatory, but it does not show any syntactic subject properties. Rather, the wanter NP *nii* shows such properties in word order (it always precedes the desire NP), verbal derivations and clause chaining.

Examples (2) and (3) show that in Motuna the syntactic subject is the core argument which is highest in the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy. In the case of *haa*- ‘want’, the wanter NP is higher than the desire NP in this hierarchy. When there is no overt Actor NP, as is the case with *toko=tokoh*- ‘feel hot’, the Undergoer NP takes a subject role.

Morphologically intransitive verbs are of three types: active, middle and irregular.

Active intransitive verb *kumar*- ‘laugh’

- (4) *nii kumar-os-i-ng.*
 1SG laugh-1ACTV-NRPAST-M
 ‘I laughed.’

Middle intransitive verb *uuh*- ‘wash self’⁷

- (5) *nii tuu-ngori uu-mor-i-ng.*
 1SG river-LOC wash.self-1MID-NRPAST-M
 ‘I washed in the river.’

Irregular intransitive verb *pi(h)*- ‘go’

- (6) *nii tii uri mi-i-ng.*
 1SG ART.L village go+1IRR-NRPAST-M
 ‘I went to the village.’

Active intransitive verbs mark the person of the subject by an active voice suffix (represented by *ACTV* in the gloss) as in (4), while middle verbs mark it by a middle voice suffix (represented by *MID* in the gloss) as in (5). The active voice suffix of an intransitive verb is identical with the *A* suffix of a transitive verb except for first person.⁸ The middle voice suffix is similar to the *U* suffix of a transitive verb in that in most cases the first consonant of the former is identical with the *U* person suffix. (Compare the first-person *U* suffix *-m* in (1) and (2) with the first-person middle suffix *-mor* in (5).) In addition, Motuna has five irregular intransitive verbs which mark the person of the subject by consonant alternation of the stem (represented by *IRR* in the gloss). In (6) the *p* of the stem of the verb *pi(h)*- ‘go’ is altered to *m* to indicate that the subject of the verb is first person.

Semantically, middle verbs express a range of meanings such as spontaneous events, reflexive activities and deponent actions. Subjects of such verbs are characterised as primary participants affected by the events described by the verbs, regardless of their macroroles (cf. Lyons 1968, Klaiman 1991 and Kemmer 1993).⁹ The five irregular intransitive verbs are all high-frequency items.¹⁰ Active intransitive verbs constitute an unmarked residual class.

To sum up, verbal marking in Motuna indicates the following:

- (7) 1. In the case of a transitive verb the person of each of the two core arguments is marked with the indication of their macroroles (Actor vs Undergoer).
 2. The marking for the subject of an intransitive verb (labeled *S* hereafter) is not uniform; it basically reflects the semantic character of the argument. There are three distinct markings: active (an unmarked class), middle (for verbs which have an affected participant as *S*), irregular (for five verbs of high frequency).

2.2. Case marking and order of core NPs

As shown in the examples given in 2.1, the subject NP of an intransitive verb (*S*) and the Undergoer NP of a transitive verb (*U*) are always unmarked, while the Actor NP of a transitive verb (*A*) may be unmarked or marked by *-ki*. Examples (1a) and (1b) are repeated below:

Transitive verb *tanguh*- ‘slap’

- (8) a. *Aanih nii tangu-m-u-i-na.* (=1a)
 ‘female.name’ 1SG slap-1U-3A-NRPAST-F
 ‘Aanih (F topic) slapped me.’

- b. *nii Aanih-ki tangu-m-u-u-ng. (=1b)*
 1SG 'female.name'-INST slap-1U-3A-NRPAST-M
 'I (M topic) was slapped by Aanih.'

In Motuna, the clause-initial position is the unmarked slot for a clausal topic, and the immediately pre-verbal position is the unmarked slot for a focussed argument. Thus (8a) either represents an unmarked predicate-focus structure (Lambrecht 1994: 226–28, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 206–7), where the topic is the A NP *Aanih* and the rest of the sentence is a comment about the topic, or represents an argument-focus structure (Lambrecht 1994: 228ff., Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 208–10) where the U NP *nii'me* is focussed on (and is stressed). In the first interpretation, (8a) can serve as an answer to (9a), while in the second interpretation it can serve as an answer to (9b). (Note, however, that *Aanih* in (8a) is not likely to be expressed when it is established in the discourse, such as in the answers to (9a–b).)

- (9) a. *Aanih ua ngo-o-i-na?*
 'female.name' what do(-3U)-3A-NRPAST-F
 'What did Aanih do?'
 b. *Aanih paa tanguh-u-i-na?*
 'female.name' whom slap(-3U)-3A-NRPAST-F
 'Whom did Aanih slap?'

In the same way, (8b) represents either a predicate-focus structure or an argument-focus structure. As an answer to (10a) it is in predicate-focus, and as an answer to (10b) in argument-focus:

- (10) a. *roo ua ngo-ror-i-ng?*
 2SG what happen-2MID-NRPAST-M
 'What happened to you?'
 b. *roo pa-i tangu-r-u-u-ng?*
 2SG who-INST slap-2U-3A-NRPAST-M
 'By whom were you slapped?'

Note that in (9a–b) and (10a–b) interrogative pronouns such as *ua* 'what', *paa* 'who(m)' and *pa-i* 'by whom' must appear immediately before the verb. No other NP can intervene between them. Note also that in all these examples the verb-final suffix marks the gender of the topical argument.

From the above discussion I summarise the functions of case marking and the constituent order of core NPs in Motuna as follows:

- (11) S and U NPs are always unmarked for case. An A NP is marked by the suffix *-ki* when it is placed in the focus position (either as part of the focussed predicate, or as a focussed argument). Otherwise it is unmarked.¹¹

While verbal marking in Motuna primarily indicates the semantic characteristics of core NPs as summarised in (7) in 2.1, the case marking and word order of these

NPs indicate their syntactic and pragmatic statuses. We will reexamine these generalisations in §4, after we have looked at all the other functions of *-ki* in the next section.

3. Various functions of *-ki*

In this section I will examine various functions of the instrumental suffix *-ki* in combination with NPs and nouns of different types. Nouns in Motuna have a five-way gender distinction: masculine, feminine, diminutive, local and manner. Of these, nouns in local gender have unique characteristics, and NPs headed by those nouns have distinct syntactic functions. Accordingly, in the following subsections, I will first examine the functions of *-ki* attached to peripheral NPs headed by non-local nouns (3.1), and NPs headed by local nouns (3.2). I will then proceed to look at the functions of this suffix in possessive constructions (3.3) and numeral constructions (3.4).

3.1. Peripheral NPs headed by non-local nouns

Peripheral NPs headed by non-local nouns marked by *-ki* may signify (a) an instrument or a material used or accompanied to fulfill a transitive action, (b) a means of transport, (c) an object traversed, (d) the locus of a mental activity, or (e) an intended activity.

3.1.1. *Instrument/material*

An NP marked by *-ki* typically denotes an instrument or a material which is used to fulfill a transitive action described by an achievement verb.

- (12) ho-i piso manni hoo o'koo kuuo
 ART.M-INST walking.stick then ART.M that wing
 raup-ee-u-u-ng.
 break-APPL(-3U)-3A-RMPAST-M
 '(She) then broke that wing (of the heron) with a walking stick [and thus affected the heron].'
- (13) hiuo tuu-ki maapuk-ooto-ji-ng.
 clay.pot water-INST become.full-CAUS(-3U)-2A-PCL.IMP
 '(You people,) fill the clay pot with water.'

The semantics of instrumental case has been discussed by various linguists (e.g. Wierzbicka 1980, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, among others). (12) and (13) represent prototypical functions of instrumental NPs in many languages.

In (12), the initiator 'she' causes the instrument *hoo piso* 'the walking stick' to come into contact with the wing of the heron, and the latter gets broken because of

this. In (13), the initiator ‘you people’ causes the material *tuu* ‘water’ to get into the clay pot, and this causes the pot to be filled (with water). What is important here is the fact that there are two participants — the initiator and the instrument or material — which are directly engaged in causing the Undergoer to be in the state specified by the verb. Logically speaking, either of these participants could be assigned an A role.¹² The NP which is actually selected to fulfill this core role is the initiator in both cases, and the instrument and material NPs are marked by *-ki* and play a grammatically peripheral role.

3.1.2. *Means of transport*

An NP marked by *-ki* can also denote a means of transport with an activity verb expressing locomotion.

- (14) ho-i sikuuna umi-ki-ng.
 ART.M-INST schooner go+1PCL.EXC.IRR-HABPAST-M
 ‘We used to go by schooner.’

There are two active participants involved in the activity — *-noni* ‘we (exc)’, which denotes the people who use the transport, and *sikuuna* ‘schooner’ which denotes the means of transport itself. Here again, both of them are candidates for the core role. The NP which is selected for this role is the former, and the NP which indicates the means of transport is treated as a peripheral NP marked by *-ki*.

3.1.3. *Object traversed*

An NP marked by *-ki* may denote an object traversed. Intransitive verbs which can take such an NP include *kiin-* ‘go up (tree)’, *koto/koho pi(h)-/hu(h)-* ‘go/come upstream/downstream’, *pit-* ‘walk from one place to another’, *aaring-* ‘go inside’, *tung-* ‘go under (ground)’.

In general, these verbs require an NP which specifies either (a) a destination, or (b) an object traversed.

- (15) a. heteeku-ko popu kiin-u-u-ng.
 ‘name.of.tree’-PURP top go.up-3ACTV-RMPAST-M
 ‘He went up to the top of the *heteeku* tree.’
 b. ho-i heteeku koto kiin-u-u-ng.
 ART.M-INST ‘name.of.tree’ up go.up-3ACTV-RMPAST-M
 ‘He went up on the *heteeku* tree.’
- (16) a. hoo tumi-kei uru-nopo hoo manni
 ART.M first-lot front-group ART.M then
 aaring-a-a-ng
 go.inside-3PCL.ACTV-RMPAST-M
 hoo nuinui-ko kuu.
 ART.M cave-PURP inside
 ‘The first of the front group then went inside the cave.’

- b. hoo tumi-kei uru-nopo hoo manni
 ART.M first-lot front-group ART.M then
 aaring-a-a-ng ho-i nuinui.
 go.inside-3PCL.ACTV-RMPAST-M ART.M-INST cave
 'The first of the front group then went into the cave.'

In (15a), the destination of the action denoted by the verb is indicated by the unmarked local NP *heteeku-ko popu* (the head noun *popu* 'top' is local gender). In (15b), in contrast, the object traversed ('the *heteeku* tree') is expressed by the instrumental NP marked by *-i* (an allomorph of *-ki*). (15b), in addition, indicates the direction of the action by the unmarked local noun *koto* 'up' which is implicit in the semantics of the verb (and is thus optional).

In (16a), the destination of the action denoted by the verb is, again, indicated by the unmarked local NP *nuinui-ko kuu* (the head noun *kuu* 'inside', again, is local gender). In (16b), on the other hand, the object traversed ('the cave') is expressed by the NP marked by *-i*.

These examples show that predicates of this type require one of these locative expressions. The unmarked choice seems to be where the destination is denoted by a nominative local NP. A non-local NP denoting an object traversed is marked by the instrumental suffix to indicate its peripheral status. See a parallel case with instrumental NPs headed by local nouns, discussed in 3.2.2.

3.1.4. *Locus of mental activity*

A verb denoting a mental activity may specify the locus of such an activity with an instrumental NP marked by *-ki*.

- (17) roki ho-i ngo-m mu'king nok-o-mo nu-ka-na: "..."
 just ART.M-INST 1SG.POSS-M heart say-1ACTV-GEN CONT-PRES-F
 'I keep saying just in my heart: "...'

In (17), the mental activity expressed by *nok-* 'say, think' is performed by the cogniser *nii* 'I', but the locus of the activity, *ngom mu'king* 'my heart', is actually inseparable from the cogniser herself. In fact, one may argue that it is the cogniser's heart itself which is performing the activity. This relationship between the cogniser and the locus is comparable to the one between the user of transport and the means of transport discussed in 3.1.2. In either case it is the NP denoting the human controller or initiator which is selected for the core role, and the locus of mental activity or the means of transport is expressed by an instrumental NP.

3.1.5. *Intended action*

The verb *pi(h)-* 'go' and *hu(h)-* 'come' can take an NP marked by *-ki* which denotes a habitual activity. The head nouns of these NPs are typically deverbal, such as *haha* 'work', *ming=ming* 'play', *mani* 'hunting possums with dogs', and *sikuulu* 'schooling'.

- (18) *ho-i* *haha'* *uwi-ki-ng*.
 ART.M-INST work go+3PCL.IRR-HABPAST-M
 'They used to go for work.'

The instrumental NP *ho-i haha'* in (18) doesn't simply denote the purpose of the movement described by the main predicate, but rather an activity which is closely associated with the latter.¹³ In fact, the verb *pih-* 'go' and the noun *haha'* 'work' describe a routine pair of successive activities, and both can be considered as candidates for the main predicate in (18). The one which is selected as a main verb is the former, and the one not selected for the main predicate is represented by the instrumental NP with a deverbal noun as head.

3.1.6. Summary

The functions of *-ki* discussed in 3.1.1–5 are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. The functions of *-ki*

<i>Predicate types</i>	<i>Function of non-local NP marked by -ki</i>	<i>Function of the competing element not marked by -ki</i>
Transitive achievement verbs	Instrument	A NP indicating initiator of action
Transitive achievement verbs	Material	A NP indicating initiator of action
Intransitive verbs of locomotion	Means of transport	S NP indicating user of transport
Intransitive verbs of movement	Object traversed	Destination of action indicated by an unmarked local NP
Intransitive verbs of mental activity	Locus of mental activity	S NP indicating cogniser
'Go' and 'come'	Activity	Main predicate

3.2. NPs headed by local nouns

Instrumental NPs headed by local nouns signify (a) location of a participant in a certain state, (b) location where a durative or habitual activity or process takes place, or (c) passage of an action or a process. Note that nominative NPs headed by local nouns, in contrast, denote either the goal of a telic activity or the destination of an action. In the following subsections, (a) and (b) are discussed together.

3.2.1. Location of a participant in a state/location of a durative or habitual activity

A stative predicate such as *tu(h)-* 'be, stay, live' requires an NP headed by a local noun denoting the location of a participant.

- (19) a. *ho-ko uri-ngi tu-ko-ng.*
 he village-INST be+3IRR-PRES-M
 ‘He lives in the village.’
 b. *tii uri tii ho-ko tu-ko-no.*
 ART.L village ART.L he be+3IRR-PRES-L
 ‘That village is where he lives.’

(19a) represents a predicate-focus construction, where the S NP *ho-ko* ‘he’ occupies the default topic position, and the location of this argument is indicated by the local NP marked by *-ngi* (an allomorph of *-ki*). In (19b), in contrast, the unmarked local NP *tii uri* occupies the sentence-initial topic position (which is further followed by the local article *tii* to indicate the topicality of the NP), and the predicate is marked by the local gender suffix *-no*. Thus, as is the case with a transitive Actor NP, a local NP denoting the location of a participant in a state is unmarked when it is a clausal topic; it is marked by the instrumental *-ki* when it is in the focus position.

The same principle applies to a local NP denoting the location of a durative or habitual activity:

- (20) a. *ti-ki ngo-no-ki uri-ngi hoo kakau*
 ART.L-INST 1SG.POSS-L-INST village-INST ART.M COCOA
 inak-upeeno-ng.
 look.after(-3U)-1A+FUT-M
 ‘I will look after cocoa in my village.’
 b. *tii ngo-no uri tii hoo kakau*
 ART.L 1SG.POSS-L village ART.L ART.M COCOA
 inak-upeeno-no.
 look.after(-3U)-1A+FUT-L
 ‘In my village I will look after cocoa.’

Example (20a) is a predicate-focus construction where the S topic *nii* ‘I’ is unexpressed, and the local NP *ti-ki ngono-ki uri-ngi* is part of the focussed predicate. In (20b), the unmarked local NP occupies the sentence-initial topic position with the local article *tii* at the end and is cross-referenced by the local gender suffix on the verb. Here again, the local NP denoting the location of a habitual activity is unmarked when it is a clausal topic; it is marked by *-ki* when it is in the focus position.

As mentioned earlier, an unmarked local NP may indicate the goal of a telic activity. The following example shows such an unmarked NP in contrast with two local NPs marked by *-ki*:

- (21) *ana koho harusu tii tii heekoo kuino-kori*
 DEM.F down turtle ART.F ART.L somewhere tree-L
 onn-a-ro ti-ki onn-oi-juu ti-ki
 tie(-3U)-3PCL.A-PERF ART.L-INST tie-3MID-CONT.DS ART.L-INST

mingk-ee-m-mo uru-ki-ng.
 play-3NSG.MID-PCL-GEN CONT-HABPAST-M
 ‘They [= the children] tied that turtle down there somewhere on the tree,
 and while the turtle was being tied there, they kept playing there [= on
 the sandbank].’

The unmarked local NP *tii heekoo kuino-kori* ‘somewhere on the tree’ in (21) indicates the goal where ‘the children’ tied ‘the turtle’. The first *ti-ki* ‘there-INST’, in contrast, indicates the location of ‘the turtle’ in a ‘tied’ state, while the second one the location of ‘the children’ in a durative activity.

3.2.2. *Passing point*

An instrumental NP headed by a local noun may signify a passing point.

- (22) hoo tuu ti-ki puuto-ki piih-kuu-ng.
 ART.M water ART.L-INST end-INST come.out+3ACTV-IMAG-M
 ‘The water could come out through the end (of the bamboo container).’

In (22) the instrumental local NP *ti-ki puuto-ki* indicates the passing point from which the water comes out.

An unmarked local NP, in contrast, indicates the destination of an action or a process. Observe the following:

- (23) ongi Honiara-ki noo mi’-kui
 DEM.L+INST ‘place.name’-INST possibly go+1PCL.INC.IRR-IMAG+DP
 tii uri?
 ART.L home
 ‘Could we possibly go home via Honiara?’

In (23) the destination is indicated by the nominative local NP *tii uri*, while the passing point is indicated by the instrumental local NP *ongi Honiara-ki*. Compare this with examples (15a–b) and (16a–b) in 3.1.3, where the destination is expressed by a nominative local NP while the object traversed is expressed by a non-local NP in instrumental case.

3.2.3. *Summary*

The functions of instrumental NPs, in contrast with nominative NPs, discussed in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, are summarised in Table 2. Note that in the first two constructions the choice depends on the pragmatic, not semantic, status of the local NP.

3.3. Possessors in possessive constructions

Motuna has possessive constructions of both dependent- and head-marking types. In either type of construction, a noun or a pronoun marked by the suffix *-ki* can function as a possessor.

Table 2.

Predicate types	Function of local NP marked by -ki	Function of the competing unmarked local NP
Intransitive stative verbs	Location of a participant in a certain state (focus function)	Location of a participant in a certain state (topic function)
Verbs in durative/habitual aspect	Location of a participant in such a process/activity (focus function)	Location of a participant in such a process/activity (topic function)
Verbs of movement	Passing point	Destination

A dependent-marking possessive construction consists of a possessor noun or pronoun (with a suffix marking the gender of the possessee) and the possessee which normally follows the possessor. In such a construction, a noun or a pronoun marked by *-ki* can either added to the original possessor noun or replace it.

- (24)

tii tii ni-ngi nga-na kuraisa.

ART.F ART.F 1SG-INST 1SG.POSS-F woman

‘She is, in relation to me, my woman.’
- (25)

hoo ong koho kitoria pee-mo hoo

ART.M DEM.M down children 3NSG.KINPOSS-father ART.M

ni-ngi nungamong urukosing karapuus-kori-ki tuu-juu . . .

1SG-INST man first prison-L-INST be+3IRR-CONT.DS

‘While the father of these older children, i.e. my first husband (in relation to me), was in prison . . .’

In (24), the first-person possessor *nga-na* is marked by the feminine suffix *-na* in agreement with the gender of the possessee *kuraisa* ‘woman’. The *-ki* marked possessor *ni-ngi* is syntactically redundant; it is there to emphasise the identity of the possessor. In (25), *ni-ngi*, the first-person possessor marked by *-ki*, is used instead of the possessive pronoun *ngo-ng*, because the narrator wants to identify the ‘father of these older children’, which is the topic in this part of the discourse, specifically as her husband in her first marriage.

The possessive construction of head-marking type consists of a possessee which is a kinship term or a classifier and a possessor which is a pronominal prefix. Again, in such a construction, a nominal possessor marked by *-ki* may occur:

- (26)

a.

tii napa po-oro

ART.F possum 3SG.KINPOSS-daughter

‘the possum’s daughter’
- b.

tii napa-ki po-oro

ART.F possum-INST 3SG.KINPOSS-daughter

‘the possum’s own daughter’

- (27) a. ho-ko hoo Maawo poko-na-pa.
 it-EMPH ART.M 'male.name' 3SG.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter
 'That is Maawo's shelter.'
- b. ho-ko hoo Maawo-ngi poko-na-pa.
 it-EMPH ART.M 'male.name'-INST 3SG.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter
 'That is Maawo's own shelter.'

Examples (26a–b) and (27a–b) represent a kinship and a classifier possessive construction, respectively, where the possessor is third-person singular. The third-person pronominal possessor can be expanded by an unmarked noun which immediately precedes it, as in (26a) and (27a). Such a noun can take an optional *-ki* to emphasise the identity of the possessor, as in (26b) and (27b).

In kinship possessive constructions the forms with the first-person singular possessor are irregular. They usually have partial reduplications, and the possessor and the possessee cannot be separated morphologically (as in (28a)). The first-person singular possessor may optionally be expressed by *ni-ngi*, the independent pronoun *nii* marked by *-ki* (as in (28b)):

- (28) a. eejee
 1SG.KINPOSS+opp.sex.sibling
 'my opposite sex sibling'
- b. ni-ngi eejee
 1SG-INST 1SG.KINPOSS+opp.sex.sibling
 'my own opposite sex sibling'

As exemplified above, the *-ki* marked possessor in a possessive construction may either replace the possessor which is expressed by a possessive pronoun or an unmarked noun, or be added to the construction. In either case, its function is pragmatic, focussing on the identity of the possessor in the particular relationship expressed by the whole construction.

3.4. Numeral classifiers marked by *-ki* in numeral constructions

Numeral constructions indicating cardinal numbers from one to five consist of a numeral prefix, a classifier and a number suffix. Such a construction is placed in apposition to a noun which refers to the objects counted. Motuna has about fifty classifiers which encode the characteristics of objects they classify according to their animacy status, shapes, uses, etc. A classifier appropriate for the counted objects must be selected to constitute a numeral construction.

Numeral prefixes from one to five are combined with a classifier thus selected, followed by a dual or a paucal/plural number suffix. There are, however, free morphemes expressing the numbers three to five which take no classifier root and are used as counters for more than one noun class. The numeral *angumuuka* 'five [lit. like a hand]'; especially, is used as a general counter for most noun classes. For

example, the ‘thin object’ classifier *-nowi* is used in combination with bound numerals one to four, but is replaced by *angumuuka* for five:

- (29) a. miru no-wi
string one-CL.thin.object
‘one string’
b. miru ki-wi-po
string two-CL.thin.object-DU
‘two strings’
c. miru pee-wi-ng
string three-CL.thin.object-PCL
‘three strings’
d. miru kori-wi-ng
string four-CL.thin.object-PCL
‘four strings’
e. miru angumuuka
string five
‘five strings’

Numbers above 6 (except for multiples of ten) are expressed analytically.

Those from six to nine are expressed by a combination of the numeral classifiers from one to four marked by the suffix *-ki*, and a numeral classifier meaning ‘ten’. For example, counting of thin objects continues from (29) as follows:

- (30) a. miru no-wi-ngi na-rang
string one-CL.thin.object-INST one-CL.ten
‘six strings’
b. miru ki-wi-pee na-rang
string two-CL.thin.object-DU+INST one-CL.ten
‘seven strings’
c. miru pee-wi-ng-ngi na-rang
string three-CL.thin.object-PCL-INST one-CL.ten
‘eight strings’
d. miru kori-wi-ng-ngi na-rang
string four-CL.thin.object-PCL-INST one-CL.ten
‘nine strings’
e. miru na-rang
string one-CL.ten
‘ten strings’

In the above examples, the suffix *-ngi* is an allomorph of *-ki*, while the ending *-pee* in the second example *ki-wi-pee* is a fused form of *-po* (dual suffix) and *-ki*.

According to my informant, when one counts from six to nine, five, the number of the fingers of one hand, is the starting point and ten, the number of the fingers of both hands, is the goal. In this interpretation, a numeral marked by *-ki* represents a

passing point, while the unmarked number which follows it represents the goal. For example, 'six' in (30a) can be analysed as 'one towards ten', where *no-wi-ngi* represents the passing point and *na-rang* the goal. The function of *-ki* in this construction is therefore comparable to the one discussed in 3.2.2.

The numbers between eleven and nineteen are expressed in a similar way. This time the starting point is ten and the goal is twenty. For example, the numbers twelve and sixteen with the 'human' classifier *-uru* are expressed in the following way:

- (31) a. nommai ki-uru-kee ki-no-ngō
person two-CL.human-DU+INST two-CL.ten.humans-DU
'twelve [lit. two towards twenty] people'
- b. nommai no-uru-ngi no-ro-ngi
person one-CL.human-INST one-CL.ten.humans-INST
ki-no-ngō
two-CL.ten.humans-DU
'sixteen [lit. one towards ten (= six) towards twenty] people'

4. Conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have closely examined the uses of the instrumental suffix *-ki* in various environments. From these examples it seems clear that the suffix has two distinct functions — (a) to mark a syntactically peripheral argument or construction competing with a syntactically central one, and (b) to indicate a pragmatically marked argument or construction in contrast with an unmarked one.

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:377–82) discuss various functions of the preposition ‘with’ in English and characterise them as follows (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:381):

Given two arguments, *x* and *y*, in a logical structure, with *x* lower than or equal to *y* on the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, and a specific grammatical status (macrorole, head of NP), assign *with* to the *y* argument iff it is not selected for that status.

This semantico-syntactic characterisation seems to capture most of the syntactic functions of *-ki* in Motuna, but not the pragmatic one.

This explains, for example, the assignment of *-ki* to an NP denoting an instrument or a material (3.1.1), a means of transport (3.1.2), or the locus of a mental activity (3.1.4). Such an NP co-occurs with a nominative NP denoting a human initiator or controller in the same clause, the latter functioning as a core argument.

Similarly, a *-ki* marked NP denoting an object traversed (3.1.3) or a passing point (3.2.2. and 3.4) may co-occur with an unmarked NP or noun indicating a destination in the same construction, or may have an alternative construction with such an unmarked NP. In either case the unmarked NP or noun, or the construction with such an NP, appears to be regarded as central.¹⁴

An interesting case is the function of an instrumental NP denoting an activity (3.1.5). The head noun of such an NP is typically deverbal, and in this case it is the main predicate which is assigned a syntactically central status in contrast with the peripheral NP denoting an accompanying activity.

The other important function of *-ki*, which is not captured by the formula put forward by Van Valin and LaPolla, is to indicate a pragmatically marked (focussed) argument or construction *vis-à-vis* a pragmatically unmarked one.

As stated in (11) in 2.2, the suffix *-ki* marks an A NP only when it is in the focus position.¹⁵ The same principle applies to a local NP marked by *-ki* which denotes the location of a participant in a state, or the location of a durative/habitual activity (3.2.1). In both cases there are two alternative frames available — one with a nominative NP in the topic position, and the other with the same NP marked by *-ki* in the focus position. The choice between them is clearly pragmatic. This focus function of *-ki* is also observed in the possessive constructions discussed in 3.3 where it is used to emphasise the identity of the possessor.

The discussion in this chapter shows that the ergative function of the instrumental suffix *-ki* is inseparable from its other functions. By and large, grammatical relations are indicated by verbal marking and word order in Motuna. The function of the instrumental suffix, when it marks a transitive Actor NP, is not to indicate its syntactic status per se, but to indicate its pragmatically marked focus function. In general, the instrumental suffix in Motuna is used to indicate either syntactically or pragmatically peripheral or marked element or construction, in contrast to a central or unmarked one which has competing semantic or pragmatic status.

Notes

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The following abbreviations are used: A, transitive Actor; ACTV, active voice suffix; APPL, applicative; ART, article; CAUS, causative; CL, classifier; CONT, continuous; DEFFUT, definite future; DEM, demonstrative; DP, dual-paucal gender; DS, different subject; DU, dual; EMPH, emphatic; EXC, exclusive; F, feminine gender; FUT, future; GEN, general; HABPAST, habitual past; IMAG, imaginative; IMP, imperative; INC, inclusive; INST, instrumental case/suffix; IRR, irregular inflection; KINPOSS, possessor pronoun; L, local gender/derivational suffix; LINK, linker; LOC, locative case; M, masculine gender; MID, middle voice suffix; NSG, nonsingular; NRPAST,

near past; PC, paucal; PCL, paucal/plural; PERF, perfect; PL, plural; POSS, possessive pronoun; PRES, present; PURP, purposive case/suffix; RMPAST, remote past; S, intransitive subject; SG, singular; ss, same subject; U, transitive Undergoer; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

In Motuna examples, “-” indicates a boundary between two bound morphemes or a root and a bound morpheme, while “=” represents a boundary between a root and a prefixing reduplication.

1. This suffix has allomorphs *-ki*, *-ngi* and *-i*, and *-ee* which is a fused form with the preceding vowel *o* of a dual marker (cf. 3.4).
 2. Onishi (1994, 2000) uses the label “ergative”.
 3. See, for example, Russian and Polish instrumental case discussed in Wierzbicka (1980), and English ‘with’ discussed in Jolly (1993) and VanValin and LaPolla (1997:377–82).
 4. The third-person singular U has zero realisation. The number slot which follows U and A suffixes is also zero when both U and A are singular.
 5. Note that the final consonant of a verb stem (in this case *h*) is obligatorily deleted before a consonant-initial suffix (in this case the first-person U suffix *-m*).
 6. This suffix marks the gender of the most pragmatically prominent NP in the clause. It is the topic NP in a predicate-focus structure, but the focus NP in a narrow-focus structure. See Lambrecht (1994) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:206–10) for the definitions of these structures. See also the discussion in 2.1.
 7. See Note 10 below.
 8. A table of person markers in Onishi (2000:120) gives the form *-oC* (where C stands for a consonant) for both first-person Actor and active voice suffixes, and zero for third-person U marking. As Lazard (2002) points out, this would lead to the conclusion that the so-called active intransitive verbs in Motuna are in fact transitive verbs with an invariable third-person U. The above-mentioned table, however, misrepresents the fact that the combination of 3rd U and 1st A markings yields the form *-uC* instead of *-oC*. It is due to this fact that active intransitive verbs need to be distinguished from transitive verbs.
 9. Like classical Indo-Aryan languages such as Sanskrit and Greek, many verb stems in Motuna show diathesis; they can function either as transitive verbs with U and A suffixes in the active voice, or intransitive verbs with a middle voice suffix. For example, the middle intransitive verb *uuu*- ‘wash self’ in (5) can also function as a transitive verb as follows:

(i) ong kitori tuu-ngori uuuh-i-hee.
 DEM.M child river-L wash(-3U)-2A-DEFFUT
 ‘You will definitely wash this child in the river.’
- See further discussion in Onishi (1994, 2000).
10. They are: *pi(h)*- ‘go’, *hu(h)*- ‘come’, *tu(h)*- ‘be’, *paa(h)*- ‘cry’ and *puu(h)*- ‘die’.
 11. Kaluli, a Papuan language in the Highlands, shows a split-ergative pattern very similar to this. See Schieffelin (1985).
 12. This idea is taken from the analysis of the English “with” by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:377–82). See the discussion in §4. Van Valin and Wilkins (1996) argue that agent and instrument are allo-roles of the more basic semantic role of “effector”.

13. A purposive NP is used to simply denote the purpose of an action, i.e.:

- (i) hoo-jo haha' uwi-ki-ng.
 ART.M-PURP work go+3PCL.IRR-HABPAST-M
 'They used to go for (that particular) work.'

14. Note the central-marginal dichotomy of nominative and instrumental cases proposed by Jakobson 1936 (quoted in Blake 1994: 40–2).

15. Du Bois (1987) argues that A and S tend to function as topic or backgrounded information in discourse. The findings of this chapter seem to support his view, although more careful studies in the discourse functions of core NPs in Motuna are needed.

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CHAPTER 5

Genitive subjects in Japanese

Implications for the theory of null objects*

Mamoru Saito

1. Introduction

This chapter concerns the so called *ga/no* conversion phenomenon in Japanese. As shown in (1), the nominative Case marker *ga* can be “converted” to the genitive Case marker *no* in a prenominal sentential modifier.

- (1) Taroo-ga/-no it-ta tokoro
Taroo-NOM/-GEN go-PAST place
‘the place where Taroo went’

The phenomenon is apparently restricted to prenominal sentential modifiers. Thus, a genitive subject is not allowed in a matrix declarative sentence.

- (2) Taroo-ga/*-no soko-e it-ta.
Taroo-NOM/-GEN there-to go-PAST
‘Taro went there.’

Many important works have appeared recently on the general properties of this alternation between *ga* and *no*. Among them are Miyagawa (1993), Watanabe (1996), Ochi (2001) and Hiraiwa (2000). In this chapter, I will focus on a specific restriction observed with the distribution of genitive subjects. As (3) shows, a genitive subject is impossible when an object NP is present.

- (3) Taroo-ga/*-no hon-o kat-ta mise
Taroo-NOM/-GEN book-ACC buy-PAST shop
‘the shop where Taroo bought a book’

I will suggest that the examination of this intervention effect leads to supporting evidence for Kim’s (1999) hypothesis that some cases of null objects in East Asian languages should be analyzed as instances of ellipsis rather than involving phonologically empty pronouns.

In the following section, I will briefly present the analysis of the genitive subjects that will be assumed in this chapter. It is a simplified (and somewhat distorted) version of Hiraiwa’s (2000) analysis, but it should suffice for the purpose here. There, I will also discuss the intervention effect and show that null objects do not induce

this effect. In Section 3, I will introduce Kim's hypothesis on null objects, and argue that the "invisibility" of the null objects in the genitive subject construction provides supporting evidence for his theory. Section 4 concludes the chapter.

2. A brief analysis of the genitive subjects

In this section, I will present a simplified version of Hiraiwa's (2000) analysis of the *ga/no* alternation and describe the intervention effect mentioned above.

2.1. The source of the genitive subject

For some time, a movement analysis was widely assumed for the genitive subjects in examples like (1). The basic idea is that the genitive subject moves out of the prenominal sentential modifier to a position within the projection of the head noun, and as a result, the genitive Case is licensed. This analysis straightforwardly explains the fact that genitive subjects are possible in prenominal sentential modifiers but not in matrix declarative sentences, since it is the nominal head that licenses the genitive Case on the subject. This approach is pursued, for example, in Miyagawa (1993) and Ochi (2001).

The movement in question can be covert, as Miyagawa points out, because the genitive subject can be preceded by an adverb that is clearly contained within the sentential modifier. This is shown in (4).

- (4) kinoo Taroo-ga/-no it-ta tokoro
 yesterday Taroo-NOM/-GEN go-PAST place
 'the place where Taro went yesterday'

Further, we have examples such as (5).

- (5) Taroo-ga/-no purin-ga/-no suki.na koto
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN pudding-NOM/-GEN like fact
 'the fact that Taro likes pudding'

As shown in (6), stative predicates in Japanese take nominative objects.

- (6) Taroo-ga purin-ga suki.da
 Taroo-NOM pudding-NOM like
 'Taro likes pudding.'

Example (5) indicates that when (6) appears as a prenominal sentential modifier, both the subject and the object can optionally be marked by the genitive *no*. Thus, four patterns, *ga-ga*, *ga-no*, *no-ga* and *no-no*, are possible. In the *ga-no* pattern, the subject is apparently not moved out of the sentence as it appears in nominative. If

so, the genitive object must be contained within the sentence as well. Thus, the *ga-no* pattern constitutes evidence that the proposed movement of genitive subjects need not be overt.

However, the movement analysis is rejected in Watanabe (1996) and Hiraiwa (2000). Among their arguments is that the required movement involves extraction out of an adjunct in most, if not all, cases, which is known to be illicit on independent grounds. For example, the sentential modifier in (1) is a relative clause and is clearly an adjunct. Hiraiwa (2000), then, proposes that genitive subjects (and objects) are licensed sentence-internally by the adnominal verbal inflection. The regular declarative form and the adnominal form of predicates were distinguished clearly in classical Japanese. However, the two forms merged in most cases around the 13th century. Hiraiwa's claim is that the declarative/adnominal distinction is still present in modern Japanese although it is obscured on the surface.

As Hiraiwa points out, the distinction is overtly manifested with a certain class of predicates, called nominal adjectives, even in the present-day Japanese. Thus, the predicate is *suki-da* in (6), whereas it is *suki-na* in (5). Capitalizing on this fact, he presents evidence that a genitive subject is licensed even when there is no nominal head around as long as the predicate is in the adnominal form. One of his examples is shown in (7).

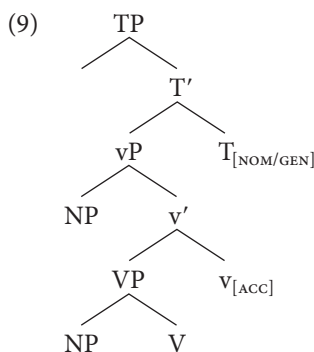
- (7) John-wa ame-ga/-no yam-u made kenkyuusitu-ni i-ta.
 John-TOP rain-NOM/-GEN stop-PRES until office-in be-PAST
 'John was in his office until the rain stopped.'

In this example, genitive Case is possible on the embedded subject despite the fact that the embedded clause is apparently not a prenominal sentential modifier but is in the complement position of the postposition *made* 'until'. Further, there is evidence that the predicate of the embedded clause is in the adnominal form rather than the regular declarative form. That is, a nominal adjective appears in the adnominal form in this position, as can be observed in (8).

- (8) John-wa izyoo.na made-ni sinkeisitu.da.
 John-TOP abnormal up.to-in nervous
 'John is extraordinarily nervous.'

In this example, the nominal adjective can assume the adnominal form *izyoo-na* but not the declarative form *izyoo-da*. Hiraiwa takes this as confirming evidence that the genitive Case is licensed sentence-internally by the adnominal inflection.

Hiraiwa's actual analysis is rather involved in details, but I will assume a simplified version in the discussion here. More specifically, I will assume that the verbal inflection in question lies in T, and that the declarative T checks nominative Case while the adnominal T checks either nominative or genitive as illustrated in (9).¹



This accounts for the free variation between nominative and genitive on the subject of a prenominal sentential modifier. Given Koizumi's (1995) proposal that T is responsible also for the Case of nominative objects, it extends to examples like (5) as well.

Then, how can the intervention effect in (3) be analyzed? One way to interpret the phenomenon is that the presence of an accusative Case prevents the adnominal T from checking genitive Case. Assuming that *v* checks accusative Case, Hiraiwa proposes (10).²

- (10) Spell-out of morphological accusative case by *v* triggers nominative Case checking on T in the next strong phase.

Without going into the details of this proposal, I will adopt a slightly modified version shown in (11).

- (11) When an adnominal T checks genitive, it absorbs the Case-feature of *v*.

When the subject is marked by genitive in (3), (11) prevents the Case checking of the accusative Case. Hence, the genitive–accusative pattern is excluded.

It seems that the adnominal T affects *v* in other ways as well. For example, Abe (1992) points out that the external argument is optional (with an appropriate semantic/pragmatic context) in prenominal sentential modifiers. The contrast between (12) and (13) illustrates this generalization.

- (12) komakaku kizan-da daikon
 thinly slice-PAST radish
 'the thinly sliced radish'
- (13) komakaku kizan-da hito
 thinly slice-PAST person
 'the person who thinly sliced (it)'

Example (13) is an incomplete expression with the object missing. The missing object receives a definite interpretation like a pronoun, and hence, the example means 'the person who thinly sliced it'. On the other hand, (12) is syntactically complete

despite the fact that the subject is missing. The subject is interpreted as an indefinite 'someone' as in 'the radish that someone thinly sliced'. This indicates, as Abe argues, that the subject θ -role is absent in (12). Note that this phenomenon is observed in prenominal sentential modifiers but not in matrix declarative sentences. Thus, the missing subject in (14) can only have a definite interpretation.

- (14) Daikon-o komakaku kizan-da.
 radish-ACC thinly slice-PAST
 'She/he/they thinly sliced the radish.'

It seems then that the adnominal T can absorb not only v 's Case but also its θ -role.³

2.2. A closer look at the intervention effect

In this section I will discuss the intervention effect in more detail. The discussion is based on the detailed descriptive studies in Watanabe (1996), Hiraiwa (2000), and Miyazawa (2001).

First, (11) predicts that only object NPs induce the intervention effect on genitive subjects. This prediction is in fact borne out. (15), for example, shows that an adverb can occur between the genitive subject and the verb.

- (15) Taroo-ga/-no kinoo it-ta tokoro
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN yesterday go-PAST place
 'the place where Taroo went yesterday'

An NP trace does not induce the effect either, as it need not be checked for Case by v .

- (16) Taroo-ga/-no *t* taihos-are-ta tokoro
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN arrest-PASS-PAST place
 'the place where Taro was arrested'

On the other hand, the trace of scrambling, which requires Case checking, does induce the effect, as correctly predicted.

- (17) hon-o Taroo-ga/*-no *t* kat-ta mise
 book-ACC Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST shop
 'the shop where Taroo bought a book'

But there are also cases that (11) does not account for straightforwardly. For example, as Harada (1971) initially observed, a relative gap seems to have no effect on the genitive subject. (18) is a representative example.

- (18) Taroo-ga/-no *e* kat-ta hon
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST book
 'the book that Taroo bought'

Further, Hiraiwa (2000) points out that null objects do not exhibit the intervention effect. As Miyazawa (2001) confirms this generalization in detail, let us consider one of her examples here. (20)–(22) are all appropriate as an utterance to follow (19) in a discourse.

- (19) Ziroo-ga hazimete Nagoya-ni ku-ru-node minna-ga
 Ziroo-NOM for.the.first.time Nagoya-to come-PRES-since all-NOM
 iroiro.na basyo-ni tureteik-u yotei-desu.
 various place-to take-PRES plan-is
 ‘Since Ziroo is coming to Nagoya for the first time, the plan is for everyone to take him to various places.’
- (20) Hanako-ga/*-no Ziroo-o tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo-desu.
 Hanako-NOM/-GEN Ziroo-ACC take-PRES place-TOP Nagoya-castle-is
 ‘The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.’
- (21) Ziroo-o Hanako-ga/*-no *t* tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo-desu.
 Ziroo-ACC Hanako-NOM/-GEN take-PRES place-TOP Nagoya-castle-is
 ‘The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.’
- (22) Hanako-ga/-no *e* tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo-desu.
 Hanako-NOM/-GEN take-PRES place-TOP Nagoya-castle-is
 ‘The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.’

Sentence (20) is an example of the standard intervention effect by an object NP. (21) confirms that scrambling of the object does not help. And finally, (22) indicates that a null object can freely intervene between the genitive subject and the verb.

A clear generalization seems to emerge from (18) and (22). It has been standardly assumed, since Kuroda (1965), that the null object in examples like (22) is a pronoun without phonetic content (an empty pronoun). It was also argued persuasively by Perlmutter (1972) that the gap in a Japanese relative clause can be an empty pronoun. This hypothesis explains, among other things, the fact that Japanese relative clauses do not exhibit Subjacency effects. The following example is from Kuno (1973):

- (23) [*e* kitei-ru yoohuku]-ga yogoretei-ru sinsi
 wearing-PRES suit-NOM dirty-PRES gentleman
 ‘the gentleman who the suit that he is wearing is dirty’

Then, the intervention effect is not observed with the null objects that have been considered empty pronouns.⁴

But this is quite puzzling. If those null objects are indeed empty pronouns, we would expect them to require Case checking and hence, to exhibit the intervention effect. It is then necessary to look more closely into the nature of those null objects. In the following section, I will argue that Kim’s (1999) analysis of null objects as NP-ellipsis provides an elegant account for the facts observed above.

3. Empty pronouns as ellipsis

As noted above, it has been widely assumed since Kuroda (1965) that null objects in Japanese are literally pronouns without phonetic content. However, this standard hypothesis clearly faces a problem with the absence of the intervention effect in (22). A pronoun should require Case, and hence, should block genitive subjects. On the other hand, Kim (1999) has proposed that null objects in Japanese/Korean can result from NP-ellipsis. In this section, I will consider how this theory can capture the facts discussed in the preceding section. In Section 3.1, I will briefly go over Kim's arguments for NP-ellipsis. Then, in Section 3.2, I will suggest an analysis for the absence of the intervention effect with null objects. To the extent that the analysis is tenable, it provides supporting evidence for Kim's theory.

3.1. Kim's (1999) arguments

A deletion analysis of null objects in East Asian languages was first suggested in Huang (1987). Relevant Mandarin examples are shown in (24) and (25).

- (24) Zhangsan da le *e*.
 Zhangsan hit PERF
 a. *'Zhangsan hit himself.'
 b. 'Zhangsan hit someone else.'
- (25) Meigeren piping le ziji ma? Bu, John mei piping le *e*.
 everyone criticize PERF self Q no John not criticize PERF
 'Did everyone criticize himself? No, John did not criticize himself.'

As discussed in Huang (1984) in detail, examples like (24) indicate that a null object usually cannot corefer with the subject of its clause. However, Xu (1986) presents examples such as (25) and points out that this coreference is allowed in an appropriate context.⁵

Huang (1987) suggests that the peculiar interpretive property of (25) receives a straightforward explanation if the example is analyzed as an instance of VP-deletion. The idea is that V raises overtly to T in Chinese and hence, the VP contains only the object NP when VP-deletion applies. Thus, null objects can be created with VP-deletion in an appropriate context. According to this analysis, (25) is analyzed exactly as the English (26).

- (26) Did everyone [_{VP} criticize himself]? No, John didn't [_{VP} ~~criticize himself~~].

The deletion analysis cannot apply to (24) because there is no appropriate antecedent VP of the form '[_{VP} *t_V* ziji]' in this case. The contrast between (24) and (25) is thus explained.

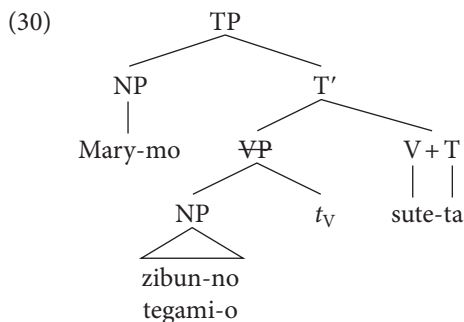
Otani and Whitman (1991) argue that Huang's VP-deletion analysis of null objects applies directly to Japanese. Their main evidence is that null objects in Japanese allow sloppy interpretation. One of their examples is shown in (27).

- (27) John-wa zibun-no tegami-o sute-ta Mary-mo *e* sute-ta.
 John-TOP self-GEN letter-ACC discard-PAST Mary-also discard-PAST
 'John threw out his letters, and Mary did too.'
 a. Mary threw out his (John's) letters, too. (the strict interpretation)
 b. Mary threw out her (Mary's) letters, too. (the sloppy interpretation)

As shown in (28)–(29), a sloppy reading is not possible with a pronoun, but it is with VP-ellipsis.

- (28) Peter likes his picture, and Joan likes it too.
 a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (the strict reading)
 b. *Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (the sloppy reading)
- (29) Peter likes his picture, and Joan does too.
 a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (the strict reading)
 b. Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (the sloppy reading)

Hence, Otani and Whitman conclude that the null object construction in Japanese can involve VP-ellipsis. More specifically, they follow Huang (1987) and propose that the construction can be derived by raising the verb to T and then deleting the remnant VP that contains only the object. The proposed derivation of the second conjunct of (27) is shown in (30).



Examining Otani and Whitman's analysis in detail, Kim (1999) first points out that there are cases where sloppy reading is available and yet the VP-deletion analysis cannot be maintained.⁶ One of them involves the double-accusative construction in Korean, shown in (31a).

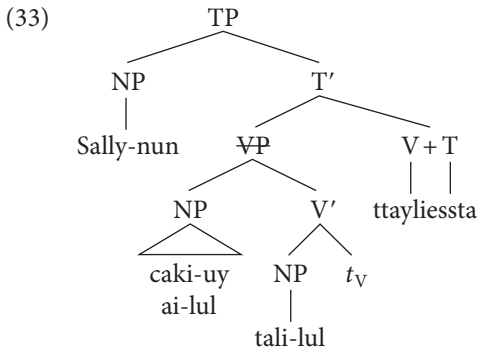
- (31) a. Mike-nun James-lul tali-lul ketechassta.
 Mike-TOP James-ACC leg-ACC kicked
 'Mike kicked James on the leg.'

- b. *Mike-nun tali-lul James-lul ketechassta.
 Mike-TOP leg-ACC James-ACC kicked

In this construction, the order between the two accusative NPs, the inalienable possessor and possessee, is fixed. Thus, (31b) is ungrammatical. Yet, sloppy interpretation is possible when the first accusative NP is null, as the example in (32b) shows.

- (32) a. Jerry-nun caki-uy ai-lul phal-ul ttayliessta.
 Jerry-TOP self-GEN child-ACC arm-ACC hit
 'Jerry hit his child on the arm.'
 b. Kulena Sally-nun *e* tali-lul ttayliessta.
 but Sally-TOP leg-ACC hit
 a. But Sally hit his (Jerry's) child on the leg. (the strict reading)
 b. But Sally hit her (Sally's) child on the leg. (the sloppy reading)

If the null object in (32b) is produced by verb movement and VP-deletion, the second accusative NP, *tali-lul* 'leg-acc', must also be deleted, as illustrated in (33).



Hence, Otani and Whitman's analysis does not extend to this example.

Although (32b) is clearly problematic for Otani and Whitman's VP-deletion analysis, it provides further evidence that the analysis of null objects in Japanese/Korean as pronouns cannot be maintained for all cases. Kim concludes then that they involve NP-ellipsis. This proposal covers the Japanese and Korean examples discussed above, and also extends to the Chinese examples introduced at the outset of this section. The relevant examples (24) and (25) are repeated below in (34) and (35).

- (34) Zhangsan da le *e*.
 Zhangsan hit PERF
 a. *'Zhangsan hit himself.'
 b. 'Zhangsan hit someone else.'
- (35) Meigeren piping le ziji ma? Bu, John mei piping le *e*.
 everyone criticize PERF self Q no John not criticize PERF
 'Did everyone criticize himself? No, John did not criticize himself.'

The elided NP in (35) can be construed as *ziji* ‘self’ because there is a linguistic antecedent in the discourse. This is impossible in the case of (34). As *Zhangsan* is the only possible antecedent, there is no way to interpret the elided object as an anaphor.

3.2. The absence of intervention effect with empty objects

Let us now return to our main concern, i.e., the fact that null objects do not block genitive subjects. Miyazawa’s (2001) examples in (19), (20) and (22) are repeated below in (36)–(38).

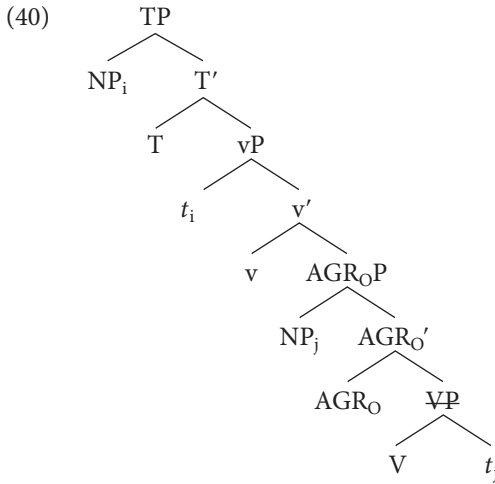
- (36) Ziroo-ga hazimete Nagoya-ni ku-ru-node minna-ga
 Ziroo-NOM for.the.first.time Nagoya-to come-PRES-since all-NOM
 iroiro.na basyo-ni tureteik-u yotei-desu.
 various place-to take-PRES plan-is
 ‘Since Ziroo is coming to Nagoya for the first time, the plan is for every-
 one to take him to various places.’
- (37) Hanako-ga/*-no Ziroo-o tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo-desu.
 Hanako-NOM/-GEN Ziroo-ACC take-PRES place-TOP Nagoya-castle-is
 ‘The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.’
- (38) Hanako-ga/-no e tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo-desu.
 Hanako-NOM/-GEN take-PRES place-TOP Nagoya-castle-is
 ‘The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.’

In Section 2, I assumed, following Hiraiwa (2000), that the genitive subject is licensed by the adnominal T, and suggested that the adnominal T absorbs the Case of *v*. This accounts for (37). When the subject is in genitive, the accusative Case of the object fails to be checked. The fact that (38) allows a genitive subject implies then that null objects need not be checked for Case.

This is surprising if null objects are empty pronouns, as noted above. But it is not if they involve NP-ellipsis as Kim (1999) has argued. In fact, the situation is similar to the case discussed in Lasnik (1995), where ellipsis saves a potential violation. Let me, then, briefly go over his analysis first.

Adapting Jayaseelan’s (1990) analysis, Lasnik (1995) proposes that pseudogapping results from object shift and VP-ellipsis. Thus, the second conjunct in (39) is derived by movement of *his leading campaign contributor* to AGR_O Spec and deletion of the remnant VP, as illustrated in (40).

- (39) John will select the CEO of a multinational Corporation and Bill will [_V e]
 his leading campaign contributor.

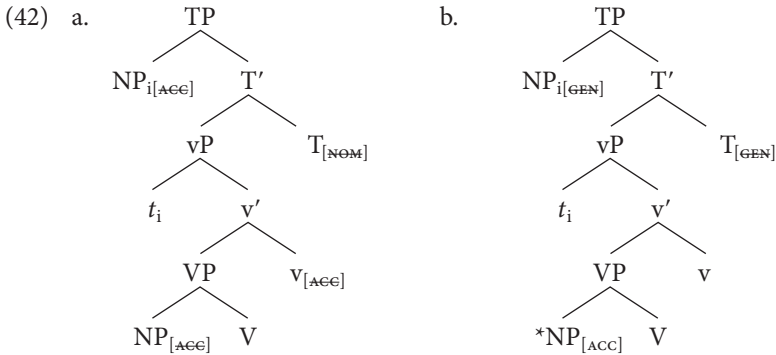


This analysis is based on Koizumi's (1995) theory, where the object moves overtly out of the VP to AGR_O Spec and has its Case checked there. This, in turn, implies that the verb also moves overtly to a head position preceding the AGR_O Spec, for otherwise the English word-order should be SOV instead of SVO. But then, an interesting problem arises. The verb movement clearly does not apply in the second conjunct of (39). If it does, the verb cannot be elided with VP-ellipsis. It follows then that the verb need not move out of the VP when and only when VP-deletion applies.

Assuming that VP-ellipsis is derived by PF deletion, Lasnik explains this curious state of affairs as follows. Suppose that a verb has a feature that blocks PF interpretation, and that this feature is checked and deleted when the verb moves to the higher head position. Then, the verb movement is obligatory in regular sentences. But in the case of VP-ellipsis, the feature of the verb can be deleted without the movement. Since the whole VP is deleted, so is the feature of the verb. Hence, VP-deletion allows the verb to stay in its original position.

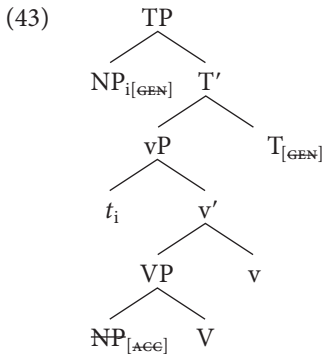
This analysis can be applied directly to NP-ellipsis.⁷ Suppose that the Case feature of an object NP needs to be checked and deleted so that the NP can be interpreted properly in the PF component. Then, Case checking by *v* is required in the normal cases. Thus, the ungrammaticality of the genitive subject in (3), repeated below in (41), is explained as illustrated in (42).

- (41) Taroo-ga/*-no hon-o kat-ta mise
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN book-ACC buy-PAST shop
 'the shop where Taroo bought a book'



When the subject is in nominative, v carries the [ACC] feature and checks the [ACC] of the object NP as shown in (42a). On the other hand, when T checks the genitive Case, it absorbs the [ACC] feature of v by hypothesis. Hence the [ACC] feature of the object fails to be checked and deleted, and the NP cannot be properly interpreted at PF. This case is illustrated in (42b).

But the situation is different when the object NP is elided. Since the object NP is deleted, its Case-feature disappears with it as shown in (43). Hence, Case checking by v is not required in this particular case. The absence of the intervention effect with null objects thus follows.



Note that this analysis readily extends to the relative clause example in (18), repeated here in (44).

- (44) Taroo-ga/-no *e* kat-ta hon
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST book
 'the book that Taroo bought'

If the relative head can serve as the antecedent for the deletion of the object NP, then the [ACC] feature of this NP need not be checked by v . Hence, a genitive subject is possible also in this case.

It has been controversial whether ellipsis involves PF deletion, as Lasnik assumes, or LF copying. Sag (1976) has argued for the former and Williams (1977) for the latter, and as far as I can see, the issue is not completely settled. It is then probably worth mentioning that the analysis proposed above is consistent also with the LF copying analysis of ellipsis. Suppose that the null object in (38) is interpreted by copying *Zirōo-ga* 'Zirōo-NOM' in (36) in its position at LF. The copied NP must already be checked for Case, and hence, it need not have its Case checked again at the copied site. Hence, the analysis can be maintained under the LF copy theory as well.

4. Conclusion and further issues

In this chapter, I examined the intervention effect observed with the genitive subject construction in Japanese. I assumed, following Hiraiwa (2000), that the genitive Case is licensed by the adnominal T, and suggested that this T absorbs the Case feature of *v*. This accounts for the fact that an accusative object cannot occur in the genitive subject construction. Then, I considered why this intervention effect is not observed with null objects. The analysis of the genitive subjects implies that null objects need not be checked for Case, and based on this, I argued that the fact constitutes supporting evidence for Kim's (1999) hypothesis that null objects can result from NP-ellipsis.

The conclusion of this chapter, if correct, raises a number of issues. First, the NP-ellipsis analysis of null objects must be made more precise. The discussion in this chapter makes this task even more challenging, since it requires the analysis to extend to the gaps in relative clauses. A more general issue is why NP-ellipsis is allowed in East Asian languages but not in, say, English. This issue is particularly interesting because it has been proposed in Saito and Murasugi (1990) and Takahashi (1994) that N'-deletion and sluicing in Japanese are subject to the same licensing conditions as their English counterparts. If ellipsis is subject to Universal Principles, as it should be, then the presence/absence of NP-ellipsis is likely to be due to a fundamental parametric difference.

Given the conclusion in this chapter, it also becomes necessary to reexamine those phenomena that have been explained on the assumption that null objects are empty pronouns. A notable case is the 'double-*o*' effect observed in examples like (45b).

- (45) a. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni/-o Nagoya-ni ik-ase-ta.
 Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT/-ACC Nagoya-DAT go-make-PAST
 'Hanako made Taroo go to Nagoya.'
 b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni/*-o biiru-o nom-ase-ta.
 Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT/-ACC beer-ACC drink-make-PAST
 'Hanako made Taroo drink beer.'

As can be seen in (45a), the causee in the causative construction can be marked either by the dative *-ni* or by the accusative *-o*. But (45b) shows that when the embedded

verb takes an accusative object, the dative *-ni* is the only option for the causee. It has been standard to exclude the double-accusative pattern in (45b) on the assumption that *v* can license only one instance of the accusative *-o*. Under this account, one of the accusatives in (45b) is left unchecked.

Interestingly, Harada (1973) and Shibatani (1973) point out that the ‘double-*o*’ effect is observed even when one of the accusative NPs is a null object, as shown in (46).

- (46) Ziroo-ga kusuri-o motteki-ta-node Hanako-ga
 Ziroo-NOM medicine-ACC bring-PAST-since Hanako-NOM
 Taroo-ni/*-o e nom-ase-ta.
 Taroo-DAT/-ACC drink-make-PAST
 ‘Since Ziroo brought a medicine, Hanako made Taroo drink it.’

This is expected if the null object is an empty pronoun and needs to have its Case checked. However, an alternative account for the ‘double-*o*’ effect is required if null objects can involve NP-ellipsis as argued in this chapter. I have to leave the discussion of these issues for another occasion, hoping that their exploration will lead to further understanding of the Japanese Case system and the mechanism of Case checking in general.

Notes

* This is a slightly revised version of the paper presented at the International Symposium on Non-Nominative Subjects held in Tokyo on December 18–21, 2001. I would like to thank Yoshio Endo, Ken Hiraiwa, Howard Lasnik and Keiko Murasugi for comments on the initial version. Abbreviations used are: ACC(usative), GEN(itive), NOM(inative), PERF(ective), PRES(ent), TOP(ic).

1. See also Watanabe (1996) for a similar proposal.
2. It will become clear in Section 2.2 why Hiraiwa considers the ‘spell-out’ of morphological accusative Case to be relevant here.
3. The peculiar properties of prenominal sentential modifiers illustrated here suggest that they are ‘nominal’ in some sense. The external argument is optional in NPs. Further, even when it is present in an NP, the object cannot bear accusative Case. But I have to leave the precise account for this parallelism for future research.
4. Miyazawa (2001), in fact, takes the parallelism between (18) and (22) as evidence for Perlmutter’s analysis of Japanese relatives. See Murasugi (2000) for a detailed, general discussion on the nature of Japanese relative clauses.

It should be mentioned here that Watanabe (1996) and Hiraiwa (2000) draw different generalizations. Watanabe argues that the absence of the intervention effect is observed not only with the gaps in relative clauses but also with those in clefts. A relevant example is shown in (i).

- (i) Taroo-ga/-no e kat-ta no-wa kono hon-o-da.
 Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST COMP-TOP this book-ACC-is
 'It is this book that Taro bought.'

As it is argued in Hoji (1989) and Murasugi (1991) that Japanese clefts involve empty operator movement, he draws the generalization that the intervention effect is lifted when the object is dislocated by operator movement. Hiraiwa, on the other hand, points out that Watanabe's generalization does not cover cases like (22). Then, he assumes instead that the effect does not obtain when the accusative Case assigned by *v* is not phonetically realized. (Hence, the formulation of (10).)

Their generalizations may turn out to be correct. However, I will not follow them here because (I) I think it has been shown quite convincingly that Japanese relative clauses need not involve operator movement, (II) there is much variation in the judgments for examples like (i), and (III) as far as I can see, further research is needed for the precise analysis of Japanese clefts.

5. Xu (1986) concludes, based on examples such as (25), that Chinese has a "free empty category," an empty category that can have any binding property.
6. See also Hoji (1998) for much relevant discussion.
7. Lasnik (2001) proposes a slightly revised analysis based on feature-movement. This analysis, too, can be readily applied to NP-ellipsis, but I will not go into the details here as it is technically more involved.

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CHAPTER 6

The indirect-influence marker in Balinese*

Asako Shiohara

1. Introduction

In many languages, one or more ‘non-canonical’ case frames are observed in transitive constructions. Non-nominative subject, the theme of this volume, is a type of this non-canonical case frames. Balinese transitive construction does not have such variations of the case frame. Instead of that, it uses a marking of the verb to indicate non-typical semantic relation between the core-NP and the transitive verb, which non-canonical case frames would indicate in other languages. This study deals with one of the devices for the marking of the verb — the suffix *-in*, which functions as the indirect-influence marker.

The suffix *-in* may be attached to various bases, such as a noun, verb, or adverb. When the base is either a ‘three-place’ transitive verb or an intransitive verb, the function of the suffix *-in* is rather clear. In the former case, it clearly marks the semantic relation between the verb and the P, while in the latter case, it functions as a causativizer. Previous studies, such as Artawa (1994), have dealt with such functions of the suffix in relation with ‘valence changing.’ But when the suffix is attached to the other kinds of base, such as a two-place transitive verb or a noun, it exhibits many other functions, depending on the nature of the base. A few descriptive studies, such as Kersten (1984) have dealt with such cases, but they only enumerate the types of its derivation. In this chapter, we will present a detailed attempt to find the shared nature of all the verbs suffixed with *-in*.

In the following section, we give an outline of the Balinese transitive construction. Section 3 will examine, in detail, the derivational process of the suffix *-in*. In the following section, I will present an assumption that the primary function of the suffix *-in* is to indicate that the semantic role of the P is the object of the indirect influence expressed by the resultant verb, and then try to explain various semantic and syntactic changes caused by the suffix, based on this assumption. When the base is a three-place transitive verb, the suffix has a secondary function as a so-called applicative. In Section 5, we will look at such cases. Section 6 is a summary.

The data for this study is drawn from several contemporary Balinese speakers, who speak a variety of dialects.¹ I also used the data from two published sources, viz. Kersten (1984) and Barber (1979).

2. Transitive construction in Balinese

Balinese has two transitive constructions, one with a verb of stem form, the other with a verb of nasal prefixed form.

- (1) cicing-é sépak tiang
 dog kick 1
 P A
 'I kick the dog.'

- (2) tiang nyépak cicing
 1 N-kick dog
 A P
 'I kick the dog.'

(1) and (2) are examples with the transitive verb *sépak*, 'kick.' The proposition expressed by the two sentences is the same. In both the constructions two morphologically unmarked NPs occur. Hereafter, the NP that has the same function as that of the agent NP will be called A, while the NP that has the same function as that of the patient NP will be called P. In (1), *cicing-é* 'dog' is P, and *tiang* 'I' is A. In (2), *tiang* 'I' is A, and *cicing* 'dog' is P.

A and P are differentiated only by their position relative to the predicate, and do not exhibit any kind of cross-reference to the verb in either construction. But Artawa (1994) argues that from the point of syntactic behaviour, such as relativization and co-referential deletion in co-ordinate clauses, each of the constructions has its preference as to which of the two NPs have privileged property, that is, such a property that the single NP has in an intransitive clause. It is the P in (1) and the A in (2). For this reason, Artawa (1994) labels the P in (1) and the A in (2) as subject. In the following part of the chapter, we will adapt this term. In addition, we will label a construction such as (1) a P O(riented) C(onstruction), while we will call a construction such as (2) an A O(riented) C(onstruction). Generally speaking, the subject tends to express the topic of the discourse. What we have seen so far is summarized in [1].

- [1] POC P \emptyset -V A
 Subject
 AOC A N-V P
 Subject

There is a strong constraint for the A to express the agent, that is, an animate being who deliberately causes the situation. The P typically expresses the patient, that is, the entity which is directly affected, but it may express various other semantic roles as well, such as the recipient and beneficiary. Such deviation is often marked on the verb; there are two markers, the suffix *-in*, and the suffix *-ang*. As mentioned above, the former is the topic of this chapter, the function of which I will elaborate on in the following sections; it typically occurs when the P expresses a semantic role such

as the recipient, source, or location. The latter occurs when the P expresses such a semantic role as the beneficiary or instrument. The latter is out of the scope of this chapter, and I will touch on it only when its function overlaps with that of the suffix *-in*, and a comparison is needed. As mentioned above, the function of the suffix *-in* is closely related to the meaning of the P. The examples given in the following part of this chapter are those of the POC, unless any notes are added, so that the reader can easily identify the P in the sentence.

3. Derivational processes of the suffix *-in*

In this section, I will examine the derivational process of the suffix *-in*. The suffix *-in* may be attached to (i) a noun, (ii) a verb, or (iii) an adverb, and it may be attached to a form which is not used as an independent word. The derivational process of the suffix *-in* still seems to be productive; one of the consultants gave examples such as *instal-in* ‘install (a software) to’ and *bom-in* ‘explode (with a bomb)’ as recent coinages. Semantic and syntactic changes caused by the suffix vary depending on the type of the base.

3.1. Noun bases

When the base is a noun, the derived verb often expresses the situation in which the referent of the noun is applied or given to something or someone.

kalung ‘necklace’	kalung-in ‘to put a necklace on someone’
kekepuh ‘saddle’	kekepuh-in ‘to saddle a horse’
tikeh ‘carpet’	tikeh-in ‘to carpet a room’
adan ‘name’	adan-in ‘to name, call’
kamula ‘capital’	kemula-in ‘to invest capital’
aji ‘price’	aji-in ‘to fix the price of’

- (3) kamar-é tikeh-in tiang
 room-the carpet-on I
 ‘I carpeted the room.’

In some cases, the resultant verb expresses the situation in which the referent of the noun is removed from something.

basang ‘guts’	basang-in ‘remove the guts out of (fish)’
kulit ‘skin’	kulit-in ‘peel’

3.2. Intransitive bases¹

When the base is an intransitive verb, the semantic type of the resultant verbs varies depending on the base. The semantic and syntactic changes caused by the suffix *-in*

may be grouped into two types, [1] causative, and [2] non-causative, with most of the bases undergoing the process of type [1]. Type [1] can, in addition, be grouped into two subtypes depending on if the causee is expressed by the P or not in the sentence of the resultant verb.

[1] Causative

[1a] P expresses the causee

Bases expressing a static situation often exhibit this pattern.

kedas 'clean'	kedas-in 'clean'
putih 'white'	putih-in 'make white'
baseg 'wet'	baseg-in 'wet'
anget 'warm'	anget-in 'heat'

- (4) kamar-é niki kedas.
 room-the this clean
 'This room is clean.'
- (5) kamar-é niki sampun kedas-in tiang
 room-the this already clean I
 'I have already cleaned the room.'

Balinese has the other suffix *-ang*, which is also used as a causativizer; it derives a causative verb productively. The *-in* suffixed verbs above have all the corresponding *-ang* suffixed form. Thus, the following sets of words are observed.

kedas-ang	kedas-in	'clean'
manis-ang	manis-in	'make sweet'
putih-ang	putih-in	'make white'
baseg-ang	baseg-in	'wet'
anget-ang	anget-in	'heat'

Most of the intransitive verbs potentially have a corresponding *-in* suffixed form and *-ang* suffixed form. However, the degree of their lexicalization differs depending on the individual bases and dialects. Also, some speakers suggest differences in meaning between the two forms for some bases. (I will touch on this point in 4.3 below.) In the present stage of study, I do not have enough data to be able to say for certain what the difference between the uses of two suffixes in such pairs consists of.

When the bases express sensation or emotion, the resultant causative verbs exhibit exceptional behaviour in that they only occur in the nasal prefixed form and do not occur with the P. They are used as intransitive verbs.

ulap 'feel dazzling'	ngulap-in 'dazzle'
genit 'feel itchy'	ngenit-in 'have an attribute to make the skin itch'
jejeh 'be scared'	nyejeh-in 'have an attribute to scare people'
sebet 'be sad'	nyebet-in 'have an attribute to make people sad'

- (6) *tiang sebet pisan*
 I feel.sad very.much
 'I feel very sad.'
- (7) *kabar-é nyebet-in pesan*
 news-the sad very.much
 'The news is very sad.'

We could attribute such exceptional behaviour to the constraint for A to be a person who deliberately causes the situation expressed, as mentioned in Section 2.

[1b] P does not express the causee

The P does not express the causee in this type. It normally expresses the place which undergoes some influence by the causee. Bases expressing the change of position or posture often exhibit this pattern.

- ulung* 'fall' *ulung-in* 'make fall to'
bah 'fall down' *bah-in* 'make something fall down on'
bangun 'get up' *bangun-in* 'build something in/ on'
- (8) *bal-é ulung.*
 ball-the fall down
 'The ball falls down.'
- (9) *méja-é ulungin tiang aji bal-é*
 table-the make.fall.to I with ball-the
 'I make the ball fall to the table.'

[2] Non-causative; the resultant verb expresses the act in which the situation to which the base refers is directed to s.t. or s.o. Only a few examples are observed.

- teka* 'come' *teka-n-in* 'visit, attend'
jegeh 'be scared' *jegeh-in* 'be scared of'
sebet 'be sad' *sebet-in* 'feel sad about'
- (10) *I Made sebet*
 I Made sad
 'I Made (personal name) feels sad.'
- (11) *I Made sebet-in tiang*
 I Made sad-about I
 'I am sad about I Made.'

Some of the verbs expressing emotion exhibit both types of change by the attachment of the suffix *-in*. For example, in the case of *sebet-in*, the *-in* suffixed form of the intransitive verb *sebet* 'be sad' has two meanings, the causative meaning ('have an attribute to make sad people'), as shown in (7) above, and the non-causative meaning ('feel sad about'), as shown in (11). But some speakers do not allow the derivation of

the latter type. That could be, again, attributed to the constraint for A to be the animate being who deliberately causes the situation, as mentioned in Section 2.

3.3. Transitive bases

In this case, the types of changes caused by the suffix are largely influenced by the meaning of the base.

3.3.1. *Semantically 'three-place' verbs*

Some transitive verbs express the situation in which three participants are presupposed. We will call them three-place verbs. Roughly, they can be divided into two types:

- (i) Those expressing action which influences one entity by way of another entity: *tanem* 'plant', *tulis* 'write', *kubkub* 'cover', *sabet* 'scatter', *entung* 'throw'
- (ii) Those expressing transfer of things: *tumbas* 'buy', *adol* 'sell', *selang* 'borrow', *bayah* 'pay', *maling* 'steal'

The suffix *-in* does not cause any major semantic changes in the bases, while syntactic changes are often caused depending on the syntactic property of the base.

- (i) Three-place verbs expressing action which influence one entity by way of another entity: most of the bases of this type co-occur with the P expressing the entity which the agent directly manipulates. The suffix *-in* causes such syntactic changes in which the derived verbs co-occur with the P expressing the entity which undergoes an indirect influence.

The original P is expressed by the prepositional phrase with *aji*, meaning 'with'. (12) and (13) are examples of *tanem* 'plant' and the *-in* suffixed verb *tanem-in* 'plant in', which is derived from it. As mentioned above, no substantial semantic difference is observed between the two sentences.

- (12) ubi-é tanem tiang di kebun-é
 potato-the plant I at field-the
 'I plant the potato in the field.'

- (13) kebun-é tanem-in tiang aji ubi-é
 field-the plant I with potato-the
 'I plant the potato in the field.'

In (12), the P refers to the entity planted, and in (13), the P refers to the place.

Some bases of type (i) co-occur with the P expressing the object of indirect influence. In these cases, any syntactic or semantic changes are not observed between the base and the resultant verb. (14) and (15) are examples of *kubkub* 'cover' and the derived verb *kubkub-in* 'cover', respectively.

- (14) jaja-n-é kubkub tiang antuk tekep
 cake-INS-the cover I with lid
 'I covered the cake with the lid.'
- (15) jaja-n-é kubkub-in tiang antuk tekep
 cake-INS-the cover I with lid
 'I covered the cake with the lid.'

(ii) Transfer of things: bases of this type all co-occur with the P expressing the object transferred, while the derived verbs co-occur with the P expressing the person who deals with the agent. That is, the syntactic change is caused by the suffix *-in*. (16) and (17) are examples of *tumbas* 'buy' and the *-in* suffixed verb *tumbasin* 'buy from', which is derived from it. No substantial semantic change is observed between the two sentences.

- (16) jajan-é tumbas tiang saking I Nyoman
 cake-the buy I from I Nyoman
 'I bought the cake from I Nyoman.'
- (17) I Nyoman tumbas-in tiang jaja-n-é
 I Nyoman buy I cake-ins-the
 'I bought the cake from I Nyoman.'

In (16), the P refers to the entity transferred, and in (17), the P refers to the person who sells it, which is expressed by the prepositional phrase with *saking* 'from.' The original P occurs with the morphologically unmarked NP, which follows A. Some speakers point out slight semantic differences between the pairs of (12)–(13) and (16)–(17). I will deal with this point in Section 5 below.

3.3.2. *Semantically 'two-place' verbs*

In this section we will look at the so-called 'two-place' bases. In this case, rather drastic semantic changes are caused.

3.3.2.1. *Influence on someone/something* When the base expresses an act in which one can easily assume some participant that is influenced by that act, the *-in* suffixed form expresses the situation in which the act is directed to someone. Such pairs include (the constituent expressing the underlined element is expressed by the P);

- kunci 'lock' kunci-in 'lock some one out'
 baca 'read' baca-in 'read to some one'
 jemak 'take' jemak-in 'take some thing from some one or somewhere'
- (18) lawang-é kunci tiang
 door-the lock I
 'I locked the door.'
- (19) I Nyoman kunci-in tiang
 I Nyoman lock out I
 'I locked out I Nyoman.'

3.3.2.2. *Partial influence* The *-in* suffixed verb may express a situation in which the referent of the P is only partially affected by the act expressed by the base. This type of semantic change is caused when the base implies the change of shape of the referent of the P.

rusak 'destroy'	rusak-in 'destroy a part of something'
getep 'cut'	getep-in 'cut out, cut off, trim'
uék 'tear'	uék-in 'tear a part of something'
lung 'break'	lung-in 'break s.t. off'
abas 'cut (a tree, grass)'	abas-in 'cut a part of something off, trim'
amah 'eat, devour'	amah-in 'nibble'
kutang 'throw away'	kutang-in 'throw away a part of something'
jait 'sew'	jait-in 'sew to repair'

- (20) baju-n-é jait tiang
 clothes-INS-the saw I
 'I sew the clothes. (I made them.)'

- (21) baju-n-é jait-in tiang
 clothes-INS-the sew I
 'I sew the clothes that needed repairing.'

3.3.2.3. *Repeated action* Some *-in* affixed verbs express a situation in which an action is repeated. Two types of subgroups are included in this category.

(i) 'Re-do' something

The *-in* suffixed verb may express a situation in which the act expressed by the base is re-done again to the same object. This type of semantic change is caused when the base implies the change of state of the referent of the P. We could get three verbs in this category — all of them denote some activity of cooking.

goréng 'fry'	goréng-in 'fry something over again'
lablag 'boil'	lablab-in 'boil something over again'
kuskus 'steam'	kukus-in 'steam something over again'

- (22) godoh nika goréng tiang.
 fried banana that fry I
 'I fried the fried banana. (I cooked it.)'

- (23) godoh nika goréng-in tiang.
 fried banana that fry-over I
 'I fried the fried banana over again.'

(ii) Do something many times:

An *-in* suffixed verb may express the situation in which the act expressed by the base is repeated many times in relation to the same object. This type of semantic change is caused when the base expresses the situation in which the referent of the P is physically affected, but the change of state or shape is not implied.

jagur 'punch'	jagur-in 'punch many times'
sépak 'kick many times'	sépak-in 'kick many times'
toktok 'hit'	toktok-in 'hit many times'
sontok 'hit'	sontok-in 'hit many times'
pukpuk 'hit'	pukpuk-in 'hit many times'
tampél 'slap'	tampél-in 'slap many times'
tigtig 'hit with a stick'	tigtig-in 'hit with a stick many times'

- (24) asu-n-é sépak tiang.
 dog-INS-the kick I
 'I kicked the dog.'

- (25) asu-n-é sépak-in tiang.
 dog-INS-the kick many times I
 'I kicked the dog many times.'

3.3.2.4. *Process for realizing the situation the base expresses* In the following cases, the suffix *-in* derives a verb expressing the process for the situation the base expresses to be realized.

alih 'go for something'	alih-in 'look for'
pilih 'take one from many things'	pilih-in 'choose'
ajak 'accompany with'	ajak-in 'invite some one to accompany'
dingeh 'hear'	dingeh-in 'listen to, prick up ones ears'
cingak 'see'	cingak-in 'look at, give attention to'

- (26) tetedaan céling jagi alih tiang.
 food pig will go.for I
 'I will go for food for the pigs.'
- (27) kalung mémé-n-é alihin tiang.
 wallet mother-INS-the look.for I
 'I am looking for my mother's wallet.'

3.3.2.5. *ajah* 'train'/*ajah-in* 'teach' The verb *ajah* 'train' expresses a situation in which someone educates someone, without specifying what is taught, while its *-in* suffixed form *ajah-in* 'teach' expresses a situation in which the subject of the education is specified. This pair shows exceptional behaviour in that it cannot be grouped into any of the categories above. I will touch upon this pair in 4.2.

3.4. Adverb base

When the base is an adverb, a major semantic change does not occur. The resultant verb expresses the same manner as the base does.

gelis	gelis-in 'to do something quickly'
alon	alon-in 'to do something slowly'

padidi padidi-in 'to do something alone'

taén taén-in 'to have the experience of doing something'

The *-in* suffixed verb of the adverb base exhibits exceptional behaviour, in that it only occurs in AOC.

- (28) I Madé mamargi alon pisan
 I Made walk slowly very
 'I Made walks very slowly.'

- (29) I Madé ngalon-in mamargi
 I Made slowly walk
 'I Made walks slowly.'

3.5. Bound forms as base

Some *-in* verbs are derived from forms which are not used as independent words. Some examples are:

- *jujuk jujuk-in 'build in'
 *laib laib-in 'run away from'
 *tongos tongos-in 'occupy, live in'
 *tegak tegak-in 'sit on'
 *kauk kauk-in 'call'

4. Suffix *-in* as 'indirect influence' marker

4.1. Primary function of the suffix *-in*

From what we have seen so far, the function of the suffix *-in* seems to vary depending on the nature of the base, and the features shared by all of the resultant verbs cannot be easily found. But let us pay attention to the semantic similarity seen among the resultant verbs derived from a noun and from a 'three-place' transitive verb. Most of them share the following three features:

- (a) The verb is a transitive verb.
- (b) The verb expresses 'indirect' influence by way of some kind of medium.
- (c) The P expresses the object of the indirect influence in the sentence.

Let us assume that the primary functions of the suffix *-in* are to indicate that the resultant verb has the three features listed above. If we think along these lines, the derivational process from the noun base can be interpreted as follows. A noun and the corresponding denominal verb can exhibit various semantic patterns in this language. But the suffix *-in* appoints only one type among them, that is, the correspondence in which the resultant verbs express the situation in which the referent of the P

undergoes indirect influence by way of the referent of the noun, so that the resultant verb fills the condition (a)–(c). Thus, from the noun *kekepuh* ‘saddle’, *kekepuhin* ‘saddle to’ is derived. As is easily expected from the fact above, most of the lexicalized denominative *-in* suffixed verbs are derived from nouns expressing things which are made to be applied to somewhere (e.g., *kasur* ‘mattress’ (> equip a mattress in)), or things which are supposed to be applied to something as its nature (e.g., *aji* ‘price’ (> *aji-in* ‘price’), or *isi* ‘content’ (> *isi-in* ‘fill’)). But nouns which do not have such properties can be bases, and the resultant verbs will have the features (a)–(c) above. For example, the noun *lemari* ‘shelf’ or *méja* ‘table’ can be a base, though the resultant verbs are not lexicalized; the referent of the base is an object upon which something is placed, the resultant verb expresses the situation in which the shelf or table itself is placed in some location.

Next, let us see the derivation from the three-place transitive verbs. Three-place verbs potentially express ‘indirect influence,’ in that the situation expressed by them presupposes the three participants, that is, the agent, the object of the indirect influence, and the medium. As shown in 3.3.1, such a semantic feature is not changed from the attachment of the suffix *-in*. From this fact, we can assume that when the base inherently has the feature of (a)–(c), such features remain unchanged by the attachment of the suffix *-in*: Some of the three-place verbs have all of the features (a)–(c). In this case, the suffix does not cause any semantic and syntactic change to them. Such verbs include: *tusuk* ‘stab’, *ukur* ‘measure’, and *kubkub* ‘cover’. Most three-place verbs have feature (b), but lack (c): For example, the verb *tumbas* ‘buy’ and *tanem* ‘plant’ are transitive verbs which potentially express ‘indirect influence.’ However, the P does not express the object of the indirect influence in the sentences of such verbs. As shown above, to such bases the suffix *-in* causes only a syntactic change, as a result of which the P expresses the object of indirect influence. Thus, a syntactic contrast as shown in (12)–(13) and (16)–(17) is observed. A major semantic change is not caused.

Two assumptions given above enable us to explain the derivation from an adverb. Normally an adverb expresses a manner. We could suppose that the concept of ‘medium’ in (b) is extended from the concrete entity to the abstract manner, which gives an indirect influence to a situation in this case. If we suppose so, we can say that an adverb base shares the feature (b), but lacks the features (a) and (c), and it is these features that the attachment of the suffix *-in* gives to the base. Thus, a transitive verb which co-occurs with the P referring to the situation which is realized in the manner is derived.

So far, we have seen that the derivational process from a noun, a three-place transitive verb, and an adverb can be explained if we assume that the primary function of the suffix *-in* is to indicate the features (a)–(c) on the resultant verb. In the following two sections, I would like to show that it is possible to explain that derivational process from a two place transitive verb and from an intransitive verb by extending the above assumption.

4.2. Derivation from ‘two-place’ transitive verbs

As shown in 3.3.2 above, when the base is semantically two-place transitive, various semantic changes occur. The types of resultant verbs may be grouped into the following four types.

- (i) Influence to someone/ something
- (ii) Partial influence
- (iii) Repeated situation
- (iv) Process of cognition

I would like to assume that the semantic change grouped into the verbs of types (i) and (ii) can directly be explained by the primary function of the suffix *-in*, while those grouped into types (iii) and (iv) arise as an extension from the semantic change into type (ii). First, let us look at type (i) and (ii). In 4.1, we assumed that the primary function of the suffix *-in* is to indicate that the verb expresses ‘indirect influence’ by way of some kind of medium, and that the attachment of the suffix *-in* may adjust the meaning of the base, so that the resultant verb has the features above. Principally, ‘indirect influence’ which the suffix *-in* will indicate needs three participants, that is, the agent, medium, and the object of the indirect influence. So when the base is ‘two place,’ such an adjustment to create the third participant is needed. Principally, three types of creation can be supposed. That is:

- (a) introducing the object of indirect influence into the situation expressed by the base;²
- (b) Introducing the medium into the situation expressed by the base; and
- (c) seeing the original P as an object of indirect influence in the situation expressed by the base

A semantic change of type (i) is considered as a result of the adjustment (a). For example, the verb *baca* ‘read’ expresses the situation in which just two participants are presupposed. The attachment of the suffix *-in* to the verb adjusts its meaning by introducing the new participant as an object of indirect influence. The resultant verb *baca-in*, thus, expresses ‘to read to someone.’

A semantic change of type (ii) is considered as a result of a semantic adjustment of type (c). We could see the situation of partial influence as that in which the referent of P is indirectly influenced by way of the part of it which is directly affected. For example, the verb *getep* ‘cut’ expresses the situation in which the referent of the P is cut into two pieces. The attachment of the suffix *-in* to the verb adjusts its meaning by seeing the original patient as the object of the indirect influence. The resultant verb *getep-in* thus expresses the situation of giving indirect influence to something by cutting a part of it.

The participant creation of type (b) is observed only in one pair, *ajah* ‘train’ and *ajah-in* ‘teach.’ The verb *ajah* ‘train’ expresses a situation in which someone educates someone, without specifying what is taught, while its *-in* suffixed form *ajah-in* ‘teach’

expresses a situation in which the subject of the education is specified. In this case, we could consider the subject of the education as a medium, which is introduced to the situation expressed by the base.

As shown in 3.3.2, some transitive verbs derive a verb expressing repeated action. Some of them express ‘doing something over again’, e.g., *goréng* ‘fry’ > *goréng-in* ‘fry something over again,’ while some of them express ‘doing the action many times,’ e.g., *jagur* ‘hit’ > *jagur-in* ‘hit many times.’

The former type can be taken as an extension from the derivation pattern of type (iii), that which derives a verb expressing partial influence. We could say that the verbs of the do-it-over type express a similar situation as those expressing partial influence, in that they express a situation in which an unremarkable change of state is caused. Frying food for the first time will change its state totally — from inedible to edible. But frying the food over again does not cause such a drastic change. For that reason, an implication such as ‘re-doing’ arises to some bases. The latter type, those which express a situation in which ‘the action is done many times,’ can be taken as an extension from the former pattern of ‘do-it-over.’ Some *-in* suffixed verbs express the process of cognition when a situation expressed by the base is realized, e.g., *alih* ‘go for something’ > *alih-in* ‘look for,’ *pilih* ‘take one from many things’ > *pilih-in* ‘choose.’ This type of derivation, again, can be taken as an extension from the ‘partial influence’ type, if we assume the process of cognition to be part of the steps needed for the situation expressed by the base to be realized.

4.3. Derivation from intransitive verbs

As shown in 3.2, derivation from intransitive verbs can be grouped into the following types.

[1] Causative type

- (a) P expresses the causee: *baseg* ‘wet’ > *baseg-in* ‘wet,’ *anget* ‘warm’ > *anget-in* ‘heat.’
- (b) P does not express the causee: *ulung* ‘fall’ > *ulung-in* ‘make fall to,’ *bah* ‘fall down’ > *bah-in* ‘make some thing fall down on.’

[2] Non-causative type

teka ‘come’ > *teka-n-in* ‘visit, attend,’ *jejeh* ‘be scared’ > *jejeh-in* ‘be scared of’

Verbs of type [1b] clearly reflect the function of the suffix *-in* that we assume in 4.1; they express the situation in which the referent of the P undergoes indirect influence by way of the causee. But the verbs of type [1a] and those of type [2] do not imply indirect influence to the P. Semantic change of this type could be explained if we think that an intransitive base undergoes derivational processes similar to those applied to a noun base. As shown in 4.1, when a noun is a base, the *-in* suffixed verb expresses the situation in which the referent of the base is treated as a ‘medium’ in the indirect influence. If we think, similarly, that the property which an intransitive base expresses is treated as a ‘medium,’ which is applied or provided to the referent

of the P, we could explain the connotation of causative which is observed in the resultant *-in* suffixed verbs.³

As mentioned in 3.2, most intransitive verbs potentially have a corresponding *-in* suffixed form and *-ang* suffixed form, and the two forms express a similar situation. For example, verbs in the pair below express quite a similar meaning.

kedas-ang 'clean'	kedas-in 'clean, remove the dirt'
putih-ang 'make white'	putih-in 'make white (with paint)'
baseg-ang 'wet'	baseg-in 'make wet (with water)'
anget-ang 'heat'	anget-in 'heat'

But some speakers suggest that there is a tendency for the *-in* suffixed forms to express indirect influence, while the *-ang* suffixed forms do not have such implication. For example, some speakers suggest that *beseg-in* 'wet' expresses a situation such as throwing water on something, not soaking it in water, while *kedas-ang* can express both of these situations. We could guess that such implications arise by analogy with the meaning shared by many other *-in* suffixed verbs, that is, expressing indirect influence by way of some medium.

5. Function as 'applicative'

So far, we have seen that the suffix *-in* functions as the 'indirect influence' marker. When the base is a three-place transitive verb, the suffix *-in* seems to have the secondary function as so-called applicative. I will again give examples of the three-place verbs.

- (30) ubi-é tanem tiang di kebun-é (= (12))
 potato-the plant I at field-the
 'I plant the potato in the field.'
- (31) kebun-é tanem-in tiang aji ubi-é (= (13))
 field-the plant-in I with potato-the
 'I plant the potato in the field.'
- (32) jajan-é tumbas tiang saking I Nyoman (= (16))
 cake-the buy I from I Nyoman
 'I bought the cake from I Nyoman.'
- (33) I Nyoman tumbas-in tiang jaja-n-é (= (17))
 I Nyoman buy-from I cake-INS-the
 'I bought the cake from I Nyoman.'

In (30), in which the stem form of the verb is used, the P denotes the entity planted, while in (31), in which the *-in* suffixed form of the verb is used, the P denotes the place. And in (32), in which the stem form of the verb is used, the P denotes the

entity transferred, and in (33), in which the *-in* suffixed form of the verb is used, the P denotes the person who sells it.

Artawa (1994) and Austin (2001) deal with valence changing in Balinese, and apply the label “applicative” to the suffix *-in* in sentences like (31) and (33). The term “applicative” is used by various scholars with various theoretical implications. However, it is generally agreed that this term implies the process to promote a peripheral constituent to the P, and as is clear from (31) and (33), the suffix *-in* takes part in that process. It should be noted, however, that the function as an applicative is a reflection of the primary function of the suffix *-in* as an indirect-influence marker, and the label applicative covers only a part of the functions the suffix has.

As mentioned in 3.3.1, the pairs (30) and (31), and (32) and (33) expresses almost the same proposition, respectively. But one of the consultants suggested semantic differences between them. His impression is that sentence (30) expresses the situation ‘I plant the potato in the field’ neutrally, but sentence (31) expresses the fact that an agent plants the potatoes in order to utilize the field, or that potatoes are planted in the entire field. A similar difference is reported between (32) and (33), that is, the consultant’s impression is that sentence (32) expresses the proposition ‘I buy the cake from I Nyoman’ neutrally, while sentence (33) expresses a situation in which the agent does the deal for the purpose of benefiting the seller, or that the agent does the deal with the seller periodically.

In both cases, the consultant suggested that the sentence with the *-in* suffix verb gives the impression that (i) the act is carried out with the intent to influence the referent of the P, rather than to the object directly affected, or (ii) the referent of the P undergoes remarkable influence by the act. We cannot attribute such semantic differences to the meaning of the individual *-in* suffixed verb itself, as the speakers suggest that such differences exist only in the sentence pairs like (30)–(31), and (32)–(33) above, and not in the pairs of the basic verb and the *-in* suffixed verbs.

We could suppose that such differences are caused by two factors. One is the property of the P in transitive construction. The P tends to express what is taken as the topic, especially as it occurs as the subject in POC (see Section 2). We could think that the consultant considers such situation as (i) and (ii) to be typical ones, in which the object of the indirect influence may be treated as such. The other factor is that the suffix *-in* explicitly indicates that the verb expresses an indirect influence. The situation of buying and planting potentially includes two aspects, that of direct influence and that of indirect influence. Marking by the suffix *-in* may emphasize the latter aspect, and such an emphasis may be connected to impressions like (i) and (ii) above.

6. Summary

We have seen the function of the suffix *-in*. The suffix *-in* is used to indicate the following three points.

- (i) The verb is a transitive verb.
- (ii) The verb expresses 'indirect' influence to something or someone.
- (iii) The P expresses the object of the indirect influence in the sentence.

The semantic relations the suffix *-in* marks are often indicated by 'dependent marking,' that is, by the case marking of the P, most often by the dative case in many other languages. Givón (2001: 197–231) treats this type of verbal affix as the 'verb coding of case-roles.' He suggests that such coding violates universal predictions concerning the relevance of case-marking to nouns rather than verbs, and explains the mechanism by which such violations arise: The case-marking of NP is motivated by three adaptive pressures, (a) the need to code semantic roles, (b) the need to code pragmatic functions, and (c) the need to code transitivity. These three pressures are potentially in conflict, as most languages allow only one case-marker per argument, and the grammaticalization of either the subject and DO [Direct Object] tilts nominal case-marking towards the pragmatics of topicality. As a result of this, the marking of semantic roles on the verbs in order to accommodate both competing motivations occurs. Verb marking by the suffix *-in* in this language seems to be explained by the same mechanism. Balinese transitive construction has a strong tendency to keep two highly topical NPs (the A and the P) morphologically unmarked. Verb coding by the suffix *-in* makes up for the lack of a device indicating their semantic role on NP.

Abbreviations and notations

A: the NP that has the same syntactic function as the agent NP in the transitive constructions; AOC: A-Oriented Construction; INS: the sound *n* that is inserted between the suffix and the base, when the base ends with a vowel and the suffix begins with a vowel; P: the NP that has the same syntactic function as the patient NP in the transitive constructions; POC: P-Oriented Construction.

Notes

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1. It seems that there are not enough syntactic or morphological grounds to distinguish the

differences between adjectives and intransitive verbs as a grammatical category. What are called intransitive verbs in this chapter contain words which refer to a static situation, the counterpart of which would belong to the category of adjectives in other languages.

2. But beneficiary, which one would most easily suppose as an object of 'indirect influence,' is introduced by another suffix *-ang*, not the suffix *-in*, as mentioned in Section 2.

3. As shown in Section 3.2, some intransitive verbs expressing emotion may undergo either the derivational process of causative pattern or that of non-causative pattern. Two examples are shown below.

- (a) *jejeh* 'be scared': *jejeh-in* 'be scared of,' 'have the property of scaring people'
- (b) *sebet* 'be sad': *sebet-in* 'feel sad about,' 'have the property of making people sad'

A situation in which an experiencer has an emotion can generally be interpreted in two ways; the experiencer directs the emotion to some entity, or the stimulus influences the experiencer. We can say that the two types of the interpretations reflect to the two patterns of the derivations.

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CHAPTER 7

Icelandic non-nominative subjects

Facts and implications

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson

Introduction

In this chapter I shall describe oblique subjects in Icelandic and discuss some of their theoretical implications.¹ It has become customary to refer to these subjects as ‘quirky’. Oblique subject-like arguments in many other languages, e.g. Latin, German and Russian, have, on the other hand, often been referred to as ‘quasi-subjects’, ‘logical subjects’ or ‘impersonal arguments’. Instead of these terms, I shall be using the terms **non-nominative subjects** and **subject-like non-nominatives**, abbreviated NNSs and SNNs, respectively:

- (1) a. NNSs = non-nominative subjects (as in Icelandic)
- b. SNNs = subject-like non-nominatives (as in German, etc.)

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 1 gives a general description of the NNSs phenomenon in Icelandic. In Section 2, I illustrate that Icelandic NNSs behave like ordinary nominative subjects with respect to various syntactic phenomena such as conjunction reduction, control, reflexivization and so on. In Section 3, I briefly illustrate the well-known fact that Icelandic NNSs are ‘more subject-like’ than subject-like non-nominatives (SNNs) in many other languages, e.g. German. Section 4 discusses the impact of this cross-linguistic difference in the ‘subjectness’ of NNSs/SNNs. In particular, I shall argue against the idea that Icelandic NNSs differ from similar arguments in e.g. German by matching or being assigned nominative case — in addition to their non-nominative morphological case. The idea of double case-marking is a priori quite plausible, but, as for Icelandic, it is empirically refuted. That is, given that subjects, including NNSs, do check or match some abstract structural feature *F*, Icelandic illustrates that the structural matching in question is *not* tantamount to nominative case — a result that is not surprising if nominative case is licensed vP-internally, as I have argued elsewhere (Sigurðsson 2000, 2003). Interestingly, however, an account that is conceptually very close to the double case approach is strongly suggested by the facts: Although Icelandic NNSs do not enter into an invisible case-relation with the finite verb, they do enter into another (largely invisible) relation with it, namely *Person Matching*. This has far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the syntactic computation and the role of case and other features in it, discussed in Section 5. In particular, we need to

restate the minimalist approach to phases and the computation in ‘functionalistic’ terms, including the central notions of the Speech Phrase and the Event Phrase. This ‘functionalistic turn’ of the approach is an interesting but also a somewhat surprising result. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

1. A descriptive overview

Icelandic has all the familiar properties of accusative languages: Nominative subjects, accusative objects, verb and predicate agreement with nominatives, passive accusative “absorption” and NP-movement in the passive as well as in various unaccusative and raising constructions. However, as has been widely discussed, Icelandic also has numerous NNSs, that is, dative, accusative or genitive subjects.² This is illustrated for datives in (2b), (3b), (4) and (5):

Active–passive pairs (Nom–V–*Oblique*_i, vs. *Oblique*_i–V):

- (2) a. Við hjálpuðum **stelpunum**.
 we.NOM helped girls.the.DAT
 b. **Stelpunum** var hjálpað.
 girls.the.DAT was helped
 ‘The girls were helped.’

Transitive–unaccusative pairs (Nom–V–*Oblique*_i, vs. *Oblique*_i–V):

- (3) a. Þið seinkuðuð **ferðunum**.
 you.NOM delayed journeys.the.DAT
 b. **Ferðunum** seinkaði.
 journeys.the.DAT was.delayed
 ‘The journeys (were) delayed.’

Unaccusative predicates:

- (4) a. **Þeim** er kalt.
 them.DAT is cold
 ‘They are freezing.’
 b. **Henni** fór fram.
 her.DAT went forth
 ‘She got better.’

Raising constructions:

- (5) a. **Þeim** virðist [hafa verið hjálpað].
 them.DAT seems have been helped
 ‘They seem to have been helped.’
 b. Ég mundi þá telja [**þeim** virðast [hafa verið hjálpað]].
 I would then believe them.DAT seem have been helped
 ‘I would then believe them to seem to have been helped.’

All NNSs of passives and many NNSs of unaccusatives correspond to (and have the same morphological case and theta-role as) objects of corresponding transitives and causatives, as illustrated in (2) and (3). Thus, there is clear evidence that at least many NNSs are derived. If so, they obviously have interesting implications for case-theoretic approaches to subjecthood, NP-movement and EPP.

In the statistical research on Icelandic case-marking reported in Barðdal (2001; see, in particular, p. 89), around 93–4% of all subjects turned out to be nominative, 4–6% dative (depending on text-types, highest in the spoken language), 1.2% accusative and only 0.2% genitive. Nonetheless, the ‘NNS-phenomenon’ is a pervasive trait of the language, found in a wide variety of constructions. Thus, almost all types of lexical items that can head a predicate include some items that select an oblique subject, rather than a nominative one.³ The list in (6) is not exhaustive:⁴

(6)	Predicate type	NNS case
a.	Monadic verbs:	Dat, Acc or (rarely) Gen
b.	Acc–Acc verbs:	Acc
c.	Acc–Infinitive/Clause verbs:	Acc
d.	Dat–Nom verbs:	Dat
e.	Dat–Infinitive/Clause verbs:	Dat
f.	Particle verbs:	Dat or Acc
g.	Predicative adjectives:	Dat
h.	Predicative nouns:	Dat or Gen
i.	Monadic passives:	Dat or Gen
j.	Dyadic passives:	Dat
k.	Present participles:	Dat or Gen
l.	Unaccusativized infinitives:	Dat, Acc or Gen

These different types are exemplified in (7) (the nominative *hún* ‘she’ is out in all cases):

(7) a.	Hana þyrstir. her.ACC thirsts ‘She is thirsty.’	Monadic verb
b.	Hana vantaði peninga. her.ACC lacked money.ACC ‘She lacked money.’	Acc–Acc verb
c.	Hana grunar að hann fari. her.ACC suspects that he leaves ‘She suspects that he will leave.’	Acc–Clause verb
d.	Henni líkuðu hestarnir. her.DAT liked horses.the.NOM ‘She liked the horses.’	Dat–Nom verb

- e. **Henni** virtust þeir vera horfnir. Dat–Infinitive/Clause verb
her.DAT seemed they.NOM be disappeared
‘They seemed to her to have disappeared.’
- f. **Henni** varð þetta á. Particle verb
her.DAT became this.NOM on
‘She did this wrongdoing (by mistake).’
- g. **Henni** var óglatt. Predicative adjective
her.DAT was nauseated
‘She was nauseated.’
- h. **Henni** var engin vorkunn. Predicative noun
her.DAT was no pity.NOM
‘There was no reason to pity her.’
- i. **Hennar** var saknað. Monadic passive
her.GEN was missed
‘She was missed (by someone).’
- j. **Henni** voru gefnar bækurnar. Dyadic passive
her.DAT were given books.the.NOM
‘She was given the books.’
- k. **Henni** er ekki bjóðandi. Present participle
her.DAT is not inviting
‘She is not invitable.’
- l. **Hana** er hvergi að finna. Unaccusativized infinitive
her.ACC is nowhere to find
‘She is nowhere to be found.’

In addition, some of these types have two or more subtypes, but I shall not detail here (for a more thorough description, see Sigurðsson 1989, Jónsson 1997–1998).

It is well-known that semantics affect case selection of both subjects and objects in Icelandic (for some discussion, see Einarsson 1949, Kress 1982, Barðdal 1993, 2001, Jónsson 1997–1998, 2000, 2001, Maling 1998, Svenonius 2002, Sigurðsson 2003). Thus, agentive subjects are exclusively in the nominative, while experiencer subjects tend more strongly to be dative than do other subjects. However, Icelandic differs from many other case languages, such as Finnish and Russian, and to a certain extent even German and Latin, in that it very frequently applies inherent case-marking that is not (or at least not obviously) predictable. This can be extensively illustrated by examples like (8) and (9) below:

- (8) a. **Við** þurftum vinnu.
we.NOM needed job.ACC
‘We needed a job.’
- b. **Okkur** vantaði vinnu.
us.ACC lacked job.ACC
‘We lacked/were in need of a job.’

- (9) a. **Hún** skelfist hættuna.
 she.NOM is.terrified.by danger.the.ACC
 'She is terrified/horrified by the danger.'
- b. **Hana** hryllir við hættunni.
 her.ACC is.horrified by danger.the.DAT
 'She is horrified by the danger.'
- c. **Henni** ógnar hættan.
 her.DAT terrifies danger.the.NOM
 'She is terrified/horrified by the danger.'

2. Subject properties of Icelandic NNSs

Traditionally, Icelandic NNSs were referred to as 'quasi-subjects' or as 'logical subjects' (e.g. Einarsson 1949: 167 ff.), the idea behind that terminology being that these arguments are 'semantically subject-like' but 'syntactically non-subject-like'. As first argued by Andrews (1976), however, they behave like ordinary nominative subjects with respect to various *syntactic* subjecthood tests or diagnostics, such as reflexivization, word order phenomena and so on. This was further established by Thráinsson (1979) and later by Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson (1985), Sigurðsson (1989) and many others.

Sigurðsson (1989: 204–5) contains a list of 11 tests of subjecthood in Icelandic, all passed by NNSs as well as by nominative subjects, in contrast to objects (and 16 such tests are listed in Sigurðsson 1997: 302). I shall limit myself to briefly illustrating this for the following seven phenomena:

- I. Reflexivization
- II. Subject–verb Inversion (in V1 and V2 environments)
- III. Control (i.e. being a controllee)
- IV. Conjunction Reduction
- V. Exceptional Case-Marking
- VI. Raising
- VII. Subject floating

I. *Reflexivization*. Subjects normally trigger obligatory reflexivization, whereas objects at best allow optional reflexivization. NNSs behave like ordinary subjects in this respect:

- (10) **Henni**_i leiðist bókinn **sín**_i/*hennar_i.
 her.DAT bores book.the.NOM self's/*her
 'She finds her (own) book boring.'

II. *Subject–verb Inversion*. As in the other Germanic Verb-Second (V2) languages, the subject 'inverts' with the finite verb of the clause in V2 and V1 environments. In this respect, NNSs behave like ordinary nominative subjects; notice that Icelan-

dic, unlike e.g. German, is an SVO language — and thus the post-finite ('second' or 'third') position is an unequivocal subject position (by and large as in the other Scandinavian languages):

- (11) a. Þá hefur **henni** líklega leiðst bókin.
 then has her.DAT probably bored book.the.NOM
 'Then, she has probably found the book boring.'
 b. Hefur **henni** leiðst bókin?
 has her.DAT bored book.the.NOM
 'Has she found the book boring?'

III. *Control*. In sharp contrast to objects, NNSs behave like ordinary nominative subjects in that they can be represented by PRO:⁵

- (12) **Hún** vonast til [að PRO leiðast ekki bókin].
 she hopes for to PRO.DAT bore not book.the.NOM
 'She hopes not to find the book boring.'

IV. *Conjunction Reduction*. Also in contrast to objects but like nominative subjects, NNSs are acceptable as the missing argument in a conjunct, even when coreferential with a nominative 'antecedent':

- (13) **Hún** var syfuð og (**henni**) leiddist bókin.
 she.NOM was sleepy and (her.DAT) bored book.the.NOM
 'She was sleepy and found the book boring.'

V. *Exceptional Case-Marking* (ECM). NNSs have access to the subject position in ECM-infinitives, like structurally case-marked subjects but unlike objects:

- (14) Ég mundi telja [**henni** hafa leiðst bókin].
 I would believe her.DAT have bored book.the.NOM
 'I would believe her to have found the book boring.'

VI. *Raising*. NNSs raise in the same way as ordinary raising nominatives, not only in passives but also with raising predicates of the *seem*-type:

- (15) a. **Henni** virðist [hafa leiðst bókin].
 her.DAT seems have bored book.the.NOM
 'She seems to have found the book boring.'
 b. **Henni** virðist [hafa verið hjálpað].
 her.DAT seems have been helped
 'She seems to have been helped.'
 c. **Henni** virðist [hafa verið talið [hafa verið hjálpað]].
 her.DAT seems have been believed have been helped
 'She seems to have been believed to have been helped.'

VII. *Subject Floating*. On standard assumptions both ECM and raising involve NP-movement to the 'closest available subject position', and, as we have seen, both apply

to NNSs. In general, NNSs behave *exactly* the same as nominative subjects with respect to both NP-movement and absence of NP-movement. Consider the sentence in (16), where the only possible postverbal position of the pronominal subject is the one it is occupying:

- (16) Því mundi hann þá sennilega ekki verða seldur á uppboðinu.
 thus would he/it.NOM then probably not be sold at auction.the
 ‘Thus, he/it would then probably not be sold at the auction.’

In contrast, indefinite subjects can occupy various ‘late’ or ‘low’ positions, irrespective of their case (e.g. Sigurðsson 1989: 304 ff., 1991, 2000; Jónsson 1996). Thus, all the slot positions in (17) are accessible to indefinite subjects, a phenomenon that I refer to as *Subject Floating*; the initial ‘X’ ranges over the expletive *það* ‘there, it’, certain front or fronted elements like *því* ‘thus’ in (16) and zero (in V1 constructions):

- (17) X would ___ then ___ probably ___ not ___ be sold ___ at auction.the

This is illustrated for nominative subjects in (18):

- (18) a. Það mundu einhverjir bátar þá sennilega ekki verða seldir
 there would some boats.NOM then probably not be sold
 á uppboðinu.
 at auction-the
 ‘Some boats would then probably not be sold at the auction.’
 b. Það mundu þá einhverjir bátar sennilega ekki verða seldir á upp-
 boðinu.
 c. Það mundu þá sennilega einhverjir bátar ekki verða seldir á upp-
 boðinu.
 d. Það mundu þá sennilega ekki margir bátar verða seldir á
 there would then probably not many boats.NOM be sold at
 uppboðinu.
 auction-the
 e. Það mundu þá sennilega ekki verða seldir bátar á uppboðinu.
 there would then probably not be sold boats.NOM at auction.the

Notice that ‘some boats’ would be questionable or awkward in (18d) and (18e), hence the shift to ‘many boats’ and ‘boats’ (see the discussion in Sigurðsson 2000: 83–4). *Exactly* parallel facts are seen for the dative subject in (19), including this shift to ‘many boats’ and ‘boats’:

- (19) a. Það mundi einhverjum bátum þá sennilega ekki verða stolið
 there would some boats.DAT then probably not be stolen
 á uppboðinu.
 at auction.the
 ‘Some boats would then probably not be stolen at the auction.’

- b. Það mundi þá **einhverjum bátum** sennilega ekki verða stolið á uppboðinu.
- c. Það mundi þá sennilega **einhverjum bátum** ekki verða stolið á uppboðinu.
- d. Það mundi þá sennilega ekki **mörgum bátum** verða stolið á there would then probably not many boats.DAT be stolen at uppboðinu. auction.the
'Many boats would then probably not be stolen at the auction.'
- e. Það mundi þá sennilega ekki verða stolið **bátum** á there would then probably not be stolen boats.DAT at uppboðinu. auction.the
'Boats would then probably not be stolen at the auction.'

Importantly, not just any position is available to floating subjects. Thus, as illustrated in part in (20), all positions between non-finite verb forms are excluded for all subjects, irrespective of case (Icelandic thus differing from e.g. English, cf. Sigurðsson 1991):

- (20) a. *Það mundu þá sennilega ekki verða **bátar** seldir á uppboðinu. there would then probably not be boats.NOM sold at auction.the
- b. *Það mundi þá sennilega ekki verða **bátum** stolið á uppboðinu. there would then probably not be boats.dat stolen at auction.the

There are some semantic differences between the accessible positions in (18) and (19), depending on or involving factors like quantification and polarity. Crucially, however, the behavior of DPs with respect to NP-movement and absence of NP-movement is entirely independent of case.

3. The Icelandic–German dichotomy

Many languages other than Icelandic have or have had subject-like non-nominatives (SNNs), for instance Latin, Russian, Old-English and other Older Germanic languages as well as modern German, to mention only a few ‘relatives’ of Icelandic. Consider the German examples in (21) and their Icelandic counterparts in (22):

- (21) a. **Mir** ist kalt. (German)
me.DAT is cold
'I am freezing.'
- b. **Mir** wurde geholfen.
me.DAT was helped
'I was helped (by somebody).'

- (22) a. *Mér* er kalt. (Icelandic)
 me.DAT is cold
 'I am freezing.'
 b. *Mér* var hjálpað.
 me.DAT was helped
 'I was helped (by somebody).'

However, while Icelandic NNSs mostly behave syntactically like canonical subjects in Icelandic, German SNNs do not behave like canonical subjects in German. Thus, many Icelandic NNSs constructions can easily be embedded under control verbs, as in (23), whereas similar German constructions cannot, as seen in (24):⁶

- (23) *Ég vonaðist til [að verða hjálpað].*
 I hoped for to be helped (i.e. to PRO.DAT be helped)
 'I hoped to be helped.'
 (24) **Ich hoffte [geholffen zu werden].*
 I hoped helped to be (i.e. *PRO.DAT helped to be)

Similarly, many Icelandic NNSs 'participate' in Conjunction Reduction (as we have seen), whereas German SNNs do not:

- (25) *Ég hafði mikið að gera og (mér) var samt ekki hjálpað.*
 I.NOM had much to do and (me.DAT) was nonetheless not helped
 'I had a lot to do and (I) was nonetheless not helped.'
 (26) *Ich hatte viel zu tun, und *(mir) wurde trotzdem nicht geholfen.*
 I.NOM had much to do and (me.DAT) was nonetheless not helped
 helped

Thus, German SNNs behave 'less subject-like' than do Icelandic NNSs. The same is true of SNNs in many other languages, for instance most Russian SNNs (see the Icelandic–Russian comparison in Sigurðsson 2002a).

4. To be a 'subject'

There is more than one way of conceiving of the Icelandic–German dichotomy with respect to NNSs/SNNs. One is to say that the subjecthood tests discussed above have a narrower scope in German than in Icelandic, such that they test nominative case or some other property in addition to subjecthood, whereas they only test 'plain subjecthood' in Icelandic. If so, German SNNs might be no less subjects than are Icelandic NNSs. Alternatively, one could say that German SNNs indeed are non-subjects, in contrast with Icelandic NNSs. The latter view has long been the standard one within generative syntax (see e.g. Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson

1985, Sigurðsson 1989). A third view is to say that subjecthood is not a primitive of language (Chomsky 1981: 10) and hence does not and could not decide or control features or properties of grammar, such as reflexivization, control, word order, case-marking and so on (this is the standpoint taken in Sigurðsson 2002a). On this view, however, one would expect there to be some ‘hidden’, more atomic property or feature that is involved in both what is usually understood to be ‘subjecthood’ as well as in various of the phenomena that have been taken to be tests on ‘subjecthood’ (reflexivization, etc.). This feature, I will argue in the following, is *Person* — not Case, as often assumed.

NNSs are often thought of as bearing double case, that is, their inherent morphological case (m-case) plus an invisible structural case feature. On this view, it would seem natural to assume that structural nominative case is carried by *pro* in German SNNs-structures, whereas it is carried by the overt argument in Icelandic, as sketched in (27):

- (27) a. me.DAT_i would **pro**.NOM t_i freezing be ?German
 b. me.DAT.NOM_i would t_i be t_i freezing ?Icelandic

Let us refer to the approach in (27b) as the *Double Case Approach* (DCA) to Icelandic NNSs (assumed by e.g. Jónsson 1996: 122 ff.). As we shall see, it cannot be maintained on a morphological understanding of the notion ‘double case’. That is, Icelandic NNSs plausibly and arguably *do* match the *same* ‘subjecthood’ feature as nominative subjects, but the feature in question is *not* nominative case.

DCA is not a priori implausible. It is at least clear that m-case is not always visible even if it arguably is ‘active’. Thus, for instance, complex NPs usually only show their case partially. Consider (28):

- (28) a. Ég las [bókina [nýútkomna]].
 I read book.the.ACC new.out.come.ACC
 ‘I read the book when it had just come out.’
 b. Ég las [bókina [í kápunni]].
 I read book.the.ACC in cover.the.DAT
 ‘I read the book in the cover.’
 c. Ég las [bókina [sem þú sagðir mér frá]].
 I read book.the.ACC that you.NOM told me.DAT from
 ‘I read the book you told me about.’

Obviously, the accusative ‘is there’ on the whole object DP in not only (28a) but also in (28b) and (28c), although it is only ‘partly visible’ there.⁷ — Furthermore, there is evidence that some languages do apply double m-case marking of subjects under certain circumstances (see below). However, in spite of not being a priori implausible, the Double Case Approach to Icelandic NNSs is empirically refuted.

The refuting evidence comes primarily from Dat-Nom and Dat-Infinitive constructions, as in (29):

- (29) a. Henni höfðu ekki líkað **hestarnir**/*hestana.
 her.DAT had.3PL not liked horses.the.NOM/*ACC
 'She had not liked the horses.'
- b. Henni voru gefnir **hestarnir**/*hestana.
 her.DAT were.3PL given horses.the.NOM/*ACC
 'She was given the horses.'
- c. Henni virtust **hestarnir**/*hestana vera of dýrir.
 her.DAT seemed.3PL horses.the.NOM/*ACC be too expensive
 'The horses seemed (to be) too expensive to her.'

The datives, and not the nominatives, in examples of this sort are the matrix subjects (see e.g. Sigurðsson 1989: 95 ff., 1996). Nonetheless, the nominative objects in (29a–b) and the nominative infinitival subject in (29c) control number agreement of the finite verb, as seen. Evidently, these 'low' nominatives, and not the dative subjects, carry the structural (morphological) nominative of these structures.

Consider the clause in (29a) = (30a) and its English translation in (30b):

- (30) a. **Henni**.DAT höfðu ekki líkað **hestarnir**.NOM
 b. **She**.NOM had not liked **the horses**.ACC

In the approach of Chomsky (e.g. 2001), the arguments carry or match abstract structural features, a VP-external one and a VP-internal one. Let us refer to these abstract features as AR₁ and AR₂, respectively ('Argument Relation 1', 'Argument Relation 2'). In Chomsky's approach and in much related work, these argument features are called 'nominative case' and 'accusative case'. The simplest understanding of this terminology is that the argument features are tantamount to the structural cases, such that AR₁ = nominative case, and AR₂ = accusative case. As immediately seen by Dat-Nom constructions, however, this simple understanding is evidently wrong: The dative subject and the nominative object in e.g. (30a) match (or satisfy the requirements of) AR₁ and AR₂ in the same manner as the nominative subject and the accusative object do in (30b). In other words, AR₁ and AR₂ are *not* tantamount to morphological nominative and accusative case.

The matching of AR₁ and AR₂ is unrelated to morphological case (m-case) and to morphology in general (whereas the assignment of m-case is plausibly dependent on structural matching of AR₁ and AR₂). Thus, these features are matched in caseless languages like Chinese in the same manner as in e.g. English and Icelandic. In case languages, however, the phonological form of DPs is decided by PF case-rules that are obviously not operative in caseless languages. That is to say, case languages match AR₁ and AR₂ structurally in the same way as caseless languages, but, in addition, they apply PF realization rules, yielding the correct case forms. While languages like English have only a single layer of structural m-case C_{Str} ('tier' in the terminology of Yip, Maling and Jackendoff 1987), thereby showing a very close correlation between the m-cases and AR₁ and AR₂, languages like Icelandic, German, Russian and so on have both a layer or a cycle of inherent and structural m-cases, C_{Inh} and C_{Str}, each core argument bearing either inherent or structural m-case (see

the discussion in Yip, Maling and Jackendoff 1987, Marantz 2000, and in Sigurðsson 1989, 2000, 2003).⁸

In contrast to these well-known and common case language types, Korean seems to apply double morphological case-marking or so-called *case-stacking* (see e.g. Yoon and Yoon 1991, Yoon 1996, 2001), thus allowing DPs to take the form DP/ $C_{\text{Inh}}+C_{\text{Str}}$, combining for instance the dative marker *-eykey* with the nominative marker *-ka*, yielding forms like *Swunhi-eykey-ka* ‘Swhunhi.DAT.NOM’.⁹ In addition, the Dat-Acc construction in Faroese (see Barnes 1986, Petersen 2002) has been analyzed as involving invisible nominative-marking of the dative (Sigurðsson 2003).¹⁰ Similarly, it is tempting to assume an invisible nominative in the Tamil Dat-Acc construction (described by Lehmann 1993: 184 ff; Umarani 2001) and in the Greek Gen-Acc clitic construction (recently discussed in Anagnostopoulou 2002, 2003); if nominative is ‘active’, albeit invisible, in these constructions, the object accusative is simply accounted for, in the usual manner (as conditioned by the presence or ‘activity’ of the nominative, cf. e.g. Marantz 2000, Sigurðsson 2000, 2003). — In contrast, Icelandic NNSs are not assigned any invisible nominative, not any more than German SNNs, as seen by the fact that the nominative is ‘taken’ by the object in the Dat-Nom construction. Presumably, this is so for the simple reason that Icelandic NNSs, as well as German SNNs, never enter a nominative case position in the course of the derivation (whereas the opposite seems to be true of Korean doubly case-marked subjects).

‘Subjecthood’, even if one were to assume that the notion exists in the traditional sense, cannot — could not — stem from case, single or double, visible or invisible, and this is not only true of Icelandic but generally, even for a language like Korean. However, even if Icelandic NNSs do not have any invisible nominative case, closer scrutiny of Icelandic Dat-Nom constructions reveals that there *is* indeed a featural relationship between NNSs and the ‘finite complex’. The relationship in question is that of *Person Matching*.

The evidence for this approach comes from agreement asymmetries in Dat-Nom constructions of the following sort (Sigurðsson 1990–1991, 1996, and subsequent work; Taraldsen 1995, Boeckx 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2002, 2003):

- (31) a. Honum mundu alltaf líka þeir. ok3P.AGR-3P.NOM
 him.DAT would.3PL always like they.NOM
 ‘He would always like them.’
 b. *Honum munduð alltaf líka þið. *2P.AGR-2P.NOM
 him.DAT would.2PL always like you.NOM.PL
 [i.e. ‘He would always like you’]
 c. *Honum mundum alltaf líka við. *1P.AGR-1P.NOM
 him.DAT would.1PL always like we.NOM
 [i.e. ‘He would always like us’]

As seen, the finite verb may agree with a 3rd person nominative object, whereas first- or second-person agreement is totally out (in contrast to subject controlled first- or

second-person agreement, which is always obligatory). Strikingly, no asymmetry of this sort is found in German Dat-Nom constructions, as seen below:

- (32) a. Ihm würden sie immer gefallen.
 him.DAT would.3/1PL they.NOM always like
 'He would always like them.'
 b. Ihm würdet ihr immer gefallen.
 him.DAT would.2PL you.NOM.PL always like
 'He would always like you.'
 c. Ihm würden wir immer gefallen.
 him.DAT would.1/3PL we.NOM always like
 'He would always like us.'

The Icelandic agreement asymmetries are accounted for on two assumptions (as argued in the above cited works): First, 3rd person is not 'true' person and hence the 3pl agreement in (31a) involves only number agreement, not 'true' person agreement.¹¹ Second, the dative subject enters into a default (3rd person) 'null-agreement' correlation with the person feature or the Person head of the finite verb complex and hence the nominative object cannot enter into that relation and is thus blocked from controlling person agreement whereas it is free to control number agreement. Thus, we get split person-number agreement, as sketched below; both Pers and Num head their own projections, PersP and NumP:¹²

- (33) C ... Pers_i ... Dat_i ... Num_j ... [... ~~Dat~~ ... Nom_j ...]

In German, on the other hand, only the nominative can enter into an agreement correlation with the finite verb complex. Reasonably, this German type of agreement is long distance agreement, i.e. the nominative does not raise to Spec,PersP any more than in Icelandic. The German dative presumably differs from the Icelandic one in raising out of the agreement scope of the finite verb prior to person agreement (Sigurðsson 2002c). Notice that this is not obviously refuted by examples like *Es wurden ihm solche Ideen nie gefallen*, lit. 'there would.3PL him.DAT such ideas.NOM never like', i.e. 'He would never like such ideas':¹³ the effects of dative-raising might be masked by a subsequent raising of the finite verb across the dative.

Russian Dat-Nom constructions and Romance Dat-Nom clitic constructions are like German Dat-Nom constructions with respect to agreement, and so are similar constructions in e.g. Telugu (K. V. Subbarao, p.c.). In contrast, the Russian infinitival dative construction (obviously) does not have any visible finite verb complex and could thus be analyzed as involving 'null-person agreement' (Sigurðsson 2002a), and so could the Faroese Dat-Acc construction, briefly mentioned above. A quick glance at Tamil suggests that that language might also have 'null-person agreement' with dative subjects of roughly the Icelandic type, blocking nominative objects in the Dat-Nom construction from being [+definite, +rational], hence from being in the first or the second person and controlling agreement.¹⁴

Notice also that the agreement in the English type *There have been three men ar-*

rested might be analyzed on a par with the Icelandic number agreement in (31a) and (33): Plausibly, the associate (*three men*) agrees in only number, not in person, and, hence, *there* may null-agree with Pers — like Icelandic NNSs! If so, Icelandic NNSs are not as ‘quirky’ or isolated as usually assumed.

To review, non-nominative subjects in Icelandic are not assigned any ‘hidden’ or invisible nominative m-case, not any further than e.g. German experiencer datives or English expletive *there*. Nevertheless, they do behave like ordinary nominative subjects in entering into a featural correlation with the finite verb complex of the clause, namely the correlation of Person Matching.

Matching of Person (or of an EPP feature on Person) is arguably also the driving force behind ‘high’ Verb Raising of the Italian type as well as of ‘high’ NP-movement of the English type, both processes moving a ‘personal’ element to the left edge of the clause (Sigurðsson 2003, inspired by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Thus, Person Matching is really doing the ‘work’ that has commonly been ascribed — in part — to structural nominative case.¹⁵

5. Case, person, and the computation

There is abundant evidence from Icelandic and many other languages that nominative case is licensed vP-internally (Sigurðsson 1989, 1991 and e.g. 2000, 2003, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001 and many others). In fact, this is true of *all* languages I know of, even English to an extent. Under the common assumption that nominative case is an EPP feature, this is a truly critical problem. If, on the other hand, the EPP feature that drives NP-movement is not case but Person (or hosted by Person), then vP-internal nominatives are to be expected.

Arguably also, finite verb agreement is *not* ‘triggered’ by nominative case. Rather, finite verb agreement in e.g. German and Icelandic takes place in PF whenever the finite verb complex ‘finds’ a predicate internal DP that is not inherently case-marked, is close enough (locality) and is also the closest available ‘partner’ (relativized minimality). That is, instead of being ‘triggered’ by nominative case, finite verb agreement is *not blocked* by it, hence free to apply.

The underlying assumption here is that Agree reduces to Merge. Thus, Pers may merge with the rest of the predicate, [Pred/-Pers] for short, because they have matching pluses and minuses, figuratively speaking, that is, they ‘agree’ in an abstract sense (make up a Featural Bond in the terminology developed in Sigurðsson 2002b, 2002c). That the phonological host of Pers visibly agrees with one member of [Pred/-Pers], which bears a Pers feature, is a different, albeit a related, PF phenomenon. Thus, Pers and [Pred/-Pers] in for instance Chinese merge or ‘agree’ in the same way as in e.g. German, while only the latter language shows any PF reflection of this.¹⁶

It follows that agreement has *no bearing at all* on the licensing of nominative case (although it is preconditioned by the presence of an ‘accessible’ nominative).

Hence, it is unproblematic that we find various types of 'low' non-agreeing nominatives in environments where the nominative is beyond the reach or scope of a 'probing' finite verb — in for instance Icelandic, Romance, Tamil and Welsh, to mention only a few languages (see, among many, Rizzi 1982, Roberts 1993, Mensching 2000, Egerland 2002, Sigurðsson 1989 and subsequent work, e.g. 2003, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2002).

In Chomsky's approach (e.g. 2001), Case is an uninterpretable feature that must be eliminated in the course of the derivation, by Agree/Move. However, while (dependent) agreement features are 'invisible' at the conceptual interface, Case is interpretable and must therefore remain intact throughout the derivation. Crucially, Case distinguishes between event participants *-primary participant* ('nominative') vs. *secondary participant* ('accusative'). That is, nominative and accusative can be seen as different values of one and the same binary or 'digital' feature, 0Case and 1Case, much as e.g. present and past can be seen as 0Tense and 1Tense (which raises the intriguing question of whether *all* features can be analyzed as 'digital', reminding, conceptually, of binary branching). Much as past tense gets its interpretation in relation to present tense (or, more accurately, the Reichenbachian S), and much as e.g. second person gets its interpretation in relation to first person (or, more accurately, the speaker or the logophoric center in the sense of Bianchi 2002), so are accusative and nominative interpretable in relation to each other. None of these features have any *absolute* inherent meaning, but they are all relatively interpretable. *Relative interpretability* of this sort is nothing special to Case, but a general property of the formal features of language.

This simple approach only applies unqualified to the structural cases. The inherent cases are more complex, not only distinguishing between event participants ('first', 'second', ...) but also encoding specific relations (roles, aspectual relations, ...) of the participants to the event (i.e., they are 'semantically associated', in the sense of Chomsky 2002: 113). Moreover, the underlying relations involved are numerous and their interaction is often so intricate that the case correlations between PF and LF can become completely opaque, such that one and the same underlying deep case is expressed by more than one morphological case or such that one and the same morphological case is an exponent of many deep cases (Sigurðsson 2003).

This kind of opacity of LF-PF correlations is a common trait of 'semantically associated' categories of language, such as mood, tense and aspect. The structural cases are exceptional in being straightforwardly interpretable as purely relational features. Thus, it should come as no surprise that structural case-marking is a more widespread phenomenon in the world's languages than is inherent case-marking (see Blake 2001: 156 ff.).

It is worth emphasizing that English, for instance, does *not* differ from Icelandic with respect to abstract Case, structural or inherent. Much as it has 'deep moods', for example, it arguably has all the underlying semantic factors that enter into morphological case-marking in Icelandic, only differing from Icelandic in its degree of PF explicitness. Even in 'rich' case languages, the number of underlying case relations is

obviously much higher than the (historically accidental) number of morphological cases. As far as I can see, there are *no* truly morphologically rich languages, if morphological richness is understood as a high and an accurate degree of reflecting or expressing underlying LF relations in morphology.

The present understanding of case gains support from the nominative marking of ‘objects’ of verbs like *heita* ‘be called’ and of predicate NPs (on the latter, see e.g. Maling and Sprouse 1995):

- (34) a. Hún er prestur/*prest.
 she.NOM is priest.NOM/*ACC
 ‘She is a priest.’
 b. Hún heitir María/*Maríu.
 she.NOM is.called Mary.NOM/*ACC
 ‘Her name is Mary.’

Since the event structure of predicates like ‘be X’ and ‘be called X’ has only one participant, accusative marking of the ‘second’ NP/DP is not required, hence out.¹⁷

While the structural Cases (‘Argument Relation 1’, ‘Argument Relation 2’, or simply, ‘Participant 1’, ‘Participant 2’) *distinguish* between the event participants, Person, often in combination with Number and Gender/Status, *identifies* these cased participants, that is, evaluates them in relation to the speaker. The logical structure thus minimally contains:¹⁸

- The *Speech Event*, with the speaker and the speech time, S_T (Reichenbachian S=R)
- The *Predicational Event*, with its participants and its event time E_T (Reichenbachian E)
- The Cases
- Person and other identificational features

Inspired by Chomsky’s approach (in e.g. 2001) but also departing from it, I propose that the clause contains two phases, the *Speech Phrase*, SP, headed by S_T, and the *Event Phrase*, EP, headed by E_T (directly dominating CP and vP, respectively, I assume).¹⁹ This gives us the (partial) structure in (35):

- (35) [_{SP} Speaker [S_T [_{CP} ... [_{PersP} ... Pers ... T ... [_{EP} ... E_T ... [V [NOM [V [ACC ...

The computation crucially relates features of EP to features of SP, and this holds of participant features as well as of temporal features: T relates E_T to S_T, whereas Pers relates Nom (or a NNS) to the Speaker.²⁰ Thus, NP movement of both nominative subjects and of Icelandic NNSs involves Person Matching.

To review, the computation is not driven by a need to *eliminate* absolutely uninterpretable LF features, such features arguably being nonexistent. Rather, it is driven by the need to ‘derelativize’ features, *interpret* them in relation to the Speech Event. To this extent, at least, the computation is ‘functional’ and ‘naturalistic’, an interest-

ing but also a surprising result, in view of the level of abstraction of the analysis applied and the exceptional status of the phenomena studied.²¹

6. Concluding remarks

Case theory, as developed in Chomsky 1981 and related work, has been an extremely effective tool in linguistic research, raising many intriguing questions: Why do NPs move? Why is structural accusative only available in the presence of an external theta-role? Why is it impossible to lexicalize the subject position of most infinitives? Related questions also arose: What is the status of agreement in grammar? Why is it that many languages with rich person inflection of verbs also have both Verb Raising and *pro*, whereas languages with poor or no person inflection of verbs usually have neither Verb Raising nor *pro*?

Many answers to these important questions have been proposed, by Chomsky and others. Icelandic NNSs have long been one of the major challenges to the case-based answers and ideas suggested, without, however, forcing any fundamental revision of Chomsky's original hypotheses of the central status of case in language (although Chomsky, in view of the Icelandic NNSs facts, now admits that "structural Case is demoted in significance" (2000: 127) and that "Case assignment is divorced from movement" (2001: 17)).

As we have seen, however, Icelandic NNSs do not merely cast doubt on the usual answers; above all, they are an exciting challenge to deepen our understanding of the important phenomena of language that Case theory was designed to elucidate. In this chapter, I have developed an approach that not only accounts for the 'original insights' but also for the intriguing and fascinating properties of Icelandic NNSs. The result should be a stronger theory, with more coverage and greater explanatory power. Surprisingly, and strikingly, our findings suggest that the syntactic computation must be understood in terms that are more 'functional' than has usually been assumed within generative approaches to language.

Notes

1. A lot of people have helped me by giving native speaker judgements, sending their papers, making comments and corrections or by discussing with me and by asking intriguing questions. Thanks to Anders Holmberg, Christer Platzack, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Ellen Brandner, Gisbert Fanselow, Grete Dalmi, Günther Grewendorf, Idan Landau, Josef Bayer, Jóhanna Barðdal, Jóhannes Gíslí Jónsson, K.V. Subbarao, Lars-Olof Delsing, Marga Reis, Norbert Hornstein, P. Umarani, Peter Svenonius, Richard Kayne, Valentina Bianchi, Verner Egerland, Zeljko Boskovic. In particular, I want to thank Valentina for very fruitful discussions about the nature of the Speech Event. Finally, of course, many warm thanks to Peri Bhaskararao and K.V. Subbarao for their great hospitality and highly appreciated help.

2. See Andrews 1976, 1982, 2001, Thráinsson 1979, Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson 1985, Yip, Maling and Jackendoff 1987, Sigurðsson 1989, 1991, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2002a, 2003, Jónsson 1996, 1997–1998, Barðdal 2001, Landau 2001, among many. — Icelandic nominals inflect for number (singular, plural), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), and case. *Nominative* is the canonical case of clause-external DPs, subjects and predicate NPs and APs, *Accusative* is the canonical case of affected verbal objects and of certain adverbial NPs, *Dative* the canonical case of prepositional objects, of benefactive indirect objects, and of certain types of direct verbal objects (e.g. direct objects that are benefactive or put in motion), *Genitive* the canonical case of adnominal possessors, to mention only the most central or typical functions of the cases. — Finite verbs inflect for person (1, 2, 3) and number (sg, pl), showing four to six distinct forms (mostly five) in both tenses (present and past) and both moods (indicative and subjunctive). However, NNSs differ from nominative subjects and certain nominative non-subjects in that they never trigger verb or primary predicate agreement, a fact that I shall not discuss here (but, for discussion, see Sigurðsson 1996, 2002a, 2002c, 2003).

3. See for instance Sigurðsson 1989 (p. 198 ff.), Jónsson 1997–1998 and Jónsson 1998. Jónsson 1998 contains a list of around 690 non-passive predicates that take a non-nominative subject, but many of them are ‘complex’ in the sense that they enter into more than one quirky construction (i.e. the number of quirky constructions is considerably higher). In addition, many passives take a non-nominative subject. Importantly, also, certain quirky constructions are productive and thus cannot really be listed.

4. Mediopassives or ‘middles’ in *-st* are for instance not treated as a special predicate type, a disputable simplification.

5. On case-marking in PRO infinitives, see Sigurðsson 1991 (and 2002a). The infinitive marker *að* is arguably a complementizer (Sigurðsson 1989: 53 ff.), hence the order *to* PRO in the glosses. — I use the notion ‘PRO’ here for expository purposes only, see note 21 below.

6. Icelandic–German contrasts of this sort are discussed by e.g. Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson 1985.

7. Due to relativized minimality with respect to morphological case-marking. There are of course many much clearer instances of totally invisible case in case languages, but, the importance of examples like (28) is that they illustrate the effect of case-minimality (cf. Sigurðsson 1989), and, arguably, invisible case-marking plus visible case-marking within Icelandic.

8. As in earlier work (for instance Sigurðsson 1989 and 1996), I assume that structural case is ‘repelled’ by inherent case that is already there, in languages like Icelandic and German. However, given that nominative case is vP-internal (Sigurðsson 2000, 2003), this only applies vP-internally.

9. See also Blake (2001: 102 ff.) on some other languages. For arguments against case-stacking in Korean, see Schütze 1997 (164 ff.) and 2001 (arguing that the nominative marker is a focus particle, an interesting alternative).

10. For a different (optimality theoretic) approach to Faroese Dat-Acc, see Woolford 2003.

11. This is an oversimplification; Icelandic sometimes distinguishes between ‘personal’ or [+human] 3rd person and ‘non-personal’ or [–human] 3rd person nominative objects, the type ‘Her.DAT like they.NOM’ being degraded or ungrammatical when the nominative object

is [+human]. This does not extend to the Dat-Nom verb *leiðast* 'find boring', though. For a discussion, see Maling and Jónsson 1995.

12. For a more thorough account of these and related data, see Sigurðsson 1996. I am assuming the radically split clausal heading, argued for in Sigurðsson 2000 and subsequent work, under which Infl minimally splits into Person, Number, Mood, Tense. Some others have argued for similar ideas. For an early work on related issues and ideas, from a Scandinavian (and a Romance) point of view, see Egerland 1996 (who, however, assumes AgrS as well as Pers). — As indicated, I assume that the dative raises into the vicinity of the Pers head prior to agreement (for discussion, see Sigurðsson 2002c).

13. Josef Bayer, p.c.

14. P. Umarani, p.c.; see also Lehmann (1993:26 ff., 184 ff.). There is no such constraint on accusative objects in the Dat-Acc construction. However, something more than agreement blocking is going on in Tamil, as the [+definite, +rational] restriction extends to nominative objects in the Nom-Nom construction (alternating with the general transitive Nom-Acc pattern). Similarly, also, nominative first- and second-person objects in Icelandic infinitival constructions are degraded, as compared to nominative third-person objects, although they are by no means as sharply ungrammatical as in finite contexts. Thus, even for Icelandic, something in addition to 'agreement competition' is needed to account for all the facts of the person constraints of nominative objects.

15. Icelandic is often described as a typical Verb Raising language, but this is very misleading as it is highly exceptional — and problematic — in applying both 'high' Verb Raising and 'high' NP-movement (one of two such languages in the 100 language sample of Gilligan, see 1987:196). I shall, however, not discuss this issue here (for an initial discussion, see Sigurðsson 2002c, 2003).

16. This is of course a much too sketchy account. For a more thorough discussion, see Sigurðsson 2002c.

17. It would seem natural to understand the Tamil Nom-Nom construction in similar terms (see the description in Lehmann 1993:26 ff.) — the nominative object canonically not being an 'independent event participant', but I shall not pursue this here.

18. Notice the word 'minimally'. In particular, it seems necessary to assume that the Hearer (or the 'Receiver') has an independent status, but I shall not pursue the issue here (for some discussion, see e.g. Poletto 2000). A more general discussion of the Speech Event and clausal structure would lead us much too far away from the topic of this chapter.

19. Long Distance Reflexivization illustrates the need for a projection containing a specifier position in the 'middle of the clause' that is distinct from Spec,vP (Sigurðsson 2002b). Spec,EP is possibly the landing site of 'short' Object Shift.

20. Notice that even 3rd person participants like 'Harold' are evaluated in relation to or anchored by the speaker (getting different values depending on who is speaking, i.e., 'my Harold' is different from 'other Harolds' (abstracting away from coincidences). Moreover, objects are indirectly related to the speaker through their subjects, so to speak. Thus, in a clause like *Harold loves Mary* uttered by *PETER*, *Mary* is identified in relation to *Harold* ('the Mary who is loved by Harold'), who in turn is identified in relation to the speaker *PETER* ('the Harold of Peter's speech'). I assume, albeit very tentatively so, that this 'pragmatic' *speaker-linking* is a property of language and not merely a property of more general systems of mind (as

pointed out to me by Valentina Bianchi, object agreement in many languages would seem to point in this direction, but I am in no position to pursue the issue). Much work remains to be done on these fundamental issues.

21. Subordinate clauses have an embedded 'Secondary Speech Event' (Bianchi 2002; see also the facts discussed in Sigurðsson 1990). 'PRO'-infinitives are headed by anaphoric Pers (cf. the anaphoric Agr of Borer 1989). The necessarily 'deficient' reference of the 'subject' of such infinitives is blocked if their anaphoric Pers is lexicalized (but, a more elaborated theory of control is of course needed, see Landau 2000). — Actually, PRO can be dispensed with since anaphoric Pers is all that is needed (a solution that is, in a sense, in line with Hornstein 1999, as well as with the findings in Sigurðsson 1991, but does not rely on the problematic movement/trace analysis).

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CHAPTER 8

Non-nominative subjects in Telugu

Karumuri Venkata Subbarao

Peri Bhaskararao

Introduction

We first provide a description of non-nominative subjects (hereafter, NNSs) in Telugu keeping in view the notion of subject¹. We shall then discuss some subject properties of NNSs. We argue that (i) the predicate in a DSC is [–transitive] and unaccusative, (ii) all NNSs are inherently Case-marked, (iii) such inherent Case marking cannot be done by an intransitive verb alone but by the whole predicate compositionally consisting of a theme or an adjective along with the [–transitive] verb and, (iv) information concerning agreement should be available vP-internally (in the lower thematic S) for proper assignment of inherent Case to the non-nominative subject. Following the proposal made in Chomsky (2000, 2001), we show that the probe Tense T locates the theme (goal) and erases the structural nominative Case of the theme and the phi-features of the probe T delete under Agree.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 1 provides a description of the NNS constructions in Telugu, section 2 deals with the domains of occurrence of the non-nominative subject, section 3 deals with some subject properties of NNS constructions in Telugu, section 4 deals with the nature of the predicate in NNS constructions while section 5 discusses the inherent Case marking of the dative subject in Telugu. Section 6 deals with the formal representation and case checking properties of NNS constructions in Telugu. Section 7 discusses double/multiple dative-subject constructions in Telugu. Section 8 is the conclusion.

Telugu, a Dravidian language, is spoken in the state of Andhra Pradesh in the southern part of India. According to the 1991 census of India, there are 66.1 millions of speakers of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh. Telugu is a verb-final language. It is a nominative–accusative language and hence, the verb agrees with the argument in the nominative case. It has postpositions and the genitive precedes the governing noun. The comparative marker follows the standard of comparison. The complementizer occurs in the right peripheral position. Adjectives and participial adjectives precede the head noun. There are no pleonastic or expletive constructions such as *it* or *there*. It is a pro-drop language. The subject, direct object, indirect object, and adverbial phrase of the finite embedded and matrix sentence may be pro-dropped. There occur clefts in Telugu and the clefted constituent occurs as the rightmost element just as in other Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman languages and Sinhalese [see Subbarao (to appear) for further details].

Telugu has four types of NNS constructions: The matrix or embedded subject is (i) dative case-marked, or (ii) locative case-marked, or (iii) in the *by*-passive or (iv) the embedded subject is accusative case-marked in nonfinite embedded clauses.

1. NNS constructions in Telugu

There are a number of verbs that are used in NNS constructions. These include transitive verbs such as: *weeyu* 'drop', *tooyu* 'push', *paTTu* 'catch', *pooyu* 'pour', *peTTu* 'put', 'serve', *tappu* 'miss', *tippu* 'turn' and intransitive verbs such as: *waccu* 'come', *paDu* 'fall', *unDu* 'be', *agu* 'happen'. Telugu does not have any form that corresponds to the verb *have* and hence, in nonnominative constructions in Telugu only the verb *unDu* 'be' occurs and not *have*. This is a typical characteristic that Telugu shares with all other Dravidian languages and Indo-Aryan languages. As we shall see later, there are sentences that have a non-nominative subject with no overt verb.

1.1. The matrix or embedded subject is dative case-marked

The subject of a matrix or embedded sentence may be case-marked dative and the verb exhibits agreement with the patient in (1) or theme in (2) which are in the nominative case. *endaroo* 'many' in (1) is the patient which is in plural and hence, the verb agrees with the patient in (1) and *preema* 'love' is the theme in (2) and hence, the verb exhibits agreement with the theme in (2). Note that the nominative marker in Telugu is null.

- (1) *maalati-ki bazaar-loo endaroo; kanipincee-ru;*
Malati.3SG.NM-DAT market-in many were.visible.3PL.H²
 'Malati saw many people in the market.'
- (2) *maadhuri-ki anil-miida preema; kaligin-di;*
Madhuri.3SG.NM-DAT Anil.3SG.M-on love.3SG.NM occurred-3SG.NM
 'Madhuri fell in love with Anil.'

The embedded subject too may be dative Case-marked and the embedded verb agrees with the theme (for example, *kaSTaalu* 'problems' in plural as in (3)).

- (3) *vanaja-ki kaSTaa-lu; waccee-yi; ani puurNima*
Vanaja.3SG.NM-DAT trouble-3PL.NH came-3PL.NH COMP Purnima.3SG.NM
ceppin-di
said-3SG.NM
 'Purnima said that Vanaja got into some trouble.'

1.2. The matrix or embedded subject is locative case-marked

The subject may be locative case-marked (4). The logical subject *prataap* 'Pratap' is in 3SG.M and the theme *Dabbu* 'money' is in 3SG.NM and hence, the negative which is a verb in Telugu, agrees with the theme and not with the logical subject.

- (4) *prastutam prataap-daggara Dabbu; lee-du;*
 at.present Pratap.3SG.M-near money.3SG.NM is.not-3SG.NM
 'At present Pratap does not have any money.'

There is another postposition *loo* 'in' that indicates location and it too can occur with the logical subject (5) with emphasis or focus on location. The verb agrees with the theme *shakti saamardhyaalu* 'energy and capabilities' which is in 3PL.NH in (5) and with *eemi* 'what' which is in 3SG.NM in (6).

- (5) *paarvati-loo sakti-saamardhyaa-lu; puurti-gaa*
 Parvati.3SG.NM-in energy-capability-3PL.NH completion-ADJR
nasinci.pooyee-yi;
 got.lost-3PL.NH
 'Parvati lost her energies and capabilities all together.'
- (6) *aame-loo eemi; un-di; ani nuwwu aame wenaka paDutunnaa-wu*
 she-in what is-3SG.NM COMP you.2SG she after are.falling-2SG
 'What is there in her that you are after her?'

1.3. The matrix or embedded subject is in *by*-passive

The logical subject is case-marked by *walla* 'by' and the verb agrees with the argument in the nominative, namely the theme.

- (7) *aame-walla ilaaTi panulu; ceyya-baDa-wu;*
 she.3SG.NM-by such thing.3PL.NH do-fall.NEGINFL-3PL.NH
 'Such things cannot be done by her.'

There is a lexical passive too in Telugu. There is no passive morphology in the verb in such sentences.

- (8) *ilaaTi panulu; aame walla jaraga-wu;/*
 such thing.3PL.NH she.3SG.NM by cannot.happen-3PL.NH/
kaa-wu;
 cannot.happen-3PL.NH
 'Such things cannot be done by her.'

Unlike in Hindi-Urdu and some other Indo-Aryan languages, the theme in Telugu cannot be case-marked accusative/dative (9). It is always in the nominative case (8). Sentence (10) from Hindi-Urdu has its theme Case-marked dative.

- (9) *pooliisula walla dongala-ni/ki paTTu baDa leedu
 police by thieves-ACC/DAT catch fall-PPL not.be
 'The thieves were not caught by the police.'
- (10) poliis-ke.dwaaraa; coroN-ko; pakRaa nahiiN gayaa_{i,*j} Hindi-Urdu
 police-by thieves-DAT catch.PST not go-PST-DEF.AGR
 'The thieves were not caught by the police.'

1.4. The embedded subject is accusative case-marked

The embedded subject *iishwar* 'Ishwar' in (11) and *aruN* 'Arun' in (12) is Case-marked accusative and it is a case of ECM (Exceptional Case Marking).³

- (11) neenu iishwar-ni nammakastuDu-gaa bhaavinci appu
 I Ishwar-ACC trustworthy.man-ADJR having.considered loan
 iccee-nu
 gave-1SG
 'I lent money to Ishwar considering him trustworthy.'
- (12) neenu aruN-ni paaripootuunDagaa cuus-ee-nu
 I Arun-ACC while.running.away see-PST-1SG
 'I saw Arun running away.'

2. Domains of occurrence of NNSs in Telugu and their nature

2.1. The dative subject

Domains of occurrence of the dative subject:

- i. Psychological states and emotions
- ii. Physiological and mental ailments
- iii. Natural phenomena pertaining to body
- iv. Perceiver of visual and auditory actions
- v. To express kinship
- vi. Possession
- vii. Subject of predicates expressing obligation and necessity (Desideratives)
- viii. To denote a recipient
- ix. Acquisition of knowledge or a skill
- x. Part-whole relationship (single and double dative marking)

(i) *Psychological states and emotions*: The dative subject occurs in sentences with psychological predicates. The predicate may contain either verb *unDu* 'be' when the psychological predicate is an adjective or a verb such as *waccu* 'come' or *weeyu* 'drop' etc. when the psychological predicate is a nominal. An adjective in Telugu is formed by suffixing *-gaa* to a noun. For example: *erupu* 'redness', *erra-gaa* 'red'. Hence, the

nominal is *ciraaku* ‘irritation’ and *ciraaku-gaa* ‘irritated’ is an adjective. The verb in (1) and (2) exhibits default agreement as the only DP in the sentence is dative Case-marked while the verb agrees with the theme in (3) and (4).

- (1) ii paapala-ki ciraaku-gaa un-di
these babies-DAT irritation-ADJR is (DEF-AGR)
‘These babies are irritated.’
- (2) ii paapa-ki ciraaku-gaa un-di
this baby-DAT irritation-ADJR be (DEF-AGR)
‘This baby is irritated.’
- (3) aayana-ki tarucu koopam_i wastuu-nee-unTun-di_i
he (polite)-DAT often anger.3SG.NM coming-EMPH-will.be-3SG.NM
‘He (polite) keeps getting angry.’
- (4) aayana-ki tarucu koopaalu.taapaalu_i wastuu-nee
he (polite)-DAT often anger.and.the.like.3PL.NH keep.coming.EMPH
unTaa-yi_i
will.be-3PL.NH
‘He (polite) keeps on getting angry.’

Verb *unDu* ‘be’ is overtly present while indicating current state of affairs (5). In generic statements it is generally not present (6). The verb, if overtly present, agrees with the theme which is a psychological predicate.

- (5) ii abbaayi-ki prastutam teliwi.teeTalu_i takkuwa-gaa unnaa.yi_i
this boy-DAT these.days intelligence.3PL.NH less-ADJR be.3PL.NH
‘This boy is not as intelligent these days (as he was before).’
- (6) ii abbaayi-ki oopika/balam/shakti/teliwi.teeTalu takkuwa
this boy-DAT energy/strength/stamina/intelligence less
‘This boy has less energy/strength/stamina/intelligence.’

The negative verb ‘be’, which is overtly present exhibits agreement with the psychological predicate (theme).

- (7) ii baabu-ki kottawaaLLu anTee bhayam_i lee-du_i
this baby-DAT strangers.3PL.H QUOT fear.3SG.NM not.be-3SG.NM
‘This baby is not afraid of strangers.’
- (8) ii abbaayi-ki peddawaaLLu anTee bhayamu.u.bhakti_i.i
this boy-DAT elders.3PL.H QUOT fear.and.respect.3PL.H
lee-wu_i
not.be-3PL.NH
‘This boy does not have fear or respect for elders.’

Thus, in (7) above the theme *bhayam* ‘fear’ is in 3SG.NM and hence, the negative, which is a verb in Telugu, agrees in 3SG.NM with the theme and in (8) the theme

bhayamu-u bhakti-i is in plural and hence, 3PL.NH agreement of the theme. *anTee*, is the conditional form of the quotative verb *anu* 'say' and it obligatorily occurs with the patient when some psychological predicates such as *preema* 'liking', *asahyam* 'hatred', *iirSya* 'jealousy', *aaba* 'greediness for food' *eewagimpu* 'hatred' *makkuwa* 'liking', *ciraaku* 'irritation', *lookuwa* 'slightness', *benga* 'worry', *cinta* 'concern' worry' *koopam* 'anger', *picci* 'craziness', *nissaakaaram* 'neglect' *jugupsa* 'hatred' *kutuuhalam* 'interest' *dhyaasa* 'attention' *koorika* 'desire' occur while its occurrence is optional with the only predicate *iSTam* 'liking'. All these psychological predicates are nouns and they form adjectives by the suffixation of the adjectivalizer *-gaa*. Dixon (1982: 16) labels adjectives such as *jealous*, *happy*, *clever*, *generous*, *cruel*, *rude*, *proud*, *wicked* as human propensity adjectives.

Nouns such as *benga* 'worry' *cinta* 'concern, worry' form adjectives when *-gaa*, the adjectivalizer, is suffixed. Recall that *-gaa* is a derivational suffix and functions as an adjectivalizer that 'adjectivalizes' a noun into an adjective. The occurrence of verb *unDu* 'be' is obligatory when denominal predicate adjectives occur as in (9) below.

- (9) waaLLa-ki waaLLa abbaayi-caduwu-gurinci cinta-gaa
 they-DAT self's son's-studies-about worry.3SG.NM-ADJR
 un-di
 be-3SG.NM
 'They are worried about their son's studies.'
 *'They have worries about their son's studies.'

In contrast, (10) is illustrative.

- (10) waaLLa-ki waaLLa abbaayi-caduwu gurinci caalaa cintalu;
 they-DAT self's son's-studies about many worries.3PL.NH
 unnaa-yi;
 be-3PL.NH
 'They have lots of worries about their son's studies.'
 *'They are worried a lot about their son's studies.'

It is the occurrence of *-gaa* that indicates whether the predicate is a nominal (11) or an adjective (12) in a DSC when the negative occurs with psychological predicates.

- (11) priiti-ki tana figaru gurinci eppuDuu cinta_i lee-du_i
 Priti-DAT self's figure about always worry.3SG.NM not.be-3SG.NM
 'Preeti had no worry ever about her figure.'
- (12) waaLLa-ki tama pillala-gurinci eppuDuu bengaa-gaa
 they-DAT self's son's-about always worry.3SG.NM-ADJR
 lee-du
 not.be-3SG.NM
 'They were never worried about their children.'

Intransitive verbs such as *waccu* 'come', *weeyu* 'fall', *kalugu* 'happen', *paDu* 'fall' and transitive verbs such as *paTTu konu* 'catch' form a complex predicate with nouns such as *bhayam* 'fear', *koopam* 'anger', *benga* 'worry', *cinta* 'concern', *iirSya* 'jealousy'.

- (13) *pratima-ki mamata-miida koopam_i waccin-di_i*
 Pratima-DAT Mamata-on anger.3SG.NM came-3SG.NM
 'Pratima became angry at Mamata.'
- (14) *pradiip-ki tana bhaviSyattu-gurinci cinta_i*
 Pradip-DAT self's future-about worry.3SG.NM
kaligin-di_i/paTTukon-di_i
 had-3SG.NM/caught-3SG.NM
 'Pradip is worried about self's future.'
- (15) *maadhuri-ki roTTelu_i paDa-wu_i*
 Madhuri-DAT Indian.bread.3PL.NH do.not.suit-3PL.NH
 'Indian bread does not suit Madhuri.'

(ii) *Physiological and mental ailments*: The subject is dative Case-marked when the subject possesses physiological or mental ailments.

- (16) *pratima-ki jalubu_i ceesin-di_i*
 Pratima-DAT cold.3SG.NM did-3SG.NM
 'Pratima got a cold.'
- (17) *baalayya-ki picci_i paTTin-di_i*
 Balayya-DAT craziness.3SG.NM caught-3SG.NM
 'Balayya became crazy.'
- (18) *kapil-ki maleeriyaa_i waccin-di_i*
 Kapil-DAT malaria.3SG.NM came-3SG.NM
 'Kapil got malaria.'

(iii) *Natural phenomena pertaining to the body*: The subject is dative Case-marked when any event or occurrence that pertains to body takes place.

- (19) *waaDi-ki juttu_i uuDipooyin-di_i*
 he-DAT hair.3SG.NM came.off-3SG.NM
 'He lost his hair.'
- (20) *paapa-ki daggu_i wastuun-di_i*
 baby-DAT cough.3SG.NM is.coming-3SG.NM
 'The baby is getting cough.'
- (21) *aame-ki periods_i ayyee-yi_i*
 she-DAT menses.3PL.NH happened-3PL.NH
 'She had her menses.'

- (22) aa plillawaaDi-ki kaalu_i wirigin-di_i
 that boy-DAT leg.3SG.NM broke-3SG.NM
 'That boy's leg broke.' / 'The boy broke his leg.'
- (23) amala-ki raatri-antaa nidra paTTa.leedu
 Amala-DAT night-whole sleep.3SG.NM did.not.catch.3SG.NM
 'Amala could not sleep all night.'
- (24) prasaad-ki weeDi walla cemaTa_i paTTin-di_i
 Prasad-DAT heat due.to sweat caught-3SG.NM
 'Prasad was sweating due to heat.'

(iv) *Visual and auditory perceptions*: The subject of predicates denoting visual and auditory perceptions is dative Case-marked.

- (25) waaDi-ki kaLLu_i sariggaa kanipinca-wu_i
 he-DAT eyes.3PL.NH properly not.visible-3PL.NH
 'He cannot see properly.'
- (26) aame-ki cinna cinna cappuLLu_i kuuDaa baagaa winipistaa-yi_i
 she-DAT small small noises.3PL.NH also well be.audible-3PL.NH
 'She can hear even small noises well.'

(v) *To express kinship*: The subject is dative Case-marked when kinship relationship is expressed. The verb *agu* 'be' or 'happen' occurs when kinship relationship between an individual and a person not connected with the individual's immediate family is expressed.

- (27) waaDu naa-ku annayya_i awutaa-Du_i
 he me-DAT elder.brother.3SG.M become-3SG.M
 'He is my older cousin brother (Indian English) (not a sibling).'

However, the verb *agu* 'be' or 'happen' cannot be overtly present while expressing relationship between the individual and his immediate family.

- (28) waaDu naa-ku annayya
 he me-DAT elder.brother
 'He is my older brother (sibling).'

Hence, a sentence such as (30) is not felicitous for a question in (29).

- (29) aame nii-ku eemi_i awutun-di_i
 she.3SG.NM you-DAT what becomes-3SG.NM
 'How is she related to you?'
- (30) *aame naaku bhaarya awutundi
 she me-to wife happens
 'She happens to be my wife.'

For anyone who is a sibling or half-sibling (half-brother or half-sister), the verb *agu* 'be' or 'happen' cannot be used. *agu* is a nonstative verb and relationship to ego by blood or marriage is stative. Hence, *agu* 'be' or 'happen' cannot be used for siblings or for parents or for one's own spouse.

(vi) *Possession*: The dative subject occurs in sentences denoting possession. In such sentences the verb is always *unDu* 'be' which may or may not be overtly present. In Indo-Aryan languages the case marking of the subject depends on the nature of the object possessed. As we shall see, in Telugu except in cases involving temporary possession, the subject is always dative Case-marked.

- (31) aame-ki aiduguru kuutuLLu_i (unaa-ru_i)
 she-DAT five.3PL.H daughters.3PL.H be-3PL.H
 'She has five daughters.'

- (32) waaDi-ki caalaa-caalaa rogaalu_i unnaa-yi_i
 he-DAT many-many illnesses.3PL.NH be-3PL.NH
 'He has lots of sicknesses.'

Note that the adjectivalizer *-gaa* cannot occur in sentences denoting possession.

- (33) *waaDi-ki caalaa-caalaa rogaalu_i-gaa unnaa-yi_i
 he-DAT many-many illnesses.3PL.NH-ADJR be-3PL.NH

(vii) *Need or necessity*: The dative subject also occurs in sentences denoting need or necessity.

- (34) kusuma-ki kaaru-u-pedda-bangaLa-a unna moguD u kaawaali
 Kusuma-DAT car-and-big-bungalow-and be-PP husband is.needed
 'Kusuma wants a husband who has a car and a big bungalow.'
- (35) sarita-ki ii pustakam caalaa awasaram (un-di)
 Sarita-DAT this book.3SG.NH very.much necessity be-3SG.NH
 'Sarita needs this book badly.'

Verb *unDu* 'be' functions also as a desiderative predicate when it takes a sentence complement with a complementizer *ani* 'that' (Subbarao et al 1989).

- (36) maadhavi-ki pro oka koTiiswaruDi-ni peLLi ceesu.koowaali ani
 Madhavi-DAT one millionaire-ACC marriage do.must COMP
 un-di
 be-3SG.NM
 'Madhavi wishes to marry a millionaire.'

In such sentences the embedded subject is obligatorily pro-dropped. The occurrence of a bound pronoun coindexed with the matrix subject indicates contrastive focus.

(viii) *To denote a recipient*: The dative subject also denotes a recipient.

- (37) waaDi-ki rooDDu miida parsu_i dorikin-di_i
 he-DAT road on wallet was.found-3SG.NM
 'He found a wallet on the road.'

- (38) aame-ki_i pedda laaTarii_i waccina-aTlu un-di_i
 she-DAT big lottery came-COMP be-3SG.NM
 'It appears that she won a big lottery.'

(ix) *Acquisition of knowledge or a skill*: A dative subject also denotes acquisition/knowledge of a skill or talent by the possessor and the verb in such cases is *waccu* 'come'.

- (39) waaLLa ammayi-ki sangiitam naaTyam kuuDaa waccu
 their daughter-DAT classical.music classical.dance also come
 'Their daughter knows classical music and dance.'

- (40) waaDi-ki kamyuuTaru waaDaDam waccu
 he-DAT computer using come
 'He knows how to use the computer.'

(x) *Part-whole relationship*: (single and double dative case marking): A dative predicate may assign a single or double dative Case marking in sentences involving 'part-whole' relationship. There are two types of case marking of the subject DP that are permitted.

(a) The possessor is genitive Case-marked and the possessed, eg., the body part is dative Case-marked.

- (41) waD-i kanTi_i-ki debba tagil-in-di_i
 he-GEN eye-DAT injury hit-PST-3SG.NM
 'He got hurt in his eyes.'

- (42) naa kali_i-ki mullu guccu-kon-di_i
 my leg-DAT thorn prick-VR-3SG.NM
 'I got pricked by a thorn in my leg.'

In (43) below *kaalu* 'leg' and *mancam* 'cot' and (44) below *komma* 'branch' and *ceTTu* 'tree' represent part-whole relationship. The possessed (part) is dative Case-marked while the possessor (whole) is genitive case-marked.

The occurrence of the verbal reflexive (VR) *kon* deserves mention. The verb *guccu* 'prick' is [+transitive] and all dative predicates are intransitive. Hence, the VR *konu* occurs as a detransitivizer (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000).

- (43) ii mancaan-i kaali-ki ceda_i paTTin-di_i
 this cot-GEN leg-DAT termites caught-3SG.NM
 'The leg of this cot got termites in it.'

- (44) ii ceTTu-Ø kommala-ki kaayalu_i lee-wu_i
 this tree-GEN branches-DAT fruit.3PL.NH not.be-3PL.NH
 'This tree does not have any fruit.'

(b) The possessor as well as the possessed are both dative Case-marked. Double dative-case marking is permitted in Telugu in dative-subject constructions expressing inalienable possession and part-whole relationship. Nichols (1992: 121–2) proposes that 'inalienable possession is not primarily a semantic distinction but the automatic consequence of the closer formal bonding that results in head-marked possession: inalienable typically include kin terms, part/wholes and/or body-parts, nouns which are most likely to occur possessed in discourse, and the formal marking of inalienability simply grammaticalizes that possession.' As we shall see below, double dative Case marking in Telugu is not permitted in kin terms and in 'nouns which are most likely to occur possessed in discourse.'

Body parts (inalienable)

- (45) waaDi-ki kanTi-ki debba_i tagilin-di_i
 he-DAT eye-DAT injury touched-3SG.NM
 'He got hurt in his eyes.'
- (46) naa-ku kaali-ki mullu_i guccu-kon-di_i
 I-DAT leg-DAT thorn pricked(tr)-VR-3SG.NH
 'I got pricked in my leg.'
- (47) ii ceTTu-ki aakula-ki ciiDa_i paTTin-di_i
 this tree-DAT leaves-DAT infection caught-3SG.NH
 'The leaves of the tree got an infection.'
- (48) ii ceTTu-ki kommala-ki kaayalu_i lee-wu_i
 this tree-DAT branches-DAT fruits not.be-3PL.NH
 'The branches of the tree do not have fruit.'

Part-whole relationship

- (49) ii mancaani-ki kaali-ki ceda_i paTiin-di_i
 this cot-DAT leg-DAT termites caught-3SG.NM
 'The leg of this cot got termites in it.'
- (50) ii gadiki-ki kiTikiila-ki talupulu peTTaali
 this room-DAT windows-DAT doors must.fix
 'Doors must be fixed to the windows of this room.'

Kinship

- (51) waaD-i mugguri-kuuTuLLa-ki-i peLLi_i ayin-di_i
 he-GEN three-daughters-DAT-too marriage happened-3SG.NM
 'All his three daughters got married.'

Double dative not permitted

- (52) *waaDi-ki mugguri-kuuTuLLa-kii peLLi_i ayin-di_i
 he-DAT three-daughters-DAT marriage happened-3SG.NM

Nouns which are most likely to occur possessed in discourse (Nichols 1992:121–22):

Double dative Case marking is not permitted in such sentences.

- (53) aa weeTagaani-baaNaali-ki padunu_i lee-du_i
 that hunter's-arrows-DAT sharpness not.be-3SG.NM
 'There is no sharpness in the arrows of the hunter.'
- (54) *aa weeTagaani-ki baaNaali-ki padunu_i lee-du_i
 that hunter-DAT arrow-DAT sharpness not.be-3SG.NM

2.2. Locative construction

The locative marker *daggara* 'near' occurs with the subject to indicate temporary possession. Recall that *ki*, the dative case marker, too occurs in sentences denoting possession. However, there is a difference. While the occurrence of the dative denotes 'permanent or long-term possession', the occurrence of the locative denotes 'temporary possession'.

- (55) maa-ku mugguru paniwaLLu_i unnaa-ru_i kaanii prastutam maa-daggara
 we-DAT three servants be-3PL.H but right.now we-near
 iddar-ee_i unnaa-ru_i oka ammayi tana uuri-ki weLLin-di
 two-EMPH be-3PL.H a girl self's town-DAT went-3SG.NM
 'We've three servants but right now we've only two as a girl (one of the servants) went to her town.'
- (56) waaDi-ki caalaa Dabbu undi kaanii prastutam waaDi-daggara
 he-DAT a.lot.of money is but right.now he-near
 ceeti-loo kaaNii kuuDaa lee-du
 hand-in penny even be.not-3SG.NM
 'He has a lot of money but right now he doesn't have even a penny in his hand.'
- (57) waaDi-loo teliwi.teeTal_i annavi maccukainaa lee-wu_i
 he-in intelligence QUOT even.for.sample not.be-3PL.NH
 'There is no intelligence in him at all.'

As the occurrence of the dative Case marker indicates inalienable possession, the locative cannot be used in such cases.

- (58) waaDi-ki paLLu lee-wu
 he-DAT teeth not.be-3PL.NH
 'He doesn't have any teeth.'

- (59) *waaDi-daggara paLLu lee-wu
 he-near teeth not.be-3PL.NH

Sentence (58) is felicitous if the subject is an orthodontist.

2.3. Passive subject

Passives in Telugu are not used as frequently as in English or Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi–Urdu or Punjabi.

- (60) naa-walla ilaaTi panulu_i ceyya.baDa-wu_i
 I-by this.kind.of deeds.3PL.NH cannot.be.done-3PL.NH
 ‘Such things can’t be done by me.’

Telugu has lexical passive which has a capability meaning.

- (61) naa-walla ilaaTi panulu_i jaraga-wu_i
 I-by this.kind.of deeds.3PL.NH will.not.happen-3PL.NH
 ‘I can’t do such things.’

2.4. The [\pm stative] nature of the verb in NNS constructions

In NNS constructions the verb may be stative (62) or nonstative (63).

- (62) waaDi-ki ii sangati telusu
 he-DAT this matter known
 ‘He knows about this matter.’
- (63) waaDi-ki produnna ninci saayantram daakaa koopam_i
 he-DAT morning from evening till anger.3SG.NM
 wastuu-nee unTun-di_i
 coming.EMPH keeps.on-3SG.NM
 ‘He keeps on getting angry from morning till evening.’

Kachru (1990:67) discussing experiencer and other oblique subjects in Hindi points out that the dative subject occurs in transient physical and psychological states. She further points out that transient psychological states, beliefs, knowledge, want, need, etc. can be expressed with active [nominative subject-KVS and PB] constructions too. Thus, the stative verb *gussaa honaa* ‘to be angry’ takes a nominative subject and the active verb *gussaa karnaa* ‘to get angry’ takes a nominative subject while the change of state verb *gussa aanaa* ‘to become angry’ takes a dative subject.

3. Subject properties of NNSs in Telugu

There are several tests that can be used as diagnostics to test the subjecthood of NNSs. We discuss a couple of the tests here:

1. NNSs as antecedents to anaphors
2. NNSs as controllers of PRO

3.1. NNSs as antecedents to anaphors

Perhaps there is not a single study on NNSs that does not include a discussion of NNSs as antecedents to anaphors. Telugu has a reduplicated form as well a simplex form of the nominal anaphor and it has a verbal anaphor *kon* too. In Telugu ‘in the nominative–accusative construction a simple or a reduplicated reflexive requires a VR [verbal reflexive].’ (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 228).

- (1) raadha tana-ni tanu wimarshincu-kon-di
 Radha.3SG.NM self-ACC self criticize-VR-3SG.NM
 ‘Radha criticized herself.’ (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 228)

The dative subject can be an antecedent to an anaphor (reflexive and reciprocal). In the dative subject construction a reduplicated form of the reflexive (not the simplex form of the reflexive) occurs, but a VR cannot. (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 228). The reason for such nonoccurrence of the VR is as follows: The VR in Telugu and many languages functions as a detransitivizer (middle voice) too. We shall show later that the predicate in the NNS constructions is intransitive. Since the predicate is already intransitive in NNSs, it does not permit the verbal anaphor to further detransitivize it.

- (2) kamalaki tana-miida tana-ki koopam waccindi/
 Kamala-DAT self-on self-DAT anger.3SG.NM came/
 *waccu-kon-di
 come-VR-3SG.NM
 ‘Kamala got angry at herself.’
- (3) raadha-ki waaDi-too beDisi.koTT-in-(*kon)-di
 Radha-DAT he-with not.getting.along-(VR)-3SG.NM
 ‘Radha’s relation with him turned sour.’

The use of passive in Telugu is rather infrequent. In the passive the anaphor can co-refer with the agent in the *by* phrase (4) and with the passive subject (5). An agent does not occur normally. A verbal reflexive (VR) cannot occur. (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 241).

- (4) ?pillala-ceeta tama hoomuwarku sakramamga ceyya-baD-in-di
 children-by selve’s homework properly do-be+en-PST-3SG.NM
 ‘Selves’ homework was done by the children properly.’
- (5) aviniitiparulaina udyoogastulu tama iLLa-ki pampabaDDaa-ru
 corrupt officials selves’ homes-to were.sent-3PL.H
 ‘The corrupt officials were sent to their homes.’
 (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 241).

Sentence (5) deserves mention. It is not clear why the nominal anaphor *tama* 'selves' corefers to the passive subject and not the *by*-phrase. 'In the capability passive, too, *tanu* ['self', the nominal anaphor] occurs.' (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 241).

- (6) kamala-walla tana panulu sariggaa ceyya.baDaDam leedu
 Kamala-by her(self's) work properly do.be+en not.be
 'Her work was not done properly by Kamala.' (Kamala was not able to do her work properly.) (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000: 241).

3.2. NNSs as controllers of PRO

Just as nominative subjects can be controllers of PRO, NNSs too can be. In (7) the matrix subject *siita* 'Sita' is in the nominative case. In (8), it is dative case-marked. In (9) the subject is a *by*-passive subject. The embedded predicate in all these sentences is a conjunctive participle and the subject of the conjunctive participle is PRO (Lalitha Murthy 1994).

- (7) siita_i [PRO_i annam tin-i] nidra.pooyin-di
 Sita food eat-CPM slept-3SG.NM
 'Having eaten (food), Sita slept.' (Lalitha Murthy 1994: 86)
- (8) siita-ku_i [PRO_i aa maaTa win-i] koopam waccin-di
 Sita-DAT that matter hear-CPM anger came-3SG.NM
 'Having heard that matter, Sita got angry.' (Lalitha Murthy 1994: 86)
- (9) meejeenimenTu-ceeta ii feekTarii [PRO samme-loo
 management-by this factory strike-in
 muuyabaD-i] muuD u nelala tarwaata
 having.been.closed-CPM three months later
 terawabaDin-di
 has.been.opened-3SG.NM
 'The factory has been opened by the management after it has been closed for three months due to a strike.' (Lalitha Murthy 1994: 86)

Just as nominative subjects can occur in the position of PRO, so can NNSs in a conjunctive participle. The embedded predicate *koopam waccu* 'anger come' in (10) and *udyogam doraku* 'get a job' in (11) requires a dative subject.

- (10) maalati [PRO koopam wacc-i] weLLipooyin-di
 Malati anger come-CPM had.left-3SG.NM
 'Having gotten angry, Malati left.'

A dative subject can be controller of PRO in an infinitival clause.

- (11) kavita-ki [PRO udyoogam dorakaDam] caalaa sulabham
 Kavita-DAT job getting very easy
 'It's very easy for Kavita to get a job.'

A dative subject can be a controllee in an infinitival clause. The predicate of the embedded clause *jwaram-raawaDam* 'fever-coming' requires a dative subject and PRO occurs in the same position in which a dative subject can occur.

- (12) mallika [PRO kindaTi nela ii Taimu-loo jwaram-raawaDam]
 mallika.3SG.NM previous month this time-in fever-coming
 gurtu.ceesu-kon-di
 remembered-VR-3SG.NM
 'Mallika remembered getting fever last month.'

4. Nature of the predicate in DSC

Pandharipande (1990), Jayaseelan (1990), Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) and Subbarao (2001) claim that the predicate in NNS constructions is [–transitive]. Sigurdsson (2000) claims that the predicate in NNS constructions is unaccusative. In this section we provide evidence from Telugu in support of these claims. We also show that the predicate in a DSC or passive is nonsubject-oriented.

4.1. Case marking

The verb *bhaavincu* 'consider' is transitive and can exceptionally Case-mark the embedded subject accusative (1). In contrast, the verb *anipincu* 'feel' is a dative predicate and it too permits exceptional Case marking. If our hypothesis that dative predicates are [–transitive] is correct, then the embedded subject cannot be accusative Case-marked by a dative predicate. Our prediction turns out to be correct in (2).

- (1) neenu pullayya-ni nammakastuDu-gaa bhaavistunnaa-nu
 I Pullayya-ACC trustworthy-COMP considering-1SG
 'I consider Pullayya trustworthy.'
- (2) *naa-ku pullayya-ni nammakastuDu-gaa/-ani anipincin-di
 I-DAT Pullayya-ACC trustworthy-COMP/-COMP felt-3SG.NM

If the embedded subject *pullayya* 'Pullayya' is nominative Case-marked (\emptyset), the sentence is grammatical.

- (3) naa-ku pullayya \emptyset nammakastuDu-gaa/-ani
 I-DAT Pullayya.3SG.M NOM trustworthy-COMP/-COMP
 anipistunnaa-Du
 feel-3SG.M
 'I consider Pullayya trustworthy.'

Evidence from Hindi–Urdu too supports our contention that the dative predicate is [–transitive]. Sentences (5) and (6) are a result of exceptional case marking of the embedded subject by the matrix verb in the Government and Binding framework.

- (4) surbhii-ne kriti-ko naacte.hue dekh.aa Hindi–Urdu
 Surabhii-ERG Kriti-ACC dancing saw
 ‘Surabhi saw Kriti dancing.’
- (5) ham-ne bhaartii-ko paarTiyooN meN piite.hue paay.aa
 we-ERG Bharati-ACC parties in drinking found
 ‘We found Bharati drinking in the parties.’

The embedded subject *priiti* ‘Preeti’ is accusative Case-marked by the matrix verb *dekhnaa* ‘to see’ due to Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) of the embedded subject. If the matrix sentence has a dative predicate, the embedded subject cannot be Case-marked accusative (6) and (7). It has to be in the nominative Case because the dative predicate which is unaccusative, cannot accusative Case-mark the embedded subject (8) and (9).

- (6) *surbhii-ko chaayaa-ko naacte.hue dikhaayii.paR.ii Hindi–Urdu
 Surabhi-DAT Chhaya-ACC dancing appeared
- (7) *ham-ko bhaartii-ko paarTiyō mē piite.hue nazar.aay.ii
 we-DAT Bharati-ACC parties in drinking appeared
- (8) surbhii-ko chaayaa naacte.hue dikhaayii.paR.ii
 Surabhi-DAT Chhaya dancing appeared
 ‘Surabhi saw Chhaya dancing.’
- (9) ham-ko bhaartii Ø paarTiyō mē piite.hue nazar.aay.ii
 we-DAT Bharati parties in drinking appeared
 ‘We found Bharati drinking in the parties.’

Thus, evidence from case marking in Telugu and Hindi–Urdu shows that the predicate in NNS constructions is [–transitive].

4.2. Anaphors

The second piece of evidence comes from anaphors in Telugu. The form *tanu* ‘self’ can occur in the embedded subject position as a bound pronoun (10) or in some proverbs (Wali and Subbarao 1991 and Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 2000). A complex reduplicated form cannot occur in the subject position of an embedded subject (11) while a reduplicated form can occur in the direct or indirect position (12) and (13).

- (10) pratibha tanu paaDagalanu ani ceppin-di
 Pratibha self.NOM can.sing COMP said-3SG.NM
 ‘Pratibha said that she could sing.’

- (11) *pratibha tana-ni tanu paaDagalanu ani ceppindi
Pratibha self-ACC self-NOM can.sing COMP said
- (12) maadhuri tana ni tanu eppuDuu poguDukonTun-di
Madhuri self-ACC self always praise.VR-3SG.NM
'Madhuri always praises herself.'
- (13) mantri.gaaru tana-ki tanu bahumati-ni iccu-konn.aa-Du
minister self-DAT self prize-ACC gave-VR-3SG.M
'The minister gave an award to himself.'

When the matrix sentence has a nominative predicate and the embedded subject is coindexed with the matrix subject and ECM takes place, a reduplicated anaphor can occur (14).

- (14) madhuri tana-ni tanu andagatte-gaa bhaavistundi
Madhuri self-ACC self pretty-ADJR considers-3SG.NM
'Madhuri considers herself pretty.'

However, when the matrix sentence has a dative predicate, only the simplex form of the anaphor in nominative case can occur (15) and a reduplicated form in accusative case is not permitted (16).

- (15) pratii.waaDi-kii tanu caalaa goppawaaDu ani/gaa anipistaa-Du
every.fellow-DAT self-nom very great.person COMP appears-3SG.M
'Every fellow thinks that he is great.'
- (16) *pratii waaDikii tana-ni tanu caalaa goppawaaDu ani/gaa
every fellow-DAT self-ACC self very great.person COMP
anipistaa-Du
appears-3SG.M

The ungrammaticality of (16) is due to the fact that the matrix verb which is an intransitive verb cannot assign accusative case to the embedded subject by exceptional case marking. That is, NNS predicates cannot exceptionally case mark. If the matrix predicate takes a nominative subject, then a reduplicated form in accusative case is permitted.

- (17) pratii.waaDuu Ø tana-ni tanu caalaa goppawaaDu-ani/gaa
every.fellow NOM self-ACC self very great person-COMP
anukonTaa-Du
considers-3SG.M
'Every fellow thinks that he is great.'

4.3. Modal *gala* in Telugu

The third piece of evidence comes from the nature of occurrence of the modal *gala* in Telugu. The modal *gala* has a capability interpretation in nominative-accusa-

tive constructions (18) and there is no corresponding capability interpretation in the dative subject construction (19). *gala* has the interpretation of possibility in the DSC (20) and (21).

- (18) waaDu ii sangatulu reepu telusu-koo-galaDu/waccu
 he these things tomorrow know-VR-can/might
 'He can/might find out this news tomorrow.'
- (19) *waaDi-ki ii sangatulu reepu teliya.gala/waccu
 he-DAT these things tomorrow know.can/might
- (20) waaDi-ki ii sangatulu reepu teliya-gala-wu/teliya-waccu
 he-DAT these things tomorrow known-might-3PL.NH
 'He will/might get to know this news tomorrow.'
 *'He can't get to know these things tomorrow.'
- (21) waana-loo taDistee pillawaaDi-ki daggu-u jalubu-u
 rain-in if.get.wet child-DAT cough-and cold-and
 raagala-du
 come.might-3SG.NM
 'If the child gets wet, he might catch a cold and cough.'
 *'If the child gets wet, he could catch a cold and cough.'

While the modal *gala* with capability meaning in (18) has a corresponding negative form (22), the modal with possibility interpretation doesn't (23).

- (22) waaDu ii sangatulu reepu telsu-koo-lee-Du
 he these things tomorrow know-VR-not-3SG.M
 'He cannot find out this news tomorrow.'
- (23) *waaDi-ki ii sangatulu reepu teliya-lee-wu
 he-DAT these things tomorrow know-not-3PL.NH
 The negative sentence corresponding to (20) is (24).
- (24) waaDi-ki ii sangatulu reepu teliyakapoo-waccu
 he-DAT these things tomorrow not.know-might
 'He might not get to know this news tomorrow.'

Example (25) is a sentence in active voice with the modal *gala* 'can'.

- (25) waaDu ilaaTi cetta panulu ceyya.lee-Du
 he this.kind useless deeds cannot.do-3SG.M
 'He can't do such useless things.'

The modal *gala* 'can' cannot occur in passives too (26).

- (26) waaDi-ceeta ilaaTi cetta panulu ceyya *leewu/
 he-by this.kind useless deeds cannot.do-3PL.NH/
 baDa-wu
 will.not.be.done-3PL.NH
 'Such useless things will not be done by him.'
 *'He can't do such useless things.'

Telugu uses a lexical passive in such cases.

- (27) waaDi-walla ilaaTi cetta panulu kaa-wu/
 he-by this.kind useless things cannot.happen-3PL.NH/
 jaraga-wu
 will.not.happen-3PL.NH
 'Such useless things cannot be/will not be done by him.'

In a DSC or passive construction the predicate is nonsubject-oriented. Capability is subject-oriented. The predicate in the DSC is nonvolitional too. Hence adverbs such as *kaawaali ani* 'deliberately', *koorukoni* 'desirously', *iSTam-gaa* 'willingly', *kutuuhalam-gaa* 'anxiously' do not occur in a DSC or in a passive construction. Thus, though a dative subject exhibits subject properties, it has nonsubject properties with regard to agreement from a syntactic point of view. From a semantic point of view, a dative subject or a passive subject cannot be the subject of a modal as they are nonvolitional. (Verma and Mohanan 1991 for a discussion on the nonvolitional nature of DSCs).

5. Inherent case assignment in DSCs

It is generally accepted that dative subjects are universally inherently Case-marked and it is the transitive verb that assigns inherent Case. In this section we wish to argue that an intransitive verb together with theme or an adjective compositionally assigns non-nominative (dative or locative) case to the subject vP-internally in the thematic (lower) S. Our view is in contrast with the view proposed in Chomsky (1999) where inherent Case is assigned by v^* (that is, Vtransitive) as under Chomsky's approach the DSC is treated as a transitive construction. To quote Chomsky (1999:35):

'Where assigned by V, not v , Case is inherent. Quirky Case largely falls under general Case-assignment principles if understood to be inherent Case with an additional structural Case feature associated with phi-complete v^* (as in MI [Minimalist Inquiries-Chomsky 1998]).'

Jayaseelan (1991) too convincingly argues that inherent Case is assigned compositionally in the DSC. We further argue that for such case assignment to take place, information concerning agreement must be available vP-internally (in the lower

thematic S).⁴ We now provide six pieces of evidence in support of our contention concerning inherent Case assignment compositionally by the entire predicate.

5.1.

Consider the following sentences in which (a) sentences have a nominative subject and (b) sentences have a non-nominative subject. The verb is *unDu* 'be' and the predicate adjective is *koopam-gaa* 'angry' in all the sentences.

- (1) a. waaDu koopam-gaa unnaa-Du
 he anger-ADJR be-3SG.M
 'He is angry.'
 b. waaDi-ki koopam-gaa un-di
 he-DAT anger-ADJR be-3SG.NM
 'He is angry.'
- (2) a. aame koopam-gaa un-di
 she anger-ADJR be-3SG.NM
 'She is angry.'
 b. aame-ki koopam-gaa un-di
 she-DAT anger-ADJR be-3SG.NM
 'She is angry.'

In (1a) the verb agrees with the subject in 3SG.M and in (1b) the verb does not agree with the subject as it is dative Case-marked and there is no other DP in the nominative Case. *koopam-gaa* 'angry' is an adjective and hence, no agreement of the verb with an adjective. The verb therefore exhibits **default agreement** which is 3SG.NM in Telugu.

In (2a) the verb agrees with the subject in 3SG.NM and in (2b) the verb does not agree with the subject as it is dative Case-marked and hence, exhibits default agreement.⁵ Our claim is: when there is a predicate adjective and the verb exhibits default agreement, the subject is inherently assigned nonnominative Case (dative or locative) by the predicate compositionally. When the verb exhibits person agreement in masculine or feminine, the subject is in the nominative Case.

We observe that the verb phrase in (a) and (b) sentences is identical. What really distinguishes (a) sentences from (b) sentences is agreement. While (a) sentences exhibit subject-verb agreement, (b) sentences exhibit default agreement. The verb *unDu* 'be' cannot alone assign inherent Case to its subject. The adjective plus verb *be* plus default agreement together play a crucial role in assigning inherent Case to the subject in (b) sentences. This implies that information concerning agreement should be available in the lower thematic S for the proper assignment of inherent Case to the subject.

We have shown earlier that the predicate in a DSC in Telugu is [–transitive]. There are verbs in Telugu which are transitive in the nominative-accusative construction

and are also used in the DSC. The set includes: *pooyu* 'to pour', 'to serve', 'to pass some thing eg., urine'; *oppu* 'to agree'; *weeyu* 'to put', 'to keep', 'to serve', 'to wear', 'to take some thing, eg., medicine'; *peTTu* 'to put', 'to keep', 'to insert'; *tappu* 'to miss'; *tippu* 'to turn', 'to take some one around'; *tooyu* 'to push'; *paTTu* 'to catch'; *aaDu* 'to play'; *tagulu* 'to touch'; *koTTu* 'to hit'; *mottu* 'to hit'; *kaTTu* 'to tie'; *waacu* 'to have a swelling'; *kalugu* 'to have'.

The following examples where the verb is used **transitively** in a nominative–accusative sentence are illustrative:

- (1) aame pillala-ki cokkaa weesin-di
she children-DAT shirt put.on-3SG.NM
'She put the shirt on the children.'
- (2.) waaDu nii maaTa oppukonTaa-Du
he your word will.agree.VR-3SG.M
'He'll agree with your suggestion.'
- (3) nuwwu aa binde-loo waaTi-ni poyyi
you that pot-in they-ACC pour
'Pour them into that pot.'
- (4) aame pillala-ki annam peTTin-di
she children-DAT food fed-3SG.NM
'She fed food to the children.'
- (5) ii pillalu parikSa tappee-ru
these children exam failed-3PL.H
'These children failed in the exam.'
- (6) panimaniSi pillala-ni tippaDaani-ki tiisi-kon-i weLLin-di
female servant children-ACC for.a.stroll-DAT take-VR-CPM went-3SG.NM
'The female servant took the children for a stroll.'
- (7) canTibaabu banDi-ni toosee-Du
child cart-ACC pushed-3SG.M
'The child pushed the cart.'

The examples below illustrate the same set of verbs used in the DSC.

- (1) a. aame-ki cali wees-in-di
she-DAT cold put-3SG.NM
'She felt cold.'
- (2) a. waaDi-ki manassu opp-a-ledu
he-DAT mind did.not.agree
'His heart didn't agree to it.'

- (3) a. *nii-ku ukka poostuundi-aa*
 you-DAT sultriness pour-Q
 'Are you feeling hot?'
- (4) a. *amme-ki cali peTT-aDam lee-du*
 she-DAT cold keep-COMP not.be-3SG.NM
 'She is not feeling cold.'
- (5) a. *aame-ki nela tappin-di*
 she-DAT month missed-3SG.NM
 'She is pregnant.' (Lit. 'She missed her periods.')
- (6) a. *paniwaaDi-ki tala tippin-di*
 servant-DAT head turned-3SG.NM
 'The servant felt dizzy'
- (7) a. *pavitra-ki ii sangati tooc-an⁶-ee-leedu*
 Pavitra-DAT this thing occur.INF-EMPH-did.not
 'It didn't occur to Pavitra.'

The theme in sentences (1)–(7) is structurally Case-marked accusative and the accusative marker is either *-ni* or \emptyset . In contrast, the theme in (1a)–(7a) is nominative Case-marked and accusative Case-marking on the theme is not permitted. The following examples are illustrative:

- (1) b. **aame-ki cali-ni weesin-di*
 she-DAT cold-ACC put-3SG.NM
- (2) b. **waaDi-ki daaham-ni weesin-di*
 he-DAT thirst-ACC put-3SG.NM
- (3) b. **nii-ku ukka-ni poostun-di-aa*
 you-DAT hot-ACC pour-3SG.NM-Q
- (4) b. **amme-ki cali-ni peTT-aDam lee-du*
 she-DAT cold-ACC keep-COMP not.be-3SG.NM
- (5) b. **aame-ki nela-ni tappin-di*
 she-DAT month-ACC missed-3SG.NM
- (6) b. **paniwaaDi-ki tala-ni tippin-di*
 servant-DAT head-ACC turned-3SG.NM
- (7) b. **pavitra-ki ii sangati-ni tooc-an-ee leedu*
 Pavitra-DAT this matter-ACC occur.INF-EMPH-did.not

Further, the verbs in (1)–(7) do not agree with the theme whereas it invariably agrees with the theme in the nominative in (1a)–(7a). We have already shown that the theme and verb together assign theta role to the subject in the DSC. We now

propose that the theme and the verb together assign inherent Case to the subject vP-internally in the lower (thematic) clause in view of the following points:

If it is only the verb that assigns inherent Case to the subject in (1a)–(7a), the question that needs to be answered is: Why doesn't the same set of verbs assign inherent Case to the subject in (1)–(7)? It is because of the transitive nature of the verb in (1)–(7) that the theme is accusative Case-marked while it needs to be explained why the theme in (1a)–(7a) cannot be accusative Case-marked as (1b)–(7b).

One might wish to say that there are two different sets of transitive verbs which are homophonous and a specific set, call it Set A, assigns inherent Case while the other set, call it Set B, assigns nominative Case. Such an assertion is counter-intuitive and it is not clear how such a stipulation can be formulated and implemented in the grammar of a language.

5.2.

We provide further evidence in support of our claim concerning inherent case assignment. Consider the following sentence-minimal pairs. (a) sentences as well as (b) sentences contain an adjective and the verb *unDu* 'be' in their predicate. In (a) sentences the subject is nominative case-marked and the verb exhibits agreement with the subject while, in contrast, in (b) sentences the subject is dative case-marked and the verb exhibits **default agreement** as there is no DP in the nominative case in the sentence that can trigger agreement.

- (8) a. miiru baag(aa) unnaa-r(u)-aa
 you well are be-2PL-Q
 'Are you ok?' (How are you?)
 b. mii-ku baagaa un-d(i)-aa
 you-DAT well be-3SG.NM-Q
 'How are you feeling?' (*How are you?)
- (9) a. miiru santooSam-gaa unnaa-r(u)-aa
 you happiness-ADJR be-2PL-Q
 'Are you happy?'
 b. mii-ku santooSam-gaa un-d(i)-aa
 you-DAT happiness-ADJR be-3SG.NM-Q
 'Are you feeling happy?'
- (10) a. waaDu sukham-gaa unnaa-D(u)-aa
 he happiness-ADJR be-3SG.M-Q
 'Is he happy?'
 b. waaDi-ki sukham-gaa un-d(i)-aa
 he-DAT happiness-ADJR be-3SG.NM-Q
 'Is he comfortable?'

- (11) a. mii abbaayi amerikaa-loo kamfarTabul.gaa unaa-D(u)-aa
 your son America-in comfortable be-3SG.M-Q
 'Is your son comfortable in America?'
 b. mii abbaayi-ki amerikaa-loo kamfarTabul.gaa un-d(i)-aa
 your son-DAT America-in comfortable be-3SG.NM-Q
 'Is every thing ok for your son in America?'

The question that arises is: How is the DP assigned inherent Case in (b) sentences?

It cannot be the case that it is due to the same verb *unDu* 'be' that the subject in (a) sentences is nominative Case-marked while it is dative Case-marked in (b) sentences. We claim that it is due to the fact that the verb together with the adjective forms a complex predicate and it is the **default agreement** that plays a crucial role in inherent Case-marking of the subject. Note that except for default agreement the predicate is identical in (a) and (b) sentences.

5.3.

In Telugu and many South-Asian languages the verb 'come' as a verb of motion denotes a physical activity of a theme (a person or thing) moving from one place to another. It also denotes possession of knowledge or skill. The subject of the verb of motion is in the nominative case (denoted by \emptyset in the following examples) and the subject of possessor of knowledge or skill is case-marked dative.

waccu 'come' as a verb of motion:

- (12) peLLiwaallu \emptyset wiDidi-ki waccee-r(u)-aa
 bride.groom's.family nom guesthouse-to came-3PL.H-Q
 'Has the bridegroom's family *arrived at the guesthouse?*'

waccu 'come' as a verb indicating knowledge:

- (13) aame-ki hindii baagaa waccu
 she-DAT Hindi well come
 'She knows Hindi well.'

waccu 'come' as a verb indicating skill:

- (14) aame-ki bharatanaaTyam waccu
 she-DAT classical Indian dance come(no agr)
 'She knows classical Indian dance.'

Verb 'come' is used in Hindi-Urdu, Nepali and Newari too as a verb of motion and to denote possession of knowledge and skill. The following examples from Hindi-Urdu are illustrative.

aa 'come' as a verb of motion

- (15) pratima \emptyset daftar-se ghar aa-yii Hindi-Urdu
 Pratima NOM office-from home come-PST
 'Pratima came back home from office.'

aa 'come' as a verb indicating knowledge

- (16) pratima-ko hindii aa-tii hai
 Pratima-DAT Hindi come-IMPERF PRES
 'Pratima knows Hindi.'

aa 'come' as a verb indicating skill

- (17) pratimaa-ko silaai aa-tii hai
 Pratima-DAT sewing come-IMPERF PRES
 'Pratima knows how to sew.'

Note that the verb *aa* 'come' by itself cannot assign dative case inherently to its subject as the verb does not have any information about the nature of activity that it represents. Combined with the theme which involves knowledge or a skill, the verb *aa* 'come' forms a complex predicate and only then would it be able to assign dative Case to its subject. Thus, a predicate with subject and other constituents pro-dropped in Telugu or Hindi-Urdu is ambiguous between the nominative subject and dative subject readings. The following dialog from Telugu is illustrative.

- (18) maadhuri raatri-ki wastun-d(i)-aa
 Madhuri night-to comes-3SG.NM-Q
 'Will Madhuri come tonight?'
- (19) pro pro wastundi
 will.come
 'She will come.'
- (20) maadhuri-ki telugu wastun-d(i)-aa
 Madhuri-DAT Telugu comes-3SG.NM-Q
 'Does Madhuri know Telugu?'
- (21) pro pro wastundi
 comes
 'She knows it.'

A similar ambiguous reading obtains in Hindi-Urdu too.

5.4.

The next piece of evidence again comes from the verb *waccu* 'come' in Telugu. The verb *come* combined with an obligative marker has two interpretations: 'come' and 'get'.

- (22) miiru-andaruu reepu raatri-ki maa inTi-ki bhoojanaani-ki
 you-all tomorrow night-to our home-to dinner-for
 raawaali
 must.come
 'All of you must come to our house for dinner tomorrow.'

- (23) mii-andari-ki reepu raatri loogaa udyoogam raawaali
 you all-DAT tomorrow night before job must.get
 'You must all get a job before tomorrow night.'

The predicate *raawaali* 'must come' in (22) is intransitive. *raawaali* 'must get' in (23) by itself has no interpretation of 'get' unless it combines with the theme *udyoogam* 'job' to form a complex predicate. Thus, it is the DP *udyoogam* 'job' together with *raawaali* that compositionally assigns the inherent dative Case to the subject.

Thus, empirical facts from Telugu strongly support the view that it is not the verb alone that assigns inherent Case to its subject but it is the verb together with the theme/adjective and default agreement that play a role in inherent Case assignment to subject. And for such Case assignment to take place, it is crucial that information concerning agreement be available vP-internally in the thematic S.

5.5.

Certain proverbs in telugu demonstrate that the verb alone cannot dative case-mark the subject. In (24) the verb alone cannot assign dative case to the subject. If it can in (24), the subject in (25) too should be dative case-marked as the verb is *waccu* 'come' in (25) too. If it does, the sentence is ungrammatical as in (26).

- (24) waaDi-ki kaLLu netti miida-ki wacceesaa-yi/waccee-yi
 he-DAT eyes head on-to had.come-3PL.NH/came-3PL.NH
 'His eyes had reached the top of his head.' (He had become arrogant.)
- (25) waaDi saamaanlu annii ippuDippuD-ee inTi-ki
 his luggage all just.now-EMPH home-to had
 wacceesaayi/wacceeyi
 arrived.3PL.NH/arrived.3PL.NH
 'All his baggage had just arrived home.'
- (26) *waaDi-ki saamaanlu annii ippuDippuD-ee inTi-ki wacceesaayi/
 he-DAT luggage all just.now-EMPH home-to had arrived/
 wacceeyi
 arrived

The dative Case marker *ki* can be assigned inherently to the subject in (25) only compositionally by the predicate *kaLLu netti miida-ki waccu* 'to become arrogant'.

6. Formal representation of NNSs

Evidence from Telugu shows that experiencer verbs are [–transitive] and hence, unaccusative and are selected by plain *v* and not by *v**, a transitive *v*. Since they are unaccusative, they cannot assign accusative Case (Burzio's generalization). The structure of a finite sentence in Telugu is:

[_{CP} SPEC [VP [DAT DP [DP_{NOM}/Adj V]v]T]T']

The verb in Telugu always agrees with a DP in the nominative Case and if no DP in the nominative Case is available and there is only an adjective (adj), it exhibits default agreement which is third-person neuter. The tense T in a finite and nonfinite clause is linked to nominative Case of the subject in Telugu.

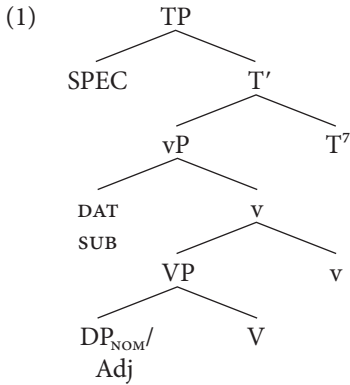
According to Chomsky (2001) the probe of T contains phi-features and an EPP feature both of which are uninterpretable. The structural nominative Case of the goal DP too is uninterpretable. All uninterpretable features of the probe T and goal DP must get erased/deleted before Spell-out or else the derivation crashes. No uninterpretable feature is permitted at LF, only interpretable features are permitted. Just as T has an uninterpretable feature, the v*P with a transitive verb too has an EPP feature that needs to be deleted before Spell-out. The tense feature of T, the probe and the PNG features of the goal are interpretable and hence, remain intact after Agree (Move and Merge). The next question now is: How does the operation 'delete' or 'erase' of uninterpretable features take place?

It is the phi (PNG)-features of the probe T that identify the proper matching goal DP with identical features. The goal moves to the Spec position of T and merges to have its structural Case deleted. This is the operation called Agree. The EPP feature of T too requires feature F of the goal DP to move. Thus, it is the phi-features of T and the EPP features of T that require the proper goal to move and merge.

The feature F of the goal DP moves to the Spec position of T as deletion/erasure takes place in closest mutual c-command position of the goal DP and the probe T. Once the uninterpretable features are deleted, then only the interpretable features are left by Spell-out and the derivation enters LF. A note on EPP is in order: According to Chomsky (1995: 282) — the EPP is divorced from Case. — all values of T induce the EPP, including the infinitives, though only control infinitives assign (null) Case, raising infinitives do not.' With this background in mind we shall now attempt to analyze the DSC in Telugu.

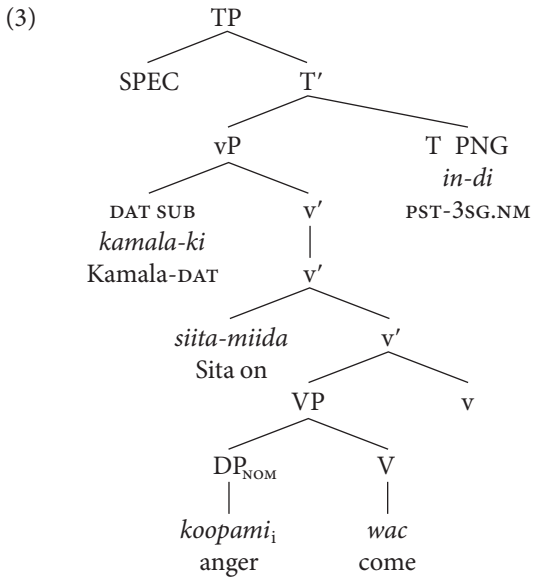
Sigurðsson (2000: 65) proposes that 'structural Case-marking (case matching) takes place vP-internally.' In his view Case — nominative or accusative — is "matched" contrary to Chomsky's (1999: 4) view that 'Case itself is not matched, but deletes under matching of phi-features.' According to Chomsky (2001) in the standard minimalist program the nominative Case and the accusative Case are deleted vP externally in the spec positions of T and v* respectively. That is, the locus of Case and agreement are different.

Let us examine how DSC in Telugu can be analyzed in Chomsky's (2001) DBP framework. The T in Telugu consists of Tense and the phi-features of Person, Number and Gender. The structure of a DSC in Telugu in the DBP framework is in (1).



Let us look at the representation of a sentence in which the subject is dative Case-marked and the theme is in the nominative.

- (2) kamala-ki siita-miida koopam wacc-in-di
 Kamala-DAT Sita-on anger come-PST-3SG.NM
 'Kamala got mad at Sita.'



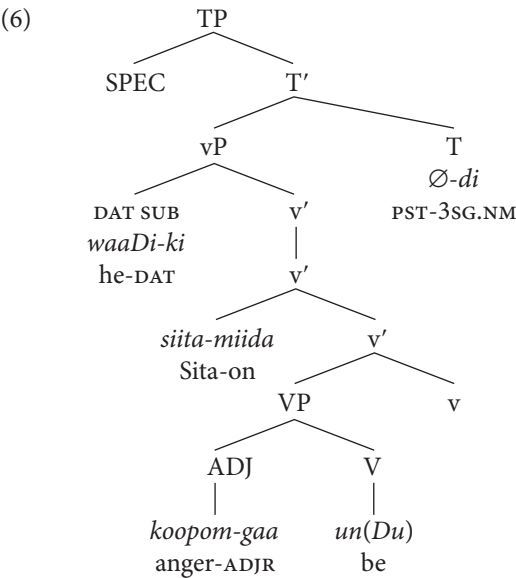
The dative DP *kamala-ki* ‘Kamala-dat’ is inherently Case-marked vP-internally in the lower thematic S by the predicate *koopam waccu* ‘anger to come’ and hence, its Case features are interpretable. Thus, its Case features need not be valued/erased. The feature of the nominative DP *koopam* ‘anger’ is attracted by the probe T to Spec TP position to have its nominative structural Case deleted as it agrees with the uninterpretable phi-features of the probe T. The nominative Case of the DP *koopam* ‘anger’ and the phi-features of the probe T are erased under matching. The EPP feature of T too gets erased. Thus, we get the following output in (4) which is represented in (5).

- (4) *kamala-ki siita miida koopam wacc-in-di*
Kamala-DAT Sita on anger come-PST-3SG.NM

Let us now consider a DSC in which the predicate contains an adjective.

- (5) *waaDi-ki siita-miida koopam-gaa un-di*
he-DAT Sita-on anger-ADJR be-3SG.NM
‘He is mad at Sita.’

Sentence (5) has a representation as in (6).



The structure of (5) is almost the same as (2) except for one difference: (5) has a predicate adjective in place of the theme DP in (2). The adjectival phrase cannot move to Spec TP position as it is not a DP and hence, the uninterpretable features of the default agreement marker *-di* under agreement with a Null Goal are erased

as proposed in Subbarao (2001). The Epp feature too is erased by the Null Goal. In this case we end up with the right order. Thus, we propose that a goal could be null in cases involving default agreement. In the following section we discuss double-dative constructions in Telugu.

7. Double/multiple dative-subject constructions

Telugu has a double dative subject construction that occurs in sentences expressing inalienable possession, locational possession and part-whole relationship⁸. By double dative construction we mean the possessor as well as the possessed DPs are both dative Case-marked. In possessor-possessed constructions in general the possessor is Case-marked genitive and the possessed is Case-marked nominative depending on the nature of the predicate. A noun phrase Case-marked by the dative or locative can be modified by a genitive DP. In (1a) the genitive *waaDi* 'his' modifies the DP/NP *ceeti-* (oblique form of *ceyyi* 'hand').

- (1) a. *waaD-i ceeti-ki debba tagil-in-di*
 he-GEN hand-DAT wound hit-PST-3SG.NM
 'He got hurt on his hand.'

In 2a the genitival phrase containing *waaLLa* 'their' and a quantifier modify the DP/NP *ceetuLLa* (oblique form of *ceetulu* 'hands').

- (2) a. *waaLL-a andari ceetuLLa-ki sankeLLu paDDaa-yi*
 they-gen all.persons' hands-DAT handcuffs fell-3PL.NH
 'They all got handcuffed.'

In (3a) the genitival phrase *waaLLa* modifies the DP/NP *ceetuLLa* (oblique form of *ceetulu* 'hands') and the negative polarity item *-i* occurs to the right of the non-nominative DP *ceetuLLa-ki* 'hands-dat'.

- (3) a. *waaLL-a ewari ceetuLLa-ki-i sankeLLu paD-a-lee-wu*
 they-GEN whose hands-DAT-NPI handcuffs can.not.fall-3PL.NH
 'They will never be handcuffed.'

Example (4a), too is a dative subject construction. The possessor which is genitive Case-marked and the possessed which is dative Case-marked are [-animate]

- (4) a. *ii mancaan-i kaali-ki ceda paTT-in-di*
 this cot-GEN leg-DAT termites caught-3SG.NM
 'This cot is infested with termites.'

The genitival phrase containing *waaLLa* 'their' together with a negative polarity item 5a is an example of a locative subject construction. The negative polarity item is in bold.

- (5) a. waaLL-a ewari-daggara-a Dabbu lee-du
 they-GEN who-near-NPI money not.be-3SG.NM
 'None of them have any money on them.' (Lit. 'They don't have money in their possession.')

Sentence (6a) too is an example of a locative subject construction in which the locative DP is modified by a genitival DP.

- (6) a. prastutam nii ceeti-loo Dabbu aaDutuun-d-aa
 these.days your hand-in money moving-3SG.NM-Q
 'Do you have money these days at your disposal?' (Lit. 'Is there money moving in your hands these days?')

There are corresponding sentences in which a dative case-marked DP can occur in place of the genitival phrase.

- (1) b. waaDi-ki ceeti-ki debba tagilin-di
 he-DAT hand-DAT wound hit-3SG.NM
 'He got hurt on his hand.'
- (2) b. waaLLa-ki andari-ki ceetuLLa-ki sankeLLu paDDaa-yi
 they-DAT all-DAT hands-DAT handcuffs fell-3PL.NH
 'They all got handcuffed.'
- (3) b. waaLLa-ki ewari-ki-i ceetuLLa-ki-i sankeLLu paDaleedu⁹
 they-DAT who-DAT-NPI hands-DAT-NPI handcuffs fell.NEG.PST
 'They were never handcuffed.'
- (4) b. ii mancaani-ki kaali-ki ceda paTT-in-di
 this cot-DAT leg-DAT termites caught-3SG.NM
 'This cot is infested with termites.'
- (5) b. waLLa-ki ewari-daggara-a Dabbu lee-du
 they-DAT who-near-NPI money not.be-3SG.NM
 'They don't have money in their possession.'
- (6) b. prastutam nii-ku ceeti-loo Dabbu aaDu-tuund-aa
 these.days you-DAT hand-in money is.playing-3SG.NM-Q
 'Do you have money these days at your disposal?'

Sentences (1a)–(6a) and (1b)–(6b) reflect a 'part-whole' relationship. Thus, in all the (a) sentences above the DP in the genitive/possessive Case stands in 'whole' relationship with the DP that is dative/locative Case-marked which is in 'part' relationship. In sentences (1b)–(4b) the DP that represents the whole relationship and the DP that represents the 'part' relationship are both dative Case-marked while in (5b) and (6b) the first DP is dative Case-marked and the locative DP is locative Case-marked. Strong evidence in support of the hypothesis concerning 'part-whole' relationship comes from the following pairs of sentences.

- (7) a. ii inT-i talupula-ki taaLam paD-in-di
 this house-GEN doors-DAT lock fell-3SG.NM
 'This house got locked.'
- (7) b. ii inTi-ki talupula-ki taaLam paD-in-di
 this house-DAT doors-DAT lock fell-3SG.NM
 'This house got locked.'
- (8) a. waaD-i inT-i talupula-ki taaLam paD-in-di
 he-GEN house-GEN doors-DAT lock fell-3SG.NM
 'His house got locked.'
- (8) b. *waaDi-ki inT-i talupula-ki taaLam paD-in-di
 he-dat house-GEN doors-dat lock fell-3SG.NM

In sentences (7a) and (7b) the DPs *illu* 'house' and *talupu* 'door' represent a 'part-whole' relationship. In (8a) and (8b) *waaDu* 'he' and *illu* 'house' do not represent a 'part-whole' relationship. Hence, there is no corresponding dative Case-marked DP in (8b) that corresponds to the genitive Case-marked DP in (8a).¹⁰

In sentences (1a)–(6a) an adverb cannot occur between the genitive Case-marked DP which represents 'whole' and the dative Case-marked DP which represents the part. We provide a couple of examples.

- (1) c. *waaD-i bahushaa ceeti-ki debba tagil-in-di
 he-GEN perhaps hand-DAT wound hit-3SG.NM
- (5) c. *waaLL-a prastutam ewari-daggara-a Dabbu lee-du
 they-GEN these.days who-near-NPI money not.be-3SG.NM

In contrast, in sentences (1b)–(6b) an adverb can occur between the dative Case-marked DP which represents 'whole' and the dative Case-marked DP which represents the 'part'. We provide a couple of examples.

- (1) d. waaD-ki bahushaa ceeti-ki debba tagil-in-di
 he-DAT perhaps hand-DAT wound hit-3SG.NM
 'Perhaps he got hurt on his hand.'
- (5) d. waaLL-ki prastutam ewari-daggara-a Dabbu lee-du
 they-DAT these days who-near-NPI money be.not-3SG.NM
 'None of them have money in their possession these days.'

The ungrammaticality of (1c) and (4c) indicates that the genitive Case-marked DP and the dative/locative Case-marked DP together form a single constituent while the grammaticality of (1d) and (4d) indicates that the two inherently Case-marked DPs are separate constituents.

We would like to see how inherent Case is assigned in (a) sentences and (b) sentences? Since the genitive Case-marked DP and the dative Case-marked DP together function as a single constituent in (a) sentences, the predicate compositionally

assigns dative Case/locative Case to the whole DP vP-internally in the thematic S.

It appears that in (b) sentences where the DPs behave as independent DPs we need to assign inherent dative/locative Case to the initial DP that represents ‘the whole relationship’ and to the DP that represents the ‘part relationship’ vP-internally. That is, the predicate assigns inherent Case simultaneously to two DPs. As we have demonstrated earlier, the theme is attracted by the probe to have its structural nominative Case erased and to delete the uninterpretable features of the probe. If our analysis of multiple dative/locative subjects is right, the mechanics of inherent Case assignment to two DPs simultaneously needs to be worked out as they too might require multiple spec positions in Spec TP.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter we have argued that (i) the verb in the DSC is intransitive, (ii) the predicate in a DSC is [–transitive] and unaccusative, (iii) all NNSs are inherently Case-marked, (iv) such inherent Case marking cannot be done by an intransitive verb alone but by the whole predicate compositionally consisting of a theme or adjective along with the [–transitive] verb and, (v) information concerning agreement should be available vP-internally (in the lower thematic S) for proper assignment of inherent Case to the nonnominative subject.

Notes

1. We are grateful to Alice Davison, Halldor Sigurðsson and especially to Tanmoy Bhat-tacharya for their valuable suggestions and help during the various stages of the preparation of the manuscript. We alone are responsible for any errors and omissions etc. The first author is grateful to the Director and to Peri Bhaskararao of ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies for inviting him as a visiting professor which made this research and planning of the seminar on Non-Nominative Subjects at ILCAA possible in collaboration with Peri Bhaskararao.

2. Abbreviations: agreement markers (1SG: first-person singular; 1PL: first-person plural; 2SG: second-person singular; 2PL: second-person plural; 3SG.M: third-person singular human male; 3SG.NM: third-person singular non-human-male; 3PL.H: third-person plural human; 3PL.NH: third-person plural non-human). ACC: accusative, ADJ: adjective, ADJR: adjective-izer, COMP: complementizer, DAT: dative, CPM: conjunctive participial marker, DEF: default, EMPH: emphatic, ERG: ergative, GEN: genitive, NEG: negative, NOM: nominative, NPI: negative polarity item, NEGINF: negative inflection, NEUT: neuter, PP: perfect participle, PST: past, Q: yes–no question marker, QUOT: quotative, TR: transitive; VR: verbal reflexive.

3. We are using the concept of ECM for exposition. This is true of Hindi–Urdu and Newari too.

- (i) reNu yah baat kal maluum kar saktii hai Hindi–Urdu
 Renu this thing tomorrow knowledge do can
 ‘Renu can find out this tomorrow.’

- (ii) reNu ko kal yah baat maalum ho saktii hai
 Renu DAT tomorrow this thing knowledge be might
 'Renu might get to know this tomorrow.'
 *'Renu can find out this tomorrow.'

4. Such assignment is interestingly on a par with theta role assignment to an external argument where it is assigned compositionally by a predicate together with theme and not by the verb alone.

5. Arden (1927:155) treats such sentences as subject-less sentences. Note that the third-person feminine and neuter agreement markers are homophonous in Telugu. Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985:137 label them together as non-masculine agreement markers.

6. Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985:label -a/-an as negative inflection.

7. The T in the above structure is a reincarnation in Chomsky (2001) of the earlier I (INFL) in the Government and Binding framework. In contrast to INFL which is a functional category, Chomsky (2001) treats T as a substantial category.

8. The multi-dative construction can occur in IO position too.

- (i) meemu waaLLa-ki ewari-ki-I ceetuLLa-ki sankeLLu weyya-lee-du
 we they-DAT who-DAT-NPI hands-DAT handcuffs put-NEG-INFL-not.3SG.M
 'We did not handcuff anyone of them'.(Literal: We did not put handcuffs on anybody's hands.)

9. The NPI /-i/ also functions as a postposed conjunction in Telugu.

10. House is 'a noun which is most likely to occur possessed in discourse' and hence, comes under inalienable possession. (Nichols 1992: 121–2). Though the dative case marker can occur with the subject in sentences with inalienable possession, as we have seen, it is not permitted to occur here as (8b) illustrates.

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CHAPTER 9

Issues in case-marking

Tasaku Tsunoda

1. Preliminaries

This chapter looks at a few selected issues in case-marking, paying particular attention to Japanese and to Australian Aboriginal languages. We shall be mainly concerned with cases, more specifically case frames, rather than grammatical relations, except in Section 4. In our view, grammatical relations, such as subject and object, are not a priori given for any language, and that they need to be established on language-internal evidence for each language (Comrie 1981: 98–116, Shibatani 1978, Tsunoda 1991: 165–224) — rather like phonemes. That is, they cannot be set up for any language until syntactic behaviour of the noun phrases of that language is thoroughly examined. In contrast with grammatical relations, case frames are readily observable. It is in view of this that we shall be mainly concerned with case frames, rather than with grammatical relations.

Previous works on case-marking include the following. Moravcsik (1978) provides a thorough study of the case-marking of ‘object’, many portions of which are repeated by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Comrie (1981: 117–30), Dixon (1979, 1994), and Foley and Van Valin (1984: 75–106) examine various factors that affect case-marking of ‘subject’ as well as that of ‘object’. Onishi (2001) furnishes an overview of non-canonical constructions, while Shibatani (2001) discusses those of Japanese.

The format of the present chapter is as follows. Section 2 provides a crosslinguistic classification of two-place predicates. Section 3 presents a survey of two-place case frames attested in Australian Aboriginal languages. Section 4 briefly considers the issue of subject and object in Japanese. Section 5 poses the question ‘Why non-nominative subjects’, and explores possible answers to this question. Section 6 furnishes a summary of the present chapter.

2. Cline of two-place predicates

In our earlier work (Tsunoda 1981b, 1985, 1991: 95), we proposed a cross-linguistic classification of two-place predicates (i.e. verbs and adjectives), as shown in Table 1. Its semantic aspect is discussed below, followed by its manifestations in case frames.

[1] Semantics: affectedness of the patient

Semantically speaking, Table 1 shows the cline of the affectedness of the patient in a very broad sense: the patient is affected at the left end of the table, but it tends to be less and less affected as we move down the cline. This can be shown as in Figure 1. Thus, the patient is more affected in Type 1 ‘direct effect on patient’ (where an action actually impinges on it) than in Type 2 ‘perception’. However, comparatively speaking, the patient is more affected in Type 2 (where it is at least perceived) than in Type 3 ‘pursuit’ (where it is never perceived). And so on. Similarly, at the right end of the table, the patient can be regarded as more affected in Type 6 ‘relationship’ than in Type 7 ‘ability’. This is because Type 6 describes actual states, where the patient is actually involved — though very loosely — whereas Type 7 merely describes possibilities, where the patient is only potentially involved.

Table 1. Classification of two-place predicates

Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Meaning	Direct effect on patient	Perception	Pursuit	Knowledge	Feeling	Relation- ship	Ability
Example	kill, hit	see, look	search	know	love	have	capable

Furthermore, Type 1 ‘Direct effect on patient’ can be divided into the following two Subtypes:

- (a) Subtype 1A ‘resultative’, e.g. *kill, break, destroy*, and;
- (b) Subtype 1B ‘non-resultative’, e.g. *hit, kick, shoot*.

An action in Subtype-1A necessarily causes a change in the patient, but this is not the case with Subtype-1B.

[2] Case-frames

In our definition (Tsunoda 1985: 390, 1991: 97, 1994: 4671, cf. also Comrie 1981: 113), prototypical transitive verbs are those which describe an action (i) that impinges on the patient and (ii) that furthermore causes a change in it, e.g. *kill, break, destroy* of English. They are members of Subtype-1A ‘resultative’. Those case-frames which 1A-verbs take are, by definition, prototypical transitive case frames, e.g. NOM–ACC in a nominative–accusative system, and ERG–ABS in an ergative–absolutive system. They may also be considered canonical two-place case frames of the respective case-marking systems.

Prototypical transitive case frames (or canonical two-place case frames) extend from Type 1 (to be more precise, Subtype-1A) towards the right end of the cline. They reach the right end, i.e. Type 7, in some languages, but they do not do so in others. The cut-off point varies from language to language. This is shown in Figure 1.

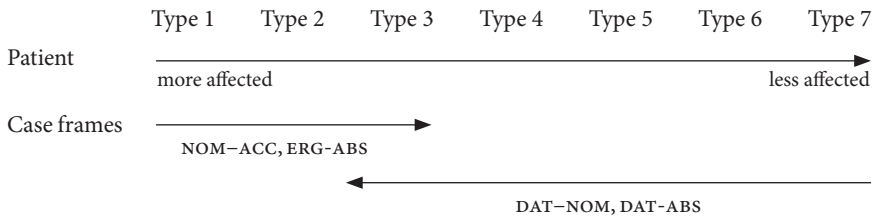


Figure 1. Semantics and case-frames of the two-place predicate cline

In contrast with prototypical transitive case-frames, those of so-called dative constructions, e.g. DAT-NOM and DAT-ABS, extend from Type 7, rather than from Type 1. Also unlike prototypical transitive case frames, dative-constructions do not reach the opposite end. They disappear somewhere in the table. Again, the cut-off point varies from language to language.

Examples from Japanese follow (Tsunoda 1991:112–14). The two-place case-frames of Japanese include NOM-ACC, NOM-DAT, NOM-NOM, NOM-ABL, and DAT-NOM.¹ Their distribution in terms of the two-place predicate cline is shown in Figure 2. Note that, as mentioned above, the prototypical transitive case frame, i.e. NOM-ACC, extends from the left end, while on the other hand DAT-NOM extends from the right end.

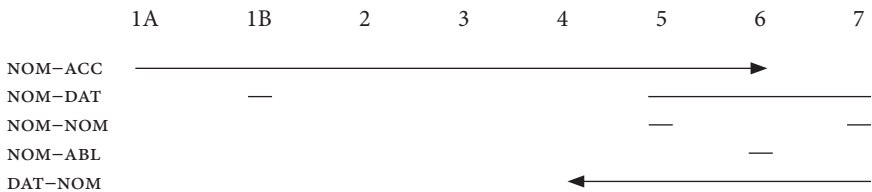


Figure 2. Two-place case-frames of Japanese

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------|
| (1) | taroo ga hako o kowash-ita | NOM-ACC |
| | Taroo NOM box ACC break-PAST | |
| | 'Taroo broke a box.' | |
| (2) | taroo ga hanako ni at-ta | NOM-DAT |
| | Taroo NOM Hanako DAT meet-PAST | |
| | 'Taroo met Hanako.' | |
| (3) | taroo ga hanako ga suki-da | NOM-NOM |
| | Taroo NOM Hanako NOM like-PRES | |
| | 'Taroo likes Hanako.' | |

(The ex. (3) sounds a little unnatural as it stands, but it sounds more natural if the first NOM is replaced by the topic marker *wa*. However, the case postposition *ga*

‘NOM’ is retained in (3), in order to explicitly indicate the case employed. Similarly for some other examples.)

- (4) kono iinkai ga gonin no iin kara nar-u NOM-ABL
 this committee NOM five GEN member ABL consist-PRES
 ‘This committee consists of five members.’
- (5) taroo ni roshiago ga wakar-u DAT-NOM
 Taroo DAT Russian NOM understand-PRES
 ‘Taroo understands the Russian language.’

3. Two-place case frames in Australian languages

Many (if not all) Australian Aboriginal languages exhibit the co-existence of two or more case-marking systems, often pronouns having a nominative-accusative system and nouns possessing an ergative-absolutive system (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994:83–97). In the following, we shall be concerned with the ergative-absolutive system of the languages in question, to the exclusion of the nominative-accusative system. This is in consideration of the limitation on space, but it does not affect the main point of our argument. Examples of the ergative-absolutive system from Warungu of north Queensland (cf. Tsunoda 1988b) follow.

- (6) bama-nggu gandu-Ø balga-n
 man-ERG dog-ABS kill-NONFUT
 ‘The man killed/kills a dog.’
- (7) bama-Ø nyina-n
 man-ABS sit-NONFUT
 ‘The man sat/sits (down).’

Tsunoda (1988b:626–28) provided a survey of two-place predicates that had been attested in Australian Aboriginal languages. Blake (1987 surveyed case-marking in Australian languages). As noted in [2] of Section 2, the ERG-ABS frame may be considered the canonical two-place case frame in ergative-absolutive systems. Some (if not all) of other case frames may be regarded ‘derived’ from the ERG-ABS case frame:

- (a) by turning ERG into OBL (e.g. DAT, LOC, INST), or by deleting ERG, and/or;
 (b) by turning ABS into OBL (e.g. DAT, LOC, INST), or by deleting ABS.

See Table 2. Those case frames that had not been attested are parenthesized. (When Tsunoda 1988b was written, ERG-Ø seemed unattested, but there is now evidence to show that it occurs. See [4] below.)

Apart from the ERG-ABS itself, Table 2 lists only those case frames that show an alternation with ERG-ABS. Thus, antipassives are included for they alternate with

Table 2. Two-place case frames in Australian languages

		O (ABS)			
A (ERG)		Unchanged	Changed to OBL	Changed to ERG	Deleted
	Unchanged	ERG-ABS	ERG-OBL	(ERG-ERG)	ERG-Ø
	Changed to OBL	OBL-ABS	OBL-OBL	(OBL-ERG)	(OBL-Ø)
	Changed to ABS	ABS-ABS	ABS-OBL	(ABS-ERG)	ABS-Ø
	Deleted	(Ø-ABS)	(Ø-OBL)	(Ø-ERG)	(Ø-Ø)

ERG-ABS. Table 2 has excluded those case frames which do not alternate with ERG-ABS. Examples of the attested case frames follow, accompanied by the factors that govern the alternation in question.

[1] ERG-ABS is the canonical two-place case frame. Examples include the example (6).

[2] ERG-OBL is uncommon, but Jaru (or Djaru) has the following (non-productive?) alternation (Tsunoda 1981a: 149).

	ERG-ABS	ERG-DAT
nyang-	'see, look at'	'look for'
bura nyang-	'hear, listen to'	'try to listen to'
warra gang-	'watch'	'watch out for'
bad man-	'touch'	'try to touch'

The ERG-DAT case frame indicates that the patient is not attained. An analogous alternation, between ERG-ABS and ERG-DAT, occurs in Warlpiri (Hale 1973:336). Kuniyanti has the alternation between ERG-ABS and ERG-DAT/ERG-LOC, e.g. ERG-ABS 'see' and ERG-DAT 'glance at'; and ERG-ABS 'kick' and ERG-DAT or ERG-LOC 'kick at' (McGregor 1990:322, 325).

[3] ERG-ERG seems unattested.

[4] ERG-Ø is extremely uncommon, and it was considered unattested in Tsunoda (1988b). Crowley (1978: 107-8) notes that, in Bandjalang, the following verbs always have the ERG-Ø case frame: 'defecate', 'urinate', 'yawn', 'dance', 'put on' (of clothes), 'sing', 'make' (of noise), 'smoke' (of cigarettes). However, Crowley notes: 'Since the object is entirely predictable, it is always omitted.' Note that this ERG-Ø does not alternate with ERG-ABS, and hence it was not included in the relevant table of Tsunoda (1988b).

However, an alternation between ERG-ABS and ERG-Ø does occur with certain verbs of Warlpiri. According to Mary Laughren (personal communication), such verbs include those of bodily function, e.g. 'sneeze', 'cough', 'snore', 'defecate', 'urinate', and 'sing'. When they occur in ERG-ABS, the ABS refers to a 'cognate' object, e.g. 'na-

sal mucous,'urine','faeces' or 'song'. In addition, they can take ABS-Ø. Note that these verbs are semantically very similar to those listed for Bandjalang².

[5] OBL-ABS is very uncommon, but Gugu Yimidhirr has ADES-ABS, indicating an accidental/unintentional action by an animate or human entity (Haviland 1979: 124–26).

[6] OBL-OBL, too, is very uncommon, but Kala Lagaw Langgus employs GEN-GEN for negation (Klokeid 1978: 596–97).

[7] OBL-ERG seems unattested.

[8] OBL-Ø, too, seems unattested.

[9] ABS-ABS. The occurrence of ABS-ABS (in place of ERG-ABS) may be conditioned either by one of semantic factors or by a syntactic factor.

(a) Semantic factors. In Yukulta, ABS-ABS describes habit or ability (Keen 1983: 221). Perhaps along a similar line, Kugu Nganhcara can have ABS-ABS with an 'expected object' (Smith and Johnson MS), probably indicating the usual habit of the agent. (However, this phenomenon does not seem to be mentioned in the later, published version, i.e. Smith and Johnson 2000.) ABS-ABS in Diyari 'focuses on the activity' and the patient 'is usually non-specific, generic' (Austin 1981: 627).

(b) Syntactic factor. ABS-ABS in Bandjalang may be used to turn the A from ERG to ABS, in order to create an S/O pivot or syntactic ergativity (Crowley 1978: 114–15). See Comrie (1978: 343–50), Dixon (1979: 124–30, 1994: 160–72) for syntactic ergativity.

[10] ABS-OBL. It is ABS-OBL and also ABS-Ø that Silverstein termed 'antipassive', about 1968 (Dixon 1979: 119, fn.85) (cf. also Silverstein 1976: 140–43). The occurrence of ABS-OBL (in place of ERG-ABS) may be conditioned either by one of semantic factors or by a syntactic factor.

(a) Semantic factors. Warrungu has ERG-ABS for 'see, look at', 'find', 'watch', 'catch', etc. and ABS-DAT or ABS-GEN for 'look for', 'watch for', 'feel for', etc. (Tsunoda 1988b: 606). This alternation is similar to that observed for Jaru, Warlpiri, and Kuniyanti in [2] above.

ABS-DAT and ABS-INST in Warrungu may describe habit, inclination, job or the like, where the OBL is generally generic, non-specific, and it is sometimes deleted, resulting in ABS-Ø (Tsunoda 1988b: 604–5). Similarly, the DAT of ABS-DAT in Kalkatungu (Blake 1979: 18) refers to a non-specific patient.

(b) Syntactic factor: ABS-OBL in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), Warrungu (Tsunoda 1988b), Wargamay (Dixon 1981), Yidiny (Dixon 1977), and Kalkatungu (Blake 1979) can be used to create an S/O pivot or syntactic ergativity.

[11] ABS-ERG seems unattested.

[12] ABS-Ø is very common. The OBL of ABS-OBL, discussed in [10] above, is often deleted, resulting in ABS-Ø. Thus, in Yidiny, if a speaker wishes to indicate the agent for some action, but prefers not to commit himself/herself concerning the patient, he/she can simply use ABS-Ø (Dixon 1977:279).

[13] Ø-ABS, Ø-OBL, Ø-ERG, and Ø-Ø seem unattested. That is, no case frame seems attested in which the A would have been obligatorily deleted. Similarly, the following case frames seem unattested: ERG-ERG, OBL-ERG, ABS-ERG, Ø-ERG, in which the O would have been changed from ABS to ERG.

This brief survey of those two-place case frames which alternate with ERG-ABS in Australian Aboriginal languages, has shown the range of factors that bring about such an alternation.

4. Subject and object in Japanese

Adapting the method employed by Shibatani (1978) for Japanese, which establishes grammatical relations on the basis of the syntactic behaviour of NPs, we looked at the issue of subject and object in Japanese in various case frames, including those case frames that Shibatani did not examine, i.e. LOC/INST-ACC and ABL-ACC (Tsunoda 1991:203–21). In view of the limitation on space, we shall only list part of the result of analysis.

- (a) NOM-ACC, e.g. (1): NOM is the subject, and ACC is the object.
- (b) NOM-DAT, e.g. (2): NOM is the subject and DAT is the object.
- (c) NOM-NOM, e.g. (3): the first NOM is the subject, and the second NOM is the object.
- (d) DAT-NOM, e.g. (5): DAT is the subject, and NOM is the object.
- (e) LOC/INST-ACC, e.g. (8): LOC/INST is the subject, and ACC is the object.
- (f) ABL-ACC, e.g. (9): ABL is the subject, and ACC is the object.

5. Why non-nominative subjects?

As mentioned in Section 1, in our view, the concept of subject is not given a priori, and it needs to be examined for each language. We considered this issue of Japanese in Section 4. However, from here on, we shall use the term 'subject' in a non-rigid sense, in conformity with the theme of the volume.

The aim of the symposium from which the present volume derives, is to study the nature of non-nominative subjects (dative, genitive, locative, ergative and instrumental). Presumably, nominative subjects would refer to the subject that occurs in case-frames such as NOM-ACC, NOM-DAT, NOM-NOM, NOM-LOC, and NOM-ABL.

Note, however, that this list of non-nominative subjects embraces two different kinds of non-nominative subjects:

- (a) dative, genitive, locative, and instrumental subjects, and
- (b) ergative subjects.

That is, non-nominative subjects need to be classified into two separate types, and nominative subjects are in opposition with each of them separately.

[1] Nominative subjects as against dative, genitive, locative, and instrumental subjects

Within a nominative–accusative system, nominative subjects (e.g. that in NOM–ACC, NOM–DAT, NOM–NOM) are in opposition with non-nominative subjects, e.g. that in DAT–NOM, LOC–ACC, ABL–ACC. Examples from Japanese follow. For nominative subjects, see (1) (NOM–ACC), (2) (NOM–DAT), (3) (NOM–NOM), and (4) (NOM–ABL). Examples of non-nominative subjects include (5) (DAT–NOM). Another example is (8) (LOC/INST–ACC). When the agent refers to an institution, organization or the like, e.g. the police, the A generally occurs in the LOC/INST case (with the postposition *de*), although the NOM, too, is possible (Tsunoda 1981b:429, 1991:171, 177).

- (8) keeshichoo de hannin o LOC/INST–ACC
 Metropolitan Police LOC/INST culprit ACC
 sagashi-te i-ru
 search-INF be-PRES
 ‘The Metropolitan Police is looking for the culprit.’

An additional example is (9) (ABL–ACC). With verbs of speech, e.g. *i(w)*- ‘say’, *moos*- ‘say’ (in the humble style), *osshar*- ‘say’ (in the respect style), *hookokus*- ‘report’, the agent may occur in the ABL case, although the NOM, too, is possible (Tsunoda 1991:171, 177).

- (9) watashi kara kekka o hookokushi-mas-u ABL–ACC
 I ABL result ACC report-POLITE-PRES/FUT
 ‘I will report the result.’

We shall confine this discussion to Japanese. Do non-nominative subjects (e.g. that in DAT–NOM, LOC/INST–ACC, ABL–ACC) differ in any significant way from nominative subjects (e.g. that in NOM–ACC, NOM–DAT, NOM–NOM, NOM–ABL)? No positive answer seems forthcoming. In our view, it is more revealing to classify these case frames as follows:

- (a) canonical case frames: NOM–ACC, and
- (b) non-canonical case frames:
 - (b-i) with a nominative subject, e.g. NOM–DAT, NOM–NOM, NOM–ABL, and
 - (b-ii) with a non-nominative subject, e.g. DAT–NOM, LOC/INST–ACC, and ABL–ACC.

The canonical case frame (NOM–ACC) seems the least marked in that:

- (i) it is used with by far the largest number of predicates;
- (ii) it is used with by far the widest semantic contexts, in terms of semantics of predicates and in terms of semantics of NPs, and;
- (iii) in contrast, non-canonical case frames occur only under limited circumstances, in terms of the semantics of predicates (see Figure 2 and (9)), and in terms of semantics of NPs (see (8)).

That is, regarding Japanese, the classification of ‘canonical vs. non-canonical’ is more revealing than that of ‘nominative vs. non-nominative’. No doubt the same applies to many other languages with a nominative–accusative system.

[2] Nominative subjects as against ergative subjects

Nominative subjects are in opposition with case frames of other case-marking systems. Comrie (1978:332) sets up five case-marking systems: (i) a nominative–accusative system (A/S, O), (ii) an ergative–absolutive system (A, S/O), (iii) a neutral system (A/S/O), (iv) a tripartite system (A, S, O), and (v) (no name given) (A/O, S). Comrie employs the label ‘P’ instead of Dixon’s (1979, 1994) ‘O’. We shall take an ergative–absolutive system, for an example. Nominative subjects, e.g. that in NOM–ACC, NOM–DAT, in a nominative–accusative system, are in opposition with, for instance, that in ERG–ABS and ERG–DAT of an ergative–absolutive system.

We now return to the question ‘Why non-nominative subjects?’ Is it significant to contrast ergative subjects with nominative subjects — despite the fact that both ERG–ABS and NOM–ACC are canonical two-place case frames of the respective case-marking systems? Again, there is no easy answer. A possible clue is provided by Comrie (1981:114): ‘there seems to be general bias in language, . . . , towards nominative–accusative syntax’, for ‘humans have a strong tendency to select more agentive entities as topic of discussion’.

Our own statistical study (Tsunoda 1988a) of texts in six selected languages, i.e. Warrungu, Dyirbal, Kalkatungu, Jaru of Australia, and also English and Japanese, supports Comrie’s view. The data indicates that the discourse in these languages tends to revolve around the A and the S. (See Cooreman 1988 and Cooreman, Fox, and Givón 1984 for a similar view.) In this respect, a nominative–accusative case-marking system is natural or unmarked, in contrast with an ergative–absolutive system, which seems unnatural or marked (*pace* Du Bois 1987, who argues that an ergative–absolutive system is natural). (It should also be noted that Warrungu, Dyirbal, and Kalkatungu have an S/O pivot, and the A needs to be changed into a derived S, in order to meet this syntactic requirement. In this sense as well, an S/O pivot is unnatural or unmarked, in contrast with an S/A pivot, which is natural and unmarked, for it does not require such a syntactic operation. See Tsunoda 1988a:35–6 for a further discussion.)

Also, Nichols (1992:90, 93) points out that, in case-marking, crosslinguistically the nominative–accusative pattern is much more common than the ergative–absolutive pattern³.

Then, if statistical figures provide any indication at all, a nominative–accusative system may be more natural or unmarked as against an ergative–absolutive system. If this is the case, ergative subjects may be considered unnatural or marked, as against nominative subjects. In this respect, it may be meaningful to contrast nominative subjects with ergative subjects. Needless to say, however, this is merely a possibility, and not a definite conclusion.

6. Summary

This chapter has presented a cline of two-place predicates, which shows distribution of two-place case frames. Thus, canonical two-place predicates (e.g. NOM–ACC, ERG–ABS) extend from the left end, while dative constructions (e.g. DAT–NOM, DAT–ABS) spread from the right end. This chapter has also provided a brief survey of two-place case frames attested in Australian Aboriginal languages, together with the semantic and syntactic factors that govern the occurrence of the non-ERG–ABS case frames. Also, it has briefly looked at the issue of subject and object in Japanese. Finally, it has suggested that it may be more revealing to talk about CANONICAL and NON-CANONICAL case frames (and constructions), rather than NOMINATIVE and NON-NOMINATIVE subjects. And that NOM–ACC may be natural or unmarked as against other canonical case frames such as ERG–ABS.

Notes

1. Abbreviations used: A: so-called transitive subject; ABL: ablative case; ABS: absolutive case; ACC: accusative case; ADES: adessive case; DAT: dative case; ERG: ergative case; FUT: future tense; GEN: genitive case; INF: infinitive; INST: instrumental case; LOC: locative case; NOM: nominative case; NONFUT: nonfuture tense; O: so-called transitive object; OBL: oblique case; PRES: present tense; S: so-called intransitive subject
2. I am grateful to Mary Laughren and David Nash for providing information on and discussion of this phenomenon of Warlpiri.
3. I am grateful to Halldor Sigurdsson for drawing Nichols (1992) to my attention.

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CHAPTER 10

Acquisition of the non-nominative subject in Telugu*

A. Usha Rani

V. Sailaja

Introduction

In Telugu, a Dravidian language, the experiencer may be nominative case marked or dative case marked and the possessor is invariably in the locative or dative case. Telugu like most of the languages of the sub-continent has only the verb *be* and it does not have any verb that corresponds to *have*. Literature in South Asian languages shows that there has been a good theoretical discussion of the dative subject construction. Some of the recent studies are briefly mentioned below.

Amritavalli (1988), Shibatani and Pradeshi (2001), and Subbarao (2001) propose that the predicate in the dative subject construction is intransitive. Subbarao (2001) also suggests that both the nature of the predicate and the animacy of the noun phrase in the dative subject construction are crucial for interpretation. Shibatani (1999) observes the following word order facts as “more compelling evidence for the view that the dative nominals are like nominative subjects of canonical transitive clauses”: the unmarked word order in dative object transitive sentences is NOM-DAT-PRED, but in dative subject sentences the unmarked word order is DAT-NOM-PRED. Shibatani concludes that “word order indicates that the dative nominal of a dative construction occurs in subject position . . . in contradistinction to a dative-marked object.” According to Ura (2000) in most of the languages of the world which have the dative subject construction the dative subject occurs in sentence initial position and the predicate is transitive.

Subbarao (2001) shows some syntactic properties shared by the nominative subject and the dative subject in Telugu. One of the properties is that both nominative and dative subjects can be antecedents of an anaphor. Sentence (1) is an example for dative subject occurring as an antecedent of an anaphor¹.

- (1) siita-ku tana-miida tana-ku koopam vacc-in-di
Sita-DAT self-on self-DAT anger come-PAST-3SG.NM
‘Sita got angry at herself’

Another property is that the nominative subject and dative subject can be controllers of PRO in an infinitival clause. Sentence (2) is an example of the dative subject as the controller of PRO.

- (2) kavita-ki [PRO udyoogam dorakaDam] caalaa sulabham
 Kavita-DAT job getting very easy
 'It is very easy for Kavita to get a job'

Considerable attention has been paid in the research in language acquisition concerning the concept of subject. The concept of subject in language acquisition might give a better understanding of the dative-subject constructions in general and Telugu in particular. There have been a number of studies concerning the acquisition of subject in children across languages which we discuss below.

In the case of children's production of subject, it has been hypothesized that the various cognitive operations that go into processing an utterance become more and more automatic as the child gains linguistic experience. The child with limited capacity does possible computations. One type of computation is the insertion of lexical items and syntactic features (Valian 1992). Valian and Eisenberg (1996) in their study of 20 Portuguese-speaking children of average age 2;6 observed an increase in the use of subjects in general and use of pronominal subjects in particular. American children (Valian 1992) and Portuguese children (Valian and Eisenberg 1996) show a positive relation between use of subjects and mean length utterance in words. Bloom (1990) and Valian (1991) found a relation between the length of a child's verb phrase and the likelihood of the child's using a subject. Verb phrases are longest when no subject is used, second longest when a pronominal subject is used and shortest when a full lexical subject is used. These findings are in accordance with the performance deficit explanation. This would predict that all children will increase their use of subject over time because all children's performance limitations will decrease over time.

Research on children learning Asian languages too confirms the performance-deficit prediction. Young Chinese, Japanese and Korean children use subjectless sentences more frequently than the older children and adults (cf. Valian and Eisenberg 1996). The differences between young Italian speakers on the one hand and young speakers of Asian languages on the other could reflect differences in how pro is licensed and identified in Romance and Asian languages. Null subject in Romance languages, including Portuguese, allows an identified pro with rich agreement. In Asian languages without overt agreement pro is identified via discourse.

Research pertaining to Tamil and Telugu children's acquisition shows the early use of the dative case marker in comparison to other case markers (Lakshmi Bai, 1985). She observes that among the case markers, the dative case marker shows a wide range representing different relations. The early acquisition of the dative case marker by children may be attributed to its high functional load.

Studies such as Hyams 1986, Lakshmi Bai and Sailaja (1994) have demonstrated that children's early syntax is characterized by subjectless sentences. Telugu has a rich subject-verb agreement and it permits pro-drop in the subject position. pro-drop is also found in early syntax. Sailaja and Usha Rani (2002) conducted a study to explore the emergence of subject in four Telugu children whose age range was from

2;0–3;0. The data showed that Telugu children at the two-word stage used subjects only 17% of the time, whereas children at the three-word stage used subjects 60% of the time. Pronominal subjects were used more frequently at the three-word stage compared to the two-word stage.

A brief description of the dative-subject constructions in Telugu is presented below. Telugu, a Dravidian language is mainly spoken in Andhra Pradesh, a southern state of India. It is a verb final language. The verb agrees with the argument in nominative case, which is illustrated below.

- (3) neenu paNDu tinn-aa-nu
 I-NOM fruit eat-PAST-1SG
 'I ate the fruit'

There are also constructions where the argument with the dative case marker occurs in the subject position. In these constructions the verb agrees with the theme as in (4).

- (4) naa-ku caalaa aakali vees-in-di
 I-DAT very hunger-NOM feel-PAST-3SG.NM
 'I felt very hungry'

Though Telugu is a relatively free word order language, it exhibits a basic unmarked word order that is NOM-DAT-PRED in nominative-accusative constructions. For example:

- (5) naanna aafisu-ki veLL-EE-Du
 father office-DAT go-PAST-3SG.M
 'Father went to (his) office'

In the dative subject construction the unmarked word order is DAT-NOM-PRED. For example:

- (6) papa-ki aakali vees-in-di
 baby-DAT hunger feel-PAST-3SG.NM
 'The baby felt hungry'

In Telugu the dative case marker *ku/ki* performs a variety of functions to denote different relations like R(ecipient), P(ossessor), E(xperiencer), B(enefactive) and D(irectional) which are illustrated below.

Recipient

- (7) neenu ceTTu-ku niiLLu poos-EE-nu
 I tree-DAT water pour-PAST-1PS
 'I watered the plant'

Possessor

- (8) vaaDi-ki oka skuuTaru un-di
he-DAT one scooter be-3SG.NM
'He has a scooter'

Experiencer

- (9) vaaDi-ki tala noppi un-di
he-DAT head ache be-3SG.NM
'He has a headache'

Benefactive

- (10) vaaDi-ki ninna praiju vacc-in-di
he-DAT yesterday prize come-PAST-3SG.NM
'He got a prize yesterday'

Directional

- (11) paapa skuuli-ki weLL-in-di
girl school-DAT go-PAST-3PSNM
'The girl went to school'

With this background the present chapter attempts to check whether the spontaneous and elicitation data of Telugu children would help in understanding the nature of dative-subject constructions in Telugu.

Two types of methods are employed in this study: (A) spontaneous mode and (B) elicitation mode in the form of imitation. The data collected through these methods are presented in this order.

A. Spontaneous mode

Spontaneous speech samples of six children from 2;0–2;9 were taken from the study of Sailaja (1989). This period was divided into 3 age groups with three months difference between them i.e. 2;0–2;3, 2;3–2;6, 2;6–2;9. Each group was represented by two children. Speech samples were collected and recorded on a cassette tape recorder. Each child was visited six times in three months with an interval of a fortnight. The sessions lasted for 30 minutes. The researcher paid due attention to the spontaneous speech of each child. In order to stimulate children, objects like toys and picture books were made available to them. Most of the time the child was allowed to talk freely without being interrupted. Speech samples relating to the dative case marker *ku/ki* representing the three thematic relations namely R, E and P were taken.

Data and analysis

In this section the emergence of the dative case marker in the children's spontaneous speech and stages in the development of the dative case marker have been

Table 1. Emergence of Case Relations

CR:	R
Ag:	2;0
Cf:	atta ii [aunt give]
AF:	atta-ku ivvu [aunt-DAT give]
G:	Give (it) to aunt'
Ag:	2;0 : 15
Cf:	naa-k ii [I-DAT give]
AF:	naa-ku ivvu [I-DAT give]
G:	'Give it to me'
CR:	E
Ag:	2;1
Ag:	2;1:15
CF:	amma-ku teliidu [mother-DAT know not]
	naa-ku telusu [I-DAT know]
AF:	amma-ku teliidu [mother-DAT know not]
	naa-ku telusu [I-DAT know]
G:	'mother doesn't know'
	'I know'
CR:	P
Ag:	2;3
CF:	naa-ku oka cokka [I-DAT one shirt]
AF:	naa-ku okka cokka undi [I-DAT one shirt is]
G:	'I have a shirt'

Abbreviations: CR = case relation; Ag = age; CF = child form; AF = adult form; G = gloss

examined. Spontaneous speech samples regarding R, E and P case relations have shown the developments set out in Table 1. Table 1 lists the hierarchy observed in the emergence of dative case marker *ku/ki* with respect to the three case relations. At 2;0 the first age group children produced the R-case relation with no overt marking. At 2;0:15 the dative case marker *ku/ki* in R-relation emerged. At 2;1 dative case marker in E-relation emerged. At 2;3 dative case marker in P-relation emerged.

Table 2 shows the development of the dative case marker in four stages. Stage I was marked by the absence of the dative case marker. Stage II was marked by the overt marking of the case relation which had emerged earlier. Stage III was marked by substitution using one case marker in the place of another. The dative case marker was used in place of the locative and instrumental case markers. Stage IV was marked by the consistent use of the dative case marker.

Table 2. Data of six children showing the development of dative case-marker in four stages

Stage: 1 Age: 2;0 Process: absence of the dative case marker	
CF:	atta ii [aunt give]
AF:	atta-ku ii [aunt-DAT give]
G:	‘Give (it) to aunt’
Stage: 2 Age: 2;3 Process: overt presence of the dative case marker	
CF:	antii-ki siitu pettu [aunt-DAT candy give]
AF:	aNTii-ki swiiTu peT’Tu [aunt-DAT candy give]
G:	‘Give a candy to aunt’
Stage: 3 Age: 2;3	
Process : Substitution of the dative case marker by other case markers and vice-versa	
CF:	skuul-loo poota [school-LOC go]
AF:	skuul-ki poota [school-DAT go-1SG]
G:	‘I will go to school’
 (a): Dative for locative	
CF:	Dabbaa-ki peT’Tu [box-DAT put]
AF:	Dabbaa-loo peT’Tu [box-LOC put]
G:	‘Put it in the box’
 (b): Dative for Instrumental	
CF:	karra-ki kodata [stick-DAT beat]
AF:	karra-too koData [stick-INS beat]
G:	‘I beat with the stick’
 (c): Genitive for possession	
CF:	kukka-di rendu cevulu [dog-GEN two ears]
AF:	kukka-ki renDu cevulu [dog-DAT two ears]
G:	‘Dog has two ears’
Stage: 4 Age: 2;6 Process: Consistent use of the dative case marker	
CF:	pedanaanna kaaleeji-ki pooy-aa-Du [father’s elder brother college-DAT go-PRES-3SG.M]
AF:	pedanaanna kaaleeji-ki pooy-aa-Du [father’s elder brother go-PRES-3SG.M]
G:	‘Father’s elder brother went to college’

Abbreviations: CF = Child Form; AF = Adult Form; G = Gloss

B. Elicitation mode

This section deals with the performance of children in the imitation task. Table 3 gives details of the children and material used in the elicitation mode.

Thirty-six children with age ranging from 2;0–5;0 were chosen for the elicitation mode. This period was divided into 3 groups i.e. 2;0–2;11, 3;0–3;11 and 4;0–4;11. Each group was represented by 12 children with one month difference between the

Table 3. Target sentences in the imitation task

Number of children	36
Age	2;0–5;0
Target sentences	24
Nominative construction (transitive)	9
Nominative construction (intransitive)	3
Dative construction	12

children. Each child was identified by a number. Children from 1 to 12 belong to 2;0–2;11 age group. Children from 13 to 24 belong to 3;0–3;11 age group. Children from 25–36 belong to 4;0–4;11 age group.

The transaction of the elicitation mode was recorded on a cassette tape recorder. Here the child was asked to imitate the target sentence immediately after the investigator produced it. Care had been taken to produce the target sentence clearly only once so that the child could repeat it as she/he comprehended it.

The experimental design utilized for the imitation task consisted of 24 sentences. The first type of sentences (1)–(12) were dative constructions. They represent three case relations: 6 sentences in P, 3 in E and 3 in B. Sentence (12) for example shows the dative subject construction in E relation.

- (12) aame-ku baagaa jvaram vacc-in-di
 she-DAT very fever come-PAST-3SG.NM
 'She has high fever'

The second type of sentences (13)–(21) were nominative–accusative type sentences with the indirect object in R-relation. Sentence (13) is an example for nominative subject construction with a ditransitive verb.

- (13) neenu vaaDi-ki pennu icc-EE-nu
 I he-DAT pen give-PAST-1SG
 'I gave a pen to him'

The third type of sentences (22)–(24) was nominative subject constructions with an intransitive verb as in sentence (14).

- (14) vaaLLu santooSam-gaa unn-aa-ru
 they happy-ADVR be-PAST-3PL.H
 'They are happy'

In sentence (12) the subject is Dative case marked and the verb agrees with the theme, while in sentences (13) and (14) the verb agrees with the nominative subject in PNG.

Table 4. Performance of children in imitation task

Number of children with no response	5
Number of children with distorted response	16
Number of children with correct response	15

Data and analysis

The performance of children in the elicitation mode is indicated in Table 4. The absence of the subject both (NOM/DAT) in each child is shown in Table 5. Deletion of the dative case-marked noun in R, E, P and B relation by the children is indicated in Figure 1. Deletion of the subject (NOM/DAT) by all the children is represented in Figure 2.

Table 4 presents the performance of children in the imitation task. Out of 36 children, five have shown no responses where their repetition was not legible because more than half of a target sentence was deleted. Sixteen of them have deleted one category either in NOM case or in DAT case. These responses were identified as distorted responses and were considered for the analysis. Fifteen children have repeated all the 24 target sentences correctly.

Table 5 indicates drop of the subject (both nom/dat) by the children in the imitation task. Distorted responses of 16 children show an interesting pattern. The first column in Table 5 indicates the number allotted to the child. The second column indicates the dative subject deletion. The third column indicates the nominative subject deletion. The table very clearly indicates that 5 out of 12 children belonging

Table 5. Subject deletion (NOM/DAT)

Child	Dative-subject deletion	Nominative-subject deletion (%)
2	8.33	8.33
4	25	25
6	41.67	50
7	16.67	30.33
12	–	8.33
14	–	16.67
15	16.67	25
16	–	16.67
17	8.33	16.67
18	16.67	50
19	8.33	–
20	8.33	–
21	16.67	–
23	–	8.33
25	25	66.67
30	16.67	16.67

to younger age group i.e. 2;0–2;11 dropped the subject. 9 out of 12 children belonging to age group i.e. 3;0–3;11 dropped the subject. 2 out of 12 children belonging to older age group i.e. 4;0–4;11 dropped the subject. Examples below show subject deletion by the children. Type (a) are target sentences and type (b) are repetitions of the target sentences.

Sentence in (15a) is an example for dative subject and 15(b) is an example of drop of the dative subject.

- (15) a. *naa-ku muuD*u* iLL*u* unn-aa-yi*
 I-DAT three houses be-PAST-3PL.NH
 b. *Ø muuD*u* iLL*u* unn-aa-yi*
 three houses be-PAST-3PL.NH
 ‘I have three houses’

Sentence 16(a) is an example of a sentence with a ditransitive verb and a nominative subject and 16(b) illustrates the drop of the nominative subject.

- (16) a. *aame naa-ku uttaram raas-in-di*
 she I-DAT letter write-PAST-3SG.NM
 b. *Ø naa-ku uttaram raas-in-di*
 I-DAT letter write-PAST-3SG.NM
 ‘She wrote me a letter’

Sentence (17a) is an example for nominative subject in intransitive construction and (17b) is an example of drop of the nominative subject.

- (17) a. *neenu entoo koopam-gaa unn-aa-nu*
 I very angry-ADJR be-PAST-1SG
 b. *Ø entoo koopam-gaa unn-aa-nu*
 very angry-ADJR be-PAST-1SG
 ‘I am very angry’

Figure 1 shows the deletion of the dative case marked noun in R, E, P and B relation by the children in the elicitation mode. The percentage drop of the dative case marked noun in R relation is 2% whereas the dropping of dative marked nouns in E, P and B relations are 19%, 11% and 25% respectively.

Sentence (18b) below shows the drop of the dative case marked indirect object.

- (18) a. *amma naa-ku annam peTT-in-di*
 mother I-DAT food keep-PAST-3SG.NM
 b. *amma Ø annam peTT-in-di*
 mother food keep-PAST-3SG.NM
 ‘Mother gave me food’

In sentence (18b) the indirect object *naa-ku* in R relation is deleted. Sentence (19b) is an example of the drop of the subject in the E relation.

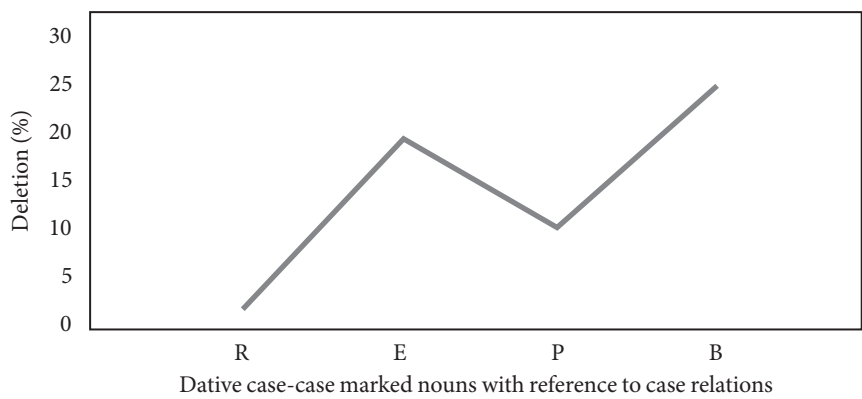


Figure 1. Deletion of dative case-marked nouns in different case relation

- (19) a. vaaDi-ki caalaa aakali vees-in-di
he-DAT very hunger feel-PAST-3SG.NM
b. Ø caalaa aakali vees-in-di
very hungry feel-PAST-3SG.NM
'He felt very hungry'

Sentence (20b) illustrates the drop of the subject in P relation.

- (20) a. nii-ku reNDu kaarlu unn-aa-yi
you-DAT two cars have-PAST-3PL.NH
b. Ø reNDu kaarlu unn-aa-yi
two cars have-PAST-3PL.NH
'You have two cars'

Sentence (21b) illustrates the drop of the subject in B relation.

- (21) a. naa-ku skuulu-loo pennu dorik-in-di
I-DAT school-Loc pen get-PAST-3SG.NM
b. Ø skuulu-loo pennu dorik-in-di
school-Loc pen get-PAST-3SG.NM
'I found a pen in the school'

Figure 2 shows the drop of the nominative and dative subject by the children. Dative subject deletion is 11% whereas as nominative subject deletion is 36%. Sentences (15b) and (16b) are the examples for nominative subject and dative subject deletion.

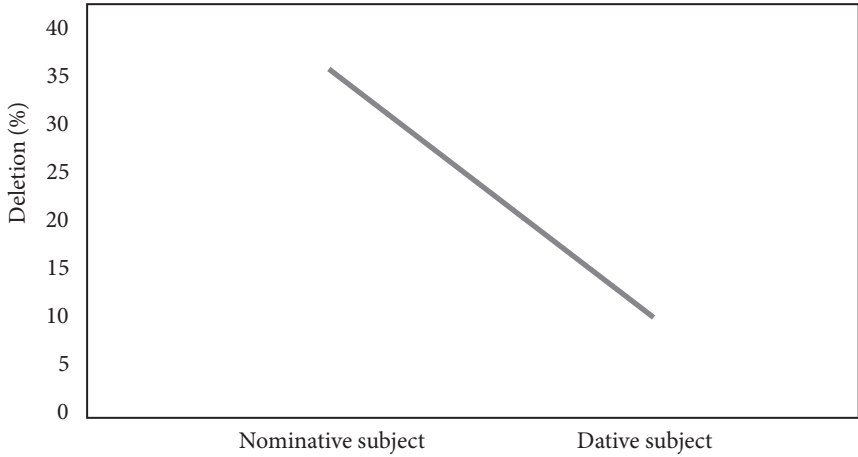


Figure 2. Pro-drop of subject in nominative and dative case (P, E, B)

Discussion

This study examined both spontaneous and elicitation data. The analysis of the data makes the point very clear that deletion and substitution are acting as syntactic devices in early syntax in the acquisition of different syntactic structures. Spontaneous data of the children show an overlapping of case relations. The dative case marker *ki* in the directional relation was substituted by the locative *loo* by four children as in the example below. Thus, the dative case marker occurs with goal noun phrases and noun phrases depicting a location. This could be a possible reason for the substitution of the locative in (22) for the dative in the child form.

- (22) CF AF
 skuul-loo poota skuuli-ki poota
 school-LOC go school-DAT go
 'I will go to school'

In Telugu the dative case marker *ku/ki* is used with a noun phrase as a direction/goal as in (23) whereas the case markers locative and dative together *looki* as in (24) is used with a noun phrase when the location is specified.

- (23) Kamala inTi-ki weLL-in-di
 Kamala home-to go-PAST-3SG.NM
 'Kamala went home'
- (24) donga inTi-loo-ki duur-ee-Du
 thief house-in-to enter-PAST-3SG.M
 'The thief entered the house'

However, the E relation was not substituted by any other lexical case marker which may be due to the fact that sentences with E relation have a distinct syntactic structure. Substitution of a case marker by other case markers was observed as a stage in the acquisition before the productive use of the right case marker. It may be a crucial stage where it can be seen that the child is trying to figure out the case marker representing the thematic notions.

The deletion process seen in the imitation task is a very important strategy in sorting out the grammatical categories in a sentence. The first constituent in a sentence was mostly targeted in the deletion process. Nominative subject in a transitive or intransitive construction agreeing with the verb has been deleted. The next targeted constituent for the deletion was the dative case-marked noun in the initial position in B relation, which was 25%, in E relation, which was 19%, and P relation, which was 11%. Children might have taken a clue from word order in keeping the distinction between R relation in non-initial position and other case relations in the initial position. This observation could be substantiated from acquisitional research on word order. Slobin (1966) and others have evidence to support the view that word order plays an important role in children's early syntax. Slobin's (1971) operating principle says that children pay attention to the order of words and morphemes and it is one of the earliest principles that operates in language acquisition. Sailaja (1994) observes that Telugu children were very sensitive to the position of subject in the initial position.

Two important observations have emerged out of this study. One observation is regarding the transitive constructions. Children in the imitation task have never dropped the direct object in these constructions. For example:

- (25) *neenu ceTTu-ku niiLLu poos-EE-nu*
 I tree-DAT Water pour-PAT-1SG
 'I watered the tree' (Lit. 'I poured water to the tree')

In the above sentence the direct object *niiLLu* 'water' was not dropped by any child. The second observation is regarding the dative-subject constructions which is illustrated in the following sentence.

- (26) *aame-ku baagaa jvaram vacc-in-di*
 she-DAT very Fever come-PAST-3SG.NM
 'She has high fever'

The theme *jvaram* 'fever' has never been deleted by any child in the imitation task.

These two observations are very relevant for the concept of dative subjects in Telugu. In sentence (25), the argument in nominative case *neenu* 'I' in the initial position agrees with the verb, whereas in sentence (26) the theme *jvaram* 'fever' in predicate position agrees with the verb. If agreement is taken as the criterion for identifying subjects in Telugu, *neenu* and *jvaram* should be the subjects in (25) and (26) respectively. Our analysis demonstrates that deletion was used as a syntactic

device by the children in the imitation task which gives a clue for identifying the subject both in nominative and dative constructions. It is only the subject that is deleted in the imitation task. This implies that the child has the capability of identifying the subject irrespective of the fact whether it is nominative or dative case marked. The fact that the nominative subject *neenu* and dative subject *naaku* are deleted more frequently by the younger children and that *niiLLu* the direct object in sentence (25) and *jvaram*, the theme in sentence (26) are never deleted by any child clearly demonstrates that both nominative case marked and dative case marked noun phrases in the initial position are treated as subjects while the theme is not and hence the theme is not dropped.

Conclusion

The performance of the children of this study showed a clear distinction in dealing with dative constructions as opposed to nominative subject constructions. We could observe that direct object in nominative constructions, and theme in dative constructions behaved alike. This study provides evidence to show that deletion and substitution are the primary devices in the acquisitional process. Dative case marker in subject position was deleted, whereas dative in non-subject position was substituted by the locative by the children. Through deletion and substitution devices children showed a distinction between dative case marked noun phrases in subject position and non subject (VP) position. Thus, our study provides evidence from language acquisition in support of the hypothesis that dative subject behaves like nominative subject.

Notes

1. This chapter presents part of the work done University Grants Commission's project on Acquisition and Loss of Lexical Anaphors and the Dative subject in Telugu and Dakhini. The Principal Investigator for the project was A.Usha Rani, and K.V. Subbarao of Delhi University and Barbara Lust of Cornell University were the Co-investigators. V. Sailaja was research assistant for the project.
2. Transcription: T, D and L stand for retroflex consonants, two vowels in a sequence indicate a long vowel. Abbreviations: 1SG: first-person singular; 1PL: first-person plural; 2SG: second-person singular; 2PL: second-person plural; 3SG.M: third-person singular human male; 3SG.NM: third-person singular non-human-male; 3PL.H: third-person plural human; 3PL.NH: third-person plural non-human; ACC: accusative, ADJR: Adjectivalizer, B: Benefactive, DAT: Dative, D: Directional, E: Experiencer, LOC: Locative, PNG: person-number-gender, P: Possessor, Pres: Present, R: Recipient.

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CHAPTER 11

Non-nominative subjects in Marathi

Kashi Wali

1. Introduction

Marathi is an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in Maharashtra state in India. Marathi exhibits four major types of non-nominative subject constructions: the ergative, the dative, the regular passive, and the capability passive. This chapter presents past and present perspectives on case markings and subject qualifications of ergative and dative NPs. Each section first documents their so-called coding properties, followed by a grammatical rule schema, and a discussion of the past and present analyses. Marathi non-nominative subjects have been extensively discussed in the traditional grammars as well as modern frameworks, such as relational and generative grammars. We intend to provide an account of all these views. In addition, we will also take into account the feature checking theory proposed in Ura 2000. Our account brings into focus the significance of Marathi data to grammatical theories of both past and present.

2. Ergative subjects

Marathi is a split ergative language with several distinct features of its own. All ergative subjects are marked with *ne/ni* with the exception of first and second person pronouns, which remain unmarked. Ergative subjects behave exactly like nominative subjects. Both control the same grammatical rules. However, there is one sharp difference. Nominative subjects always agree with their verbs. In contrast, the agreement pattern in ergatives is complex and varied as we discuss later. Ergative subjects in Marathi are conditioned by transitivity, aspect, modality, pronominals, and non-finiteness. We will consider each of these ergative constructions in detail, point out their special features, and then compare their behaviour with nominative subjects.

2.1. Ergativity and aspectuals

Aspectual system in Marathi controls the case of its subject in transitive constructions. All intransitives take nominative subjects and show agreement. In contrast, transitive verbs take nominative subjects only in non-perfective aspect. The subject is marked ergative in perfective transitives except in certain exceptional predicates.¹ A small group of verbs allow both nominative and ergative subjects.² A special

property of all transitive verbs is that they do not allow inanimate subjects irrespective of the aspect. Inanimate subjects may take the *ne* suffix, but the verb remains intransitive (1). The inanimate *ne* has the semantic value ‘because, due to,’ etc. In contrast, the animate *ne* requires a transitive verb and has the theta value ‘agent’ (2). An inanimate subject with a transitive verb is unacceptable (3). Clearly, animate vs. inanimate distinction is significant. Their theta roles directly affect the transitivity of the verb. It also implies that all ergative subjects are animates with agent theta role.³

- (1) *Inanimate subject*
 vaaryaa-ne aarsaa phuT-l-aa
 wind-due to mirror.3SG.M break-PAST-3SG.M⁴
 ‘The mirror broke due to the wind.’
- (2) *Animate subject*
 ravi-ne aarsaa phoD-l-aa.
 Ravi-ERG mirror.3SG.M break-PAST-3SG.M
 ‘Ravi broke the mirror.’
- (3) *Inanimate subject with transitives*
 *vaaryaa-ne kaac phoD-laa.
 wind-ERG glass.3SG.M break-PAST-3SG.M
 ‘The wind broke the glass.’

In both the perfective and the nonperfective aspect, the indirect object is marked *laa*. The direct animate object is also marked *laa*, while the inanimate object is unmarked. However, the animacy distinction is not clear cut. Several micro features noted below condition the marking of the direct object.⁵ The details are significant for both acquisition and syntax since marking dictates the agreement.

Features that condition the object marking:

- i. Indefinite favors no marking, especially if there is no overt indefinite marker such as *ek* ‘one, a’.
- ii. Definite favors *laa* marking, especially if there is no overt definite marker such as *to* ‘that’
- iii. A pronoun and a proper noun favors/requires *laa* marking.
- iv. Animate favors *laa*, with the exception of a few such as *hariN*, *undir*, *DhekuN* ‘deer, mouse, bedbug,’ which are categorized as lower animates and equated with inanimates.
- v. Countable favors *laa*, continue is unmarked.
- vi. Concrete nouns favor *laa*, abstract nouns stay unmarked.

Note that certain verbs also condition *laa* marking:

- vii. Verbs like *vik*, *kharid*, *paNa laav* ‘sell, buy, stake’ favor no marking. The marking is most striking in the case of ambiguous verbs. For example *maaN* ‘to kill, to beat’. This verb favors unmarked direct objects in the sense of ‘kill’, specially if

the object is a nonhuman animate. The verb favours *laa* marked object when used in the sense of 'beat'.

2.1.1. Syntactic rules

Consider now syntactic rules that determine the subject of a sentence. The discussion is confined to subject control in reflexives, various participles, equi, and passivization. The data shows that these rules treat ergative and nominative subjects in a similar fashion. Note that Marathi has two reflexives, namely, *swataah* and *aapaN* with slightly different distribution (Wali 2000). *swataah* is clause bound, while *aapaN* requires its antecedent to be in a higher clause with the exception of possessive and postpositional forms. These may occur in a simple as well as subordinate clause. Both the reflexives are controlled by a subject.

a. Reflexive *swataah*

(4) Nominative subject

ti ravi-laa swataa-vishyi saang-t-e.
she.NOM Ravi-to self-about tell-PRES-3SG.F
'She tells Ravi about herself.'

(5) Ergative subject

ti-ni ravi-laa swataa-vishyi saangit-l-a.
she-ERG Ravi-to self-about tell-PAST-NEUT
'She told Ravi about herself.'

b. Reflexive anaphor *aapaN*

(6) Nominative

ti ravi-laa aaplyaa-vishyi saang-t-e.
She.NOM Ravi-to self-about tell-PRES-3SG.F
'She tells Ravi about herself.'

(7) Ergative

ti-ni ravi-laa aaplyaa-vishyi saangit-l-a.
she-ERG Ravi-to self-about tell-PAST-NEUT
'She told Ravi about herself.'

c. Participle *taac*

The participle *taac* most compatible with verbs of cognition such as *aikNe*, *paahNe*, *kaLNe*, 'hear, see, find out,' conveys the idea of an event just prior to the main clause action. The participle can be controlled only by a subject.

(8) Nominative

ravi-laa paah-taac mini lili-laa bolaav-t-e.
Ravi-to see-upon Mini.NOM Lili-to call-PRES-3SG.F
'Upon seeing Ravi Mini calls Lili.'

(9) *Ergative*

ravi-laa paah-taac mini-ni lili-laa bolaav-l-a.
 Ravi-to see-upon Mini-ERG Lili-to call-PAST-NEUT
 'Upon seeing Ravi Mini called Lili.'

d. Participle *un*

Participle *un* forms a circumstantial adverbial clause. It too is controlled by both nominative and ergative subjects.

(10) *Nominative*

mini ravi-laa ghari jaa-un khaDsaav-t-e.
 Mini.NOM Ravi-to home go-ing scold-PRES-3SG.F
 'Mini scolds Ravi after going home.'

(11) *Ergative*

mini-ni ravi-laa ghari jaa-un khaDsaav-l-a.
 Mini-ERG Ravi-to home go-ing scold-PAST-NEUT
 'Mini scolded Ravi after going home.'

e. Equi control

(12) *Nominative*

mini ravi-laa pakaD-aaycaa praytna kar-t-e.
 Mini.NOM Ravi-to catch-INF try do-PRES-3SG.F
 'Mini tries to catch Ravi.'

(13) *Ergative*

mini-ni ravi-laa pakaD-aaycaa praytna ke-l-aa.
 Mini-ERG Ravi-to catch-INF try-MSG do-PAST-3SG.M
 'Mini tried to catch Ravi.'

f. Passive

Demoted nominative and ergative subjects take the same postposition *kaDun* and promote the direct object.

(14) *Nominative*

mini-kaDun ravi-laa kholi-t Daamb-la jaa-t-a.
 Mini-by Ravi-to room-in dump-PAST PASS-PRES-NEUT
 'Ravi is dumped in the room by Mini.'

(15) *Ergative*

mini-kaDun ravi-laa kholi-t Daamb-la ge-l-a.
 Mini-by Ravi-to room-in dump-PAST PASS-PAST-NEUT
 'Ravi was dumped in the room by Mini.'

(16) *Promoted subject in nominative and ergative*

ravi-laa kholi-t Daamb-la jaa-ta/ge-l-a.
 Ravi-to room-in dump-PAST PASS-PRES-NEUT/PASS-PAST-NEUT
 'Ravi is/was dumped in the room.'

g. Present and Past participial constructions

A difference in the nominative and ergative system is shown in their subject control of present and past participles. Present participles allow only subjects of transitives(17), and those of unergative intransitives(18), to be controlled. Subjects of unaccusative intransitives may not undergo the rule(19). In contrast, the past participle does not allow the control of ergative subject (20). It allows only the absolutive objects and the subjects of unaccusatives to be controlled as in (21, 23). The distinction in the two participial constructions is significant in several respects as we note later.

g.a. Present participial distribution

(17) *Transitive subject*

pustak vaac-Naar-i mulgi.
 book read-PrP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'Book reading girl/a girl who reads the book.'

(18) *Unergative subject*

raD-Naar-i mulgi
 cry-PrP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'Crying girl.'

(19) *Unaccusative subject*

*buD-Naar-i mulgi.
 drown-PrP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'Drowning girl.'

g.b. Past participial distribution

(20) *Transitive/ergative subject*

*pustak vaac-lel-i mulgi.
 book read-PP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'Book read girl/a girl who read the book.'

(21) *Transitive absolutive object*

muli-ni vaac-lel-a pustak.
 girl-ERG read-PP-NEUT book-NEUT
 'Girl read book./The book read by the girl.'

(22) *Unergative subject*

*dhaav-lel-i mulgi.
 run-PP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'A girl who ran.'

(23) *Unaccusative subject*

buD-lel-i mulgi.
 drown-PP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'A girl who drowned.'

2.2. Ergativity in the subjunctive

Marathi subjunctive marks the verb with *av*. The subjunctive takes ergative subjects and displays animate vs. inanimate distinction in direct objects, as is the case with perfective transitives. The direct object marking conforms to the micro-feature conventions mentioned above in (2.1) for transitives. However, subjunctive differs from perfective transitives in two respects. First, the subjunctive ergative has no nominative-accusative counterpart except in a few cases (Kelkar 1997:289). Second, intransitive subjects in the perfective are always in the nominative. Intransitive subjects in the subjunctive may surface as nominatives or ergatives (24, 25).

- (24) *Nominative subject*
 ti dhaava-av-i.
 she.NOM run-SBJ-3SG.F
 'She may run./May she run.'
- (25) *Ergative subject*
 ti-ne dhaava-av-e.
 she-ERG run-SBJ-NEUT
 'She must run.'

Interestingly the difference in case marking is accompanied by a semantic difference in the modality. Ergative subjects denote obligation or necessity.⁶ The nominative is used in the epistemic, or optative sense. Before we consider the implication of this difference we show that the ergative subjects in the subjunctive control the same rules as is the case with nominative and perfective transitives.

2.2.1. Subject control

a. Reflexive *swataah*

- (26) ti-ni ravi-laa swataa-vishyi saanga-av-a.
 she-ERG Ravi-to self-about tell-SBJ-NEUT
 'She should tell Ravi about herself.'

b. Reflexive anaphor *aapaN*

- (27) ti-ni ravi-laa aaplyaa-vishyi saanga-av-a.
 she-ERG Ravi-to self-about tell-SBJ-NEUT
 'She should tell Ravi about herself.'

c. Participle *taac*

- (28) ravi-laa paah-taac mini-ni lili-laa bolva-av-a.
 Ravi-to see-upon Mini-ERG Lili-to call-SBJ-NEUT
 'Upon seeing Ravi Mini should call Lili.'

d. Participle *un*

- (29) mini-ni ravi-laa ghari jaa-un khaDsa-av-a.
 Mini-ERG Ravi-to home go-ing scold-SBJ-NEUT
 'Mini should scold Ravi after going home.'

e. Equi control

- (30) mini-ni ravi-laa pakaD-aaycaa praytna kara-av-aa
 Mini-ERG Ravi-to catch-INF try.3SG.M do-SBJ-3SG.M
 'Mini should try to catch Ravi.'

f. Passive

Demoted subjunctive subjects take the postposition *kaDun* and promote the direct object as is the case with transitive perfectives. Interestingly, the passive only has the epistemic 'wishing' interpretation.

- (31) *Passive*
 mini-kaDun ravi-laa kholi-t Daamb-la jaa-v-a.
 Mini-by Ravi-to room-in dump-PAST PASS-SBJ-NEUT
 'Ravi should be dumped in the room by Mini.' (epistemic sense)
- (32) *Promoted subject in the subjunctive*
 ravi-laa kholi-t Daamb-la jaa-v-a.
 Ravi-to room-in dump-PAST PASS-SBJ-NEUT
 'Ravi should be dumped in the room.' (epistemic sense)

2.3. Ergativity in the infinitives

Marathi infinitive marks the verb with *Ne*. Semantically the infinitive is akin to modality rather than aspect. The nominalized sentence may be intransitive or transitive (33, 34). A speciality of Marathi infinitives, unlike Hindi, Gujarati, or Kashmiri, is its subject may be realized in genitive or ergative case. In addition, intransitive predicates, though not transitives, allow nominative subjects as in (33).

- (33) *Genitive, ergative, or nominative subject*
 tyaa-ca/tyaa-ne/to ghari jaa-Ne ucit naahi.
 his-GEN/he-ERG/he.NOM home go-INF proper not
 'His going home is not proper.'
- (34) *Genitive, and ergative subject of a transitive infinitive*
 tyaa-ca/tyaa-ne ravi-laa maar-Na ucit naahi.
 his-GEN/he-ERG Ravi-to beat-INF proper not
 'His beating Ravi is not proper.'

The substitution of the ergative *ne* in the genitive construction has led to the assumption that the ergative and genitive cases have some kind of structural affinity and

that the two cases are assigned in a similar manner. (Shah 1988.) Within Dixonian framework, the three way case marking may be viewed as thripartite split. (Harris 1997.) However, the suffix *ne* in the infinitive seems to us a postpositional entity with no relation to ergativity. It is the same type of alternation as we find in English “John’s leaving is good” vs “It is good for John to leave.” In short, case variations in the infinitive are not particularly related to ergativity. We will not deal with this phenomenon further.

2.4. Ergativity and the agreement pattern

So far, we have seen that ergative subjects are on par with those in the nominative with respect to several grammatical rules. However, their difference surfaces in the agreement pattern. A nominative subject controls the verb agreement in both intransitives and transitives (35)–(37). In contrast, the agreement in the ergative is complex. It shows several dialectal variations noted below. In standard Marathi, ergative subjects of both intransitives and transitives fail to agree with the verb (38, 39). In the ergative system, whether aspectual or modal, the absolutive direct object controls the agreement (39). The marked direct object fails to do so (40). The agreement is realized in its neutral form (40). In general, an overt case marked argument blocks the agreement.

- (35) *Nominative-subject agreement*
 to dhaav-t-o.
 he.NOM run-PRES-3SG.M
 ‘He runs.’
- (36) to dhaav-l-aa.
 he.NOM run-PAST-3SG.M
 ‘He ran.’
- (37) to samayaa ghaas-t-o.
 he.NOM lamps.3FPL wash-PRES-3SG.M
 ‘He washes lamps.’
- (38) *Ergative-subject nonagreement*
 tyaa-ni dhaava-av-e.
 he-ERG run-SBJ-NEUT
 ‘He should run.’
- (39) *Ergative-object agreement*
 tyaa-ni samayaa ghaas-l-yaa.
 he-ERG lamps.3FPL wash-PAST-3FPL
 ‘He washed lamps.’

- (40) *Ergative overt-object nonagreement*
 tyaa-ni lili-laa maar-l-a.
 he-ERG Lili-to beat-PAST-NEUT
 'He beat Lili.'

2.4.1. *Variations in case and agreement*

It is important to note here that in some Marathi dialects the marked direct object may agree with the verb (41). In some others, both the ergative and the marked direct object show agreement (42). These dialects thus exhibit a dual agreement pattern (42).

- (41) *Ergative overt-object agreement*
 tyaa-ni lili-laa maar-l-i
 he-ERG Lili.FSG-to beat-PAST-3SG.F
 'He beat Lili.'
- (42) *Ergative-subject and overt object agreement (dual agreement)*
 tyaa-ni lili-laa maar-l-i-na
 he-ERG Lili.FSG-to beat-PAST-3SG.F-ERG
 'He beat Lili.'

We noted above that in Marathi first and second person pronouns stay unmarked in ergative context. Interestingly, they still preserve the absolutive direct object agreement of the ergative system. In addition, the second person pronoun adds its own specific agreement marker *S* to the existing direct object marker. The effect is again a dual agreement (44).

- (43) *First person unmarked*
 mi kavitaā vaac-l-i
 I poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F
 'I read the poem.'
- (44) *Second person unmarked: dual agreement*
 tu kavitaā vaac-l-i-S
 you-2SG poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F-2SG
 'You read the poem.'

The suffix *S* accompanies the verb irrespective of the aspect or transitivity. *S* is absent in the subjunctive or imperative mood. *S* is always present with the unmarked second person. Compare (45) with (46).

- (45) *Imperfective intransitive*
 tu ghari jaac-t-e-S.
 you-2FSG home go-PRES-2FSG-2SG
 'You are going home.'

- (46) *Imperfective transitive*
 tu kavitaā vaac-t-e-S
 you.2FSG book read-PRES-2FSG-2SG
 'You are reading a poem.'

2.5. Status of ergativity

Data given so far clearly indicates that ergativity in Marathi is confined to morphology, in particular to case and agreement with certain crucial exceptions. For example, first and second person pronouns are exempt from case and agreement split. They are marked nominative and show nominative agreement. Interestingly, their presence does not block the absolutive object agreement typical of the ergative system. The pronominal system is clearly neither Accusative nor Ergative. In a similar vein, the agreement with the ergative subject and simultaneous absolutive agreement in (42) poses interesting problems for an account of case and agreement in various theories as shown below.

2.6. Perspectives on ergative subjects

In most grammatical traditions agreement is considered as a primary criterion of a subject. Ergative NPs violate this criterion in general and defy the notion of a proper subject. If ergatives are proper subjects, how do they evade agreement, how and why does the agreement switch to the direct object i.e., absolutive, and finally how do ergatives get this so-called quirky/inherent case? An explanatory grammar needs to answer these questions in a satisfactory manner.

Obviously these questions are not new. They have vexed grammarians from time immemorial including Pāṇini. Be that as it may, we would like to trace here a kind of historical perspective about the way these quirky cases and related agreements have been treated with respect to Marathi. My perspective includes the views of traditional Marathi grammarians, and of those who utilized Relational Grammar (RG), and pre- and post-minimalist Chomskian frameworks. Finally, we will attempt to present our own views on the subject. It is important to review these analyses because it brings forth the significance of these constructions to grammatical theories.

2.6.1. Ergativity in traditional grammars

First Marathi grammar of any consequence was written by Tarkhadkar in 1836. What we call ergative today is actually mentioned as *tritiya* (i.e., instrumental), the third case. Tarkhadkar's case system was based on the Sanskrit model. He classified the ergative construction as *karmaṇi prayog*, i.e., passive. His analysis was based on the object agreement. It is interesting to note that European grammarians of the time also allotted a passive voice to this construction. Damle (1911) was the first grammarian to question this classification.

A problem with Tarkhadkar's passive analysis was that though the agreement was with the direct object, intuitively and thematically the instrumental, i.e., the ergative NP was the proper subject. The passive classification failed to capture this intuition. Damle argued that the ergative construction (39) be classified as *pradhāan kartRk karmaNi*, i.e., a subject-oriented passive. In a similar vein, he classified the non-agreement ergative construction in (40) as *pradhāan kartruk bhaave*, i.e., subject-oriented neutral voice. He classified other constructions as narrow voice systems. (41) was termed *karma bhaav sankar*, i.e., object neuter mix, and (42) as *kartru karma sankar*, i.e., subject object mix.

Damle argued that the ergative/instrumental case is an original case of the noun since it may not be substituted by any other inflected case, as is the case with a synonymous *ne* postposition and some other pseudo *ne* constructions such as capability passive.⁷ He elevated ergative marking from a postposition to a true case level and placed it on par with the nominative. His classification captured the semantic sense of ergative. Crucially, he discarded agreement as the criterion of a subject and classified various agreements as part of an extensive voice system. His classification distinguished ergative sentences from a true passive. The subject of a passive has a different semantic value than that of an ergative.

2.6.2. RG frameworks

The earliest RG analysis proposed in Kachru and Pandharipande (K&P) (1979) covered Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri, and Marathi. K&P argued that these languages were not truly ergative, as was the case in some Australian languages with syntactic ergativity (Dixon : 1979). Ergative subjects in Indic obeyed the same grammatical rules as the nominatives. More crucially, they argued that there was nothing special about ergative agreement either. It followed a general schema required for non-nominatives, i.e., dative and passive subjects. They proposed a set of agreement conditions as in (47).

- (47) (i) the verb agrees with the subject in case it is unmarked;
- (ii) in case the subject is marked with a postposition, the verb agrees with any other noun phrase that is unmarked;
- (iii) in case there are no unmarked noun phrases in the sentence, the verb is in the third-person singular neutral form.

Needless to say that these conditions are merely descriptive, a-structural, and are not based on any theoretical framework. Crucially, they have no explanation of the overt ergative marking and the agreement switch to the absolutive object.

A second and rather indepth analysis within RG was proposed in Rosen and Wali (R&W) (1989). Its main purpose was to show that it is grammatical rules that define a subject and not simply its case and agreement. Their analysis successfully showed that both dative and passive NPs have a true subject status though they are overtly marked and do not show any agreement with the verb. However, their analysis did not include ergatives. In RG framework, ergatives and absolutives were defined in

terms of primitives 1 and 2 as in (48):

- (48) An arc belonging to stratum *n* is an Ergative arc in stratum *n* if it is a 1-arc and stratum *n* also contains a 2-arc.
 An arc belonging to stratum *n* is an Absolutive arc in stratum *n* if it is a 1-arc or 2-arc but is not an Ergative arc in stratum *n*.

In short the subject of a transitive sentence was assigned ergative by mere definition. The status of the ergative as a subject was never in question. R&W did not address the complexities of case marking or agreement.

2.6.3. Chomskian frameworks

2.6.3.1. Government and binding theory Consider next Chomskian frameworks. According to Chomsky (1986), the agreement element of INFL, i.e., inflection, is associated with the subject, which it governs, and assigns it a nominative case. The agreement element, i.e., AGR, though assumed to be abstract in nature, was in general equated with the verb agreement. This concept of AGR created problems when applied to Hindi, Marathi, and some other Indic languages where verb agreement did not necessarily tally with a subject NP. This was succinctly brought to notice in Gair and Wali (G&W) (1988). They argued that agreement is not a unitary phenomenon. They proposed that the agreement in Hindi and Marathi was an anaphoric element. They called it small agr. Crucially, they showed that the big AGR was not necessarily linked to the surface agreement. They stated the agreement conditions in Hindi and Marathi as in (49):

- (49) a. Agreement element is always with a direct case nominal within the minimal IP.
 b. The agreement-controlling nominal will be an argument of the verb included in its theta grid.
 c. The agreement-controlling NP always C commands the verbal forms that show agreement.
 d. If there is more than one C commanding NP within IP, agreement is with the one highest in the tree, which we refer to as the maximally c-commanding NP.

Conditions in (49) are similar to K&P's (47) except that (49) is formalized within a structural framework. However, (49) encounters some serious problems with pronominal case and agreement noted above and repeated below (50, 51).

- (50) *First person unmarked*
 mi kavitaa vaac-l-i.
 I.NOM poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F
 'I read the poem.'

- (51) *Second person unmarked*
 tu kavitaā vaac-l-i-s.
 you.NOM-2SG poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F-2SG
 'You read the poem.'

In (50, 51) both the subject and the object NPs are unmarked. Condition (d) predicts that the agreement should link with the highest NP. (50, 51) show agreement with the absolutive direct object, an NP lower in height. These examples suggest that first and second person pronouns are covert ergatives and the absolutive is taking over the agreement, not because it is higher or lower but because of that particular relation. An ergative need not be overtly marked to exert its influence.

The second person agreement suffix *S* provides another complexity in the system. As noted above, *S* accompanies the verb irrespective of aspect and transitivity. Compare the perfective (51) with the imperfectives (45, 46).

According to G&W Marathi ergative and nominative forms are homonymous in the first and second person and there is nothing more exotic about it than English '*her vis-a-vis him* and '*his*'. They state that since *S* agreement is always with the subject, i.e., the external argument, regardless of its surface case it represents the AGR element in INFL. Surface case does not block agreement *S* simply because the relevant condition involves structural case, surfacing as either direct or ergative under specified condition. In short, the argument justifies that ergative occupies the same structural spot as the nominative. Nominative and ergative are simply contextual variations of each other. This argument also explains the agreement with the ergative subject (42) noted above. The question still remains why the ergative alone shows absolutive direct object agreement?

Finally consider the interpretation of subject under G&W. Condition (49d) states that the agreement will be controlled by the highest NP, i.e., subject in the context of two unmarked NPs as in (52).

- (52) *mini pustak vaac-t-e.*
 Mini.3SG.F book read-PRES-3SG.F
 'Mini reads a book.'

This construction has been a stumbling block for most analyses that state the agreement in terms of an unmarked NP and deny ergative as a separate system of agreement. It is not the case that verb agrees with an unmarked NP, but in the context of two unmarked NPs *mini*, and *pustak* 'book' in (52) the verb must choose the highest C commanding NP, i.e., *mini*. Of course, the highest NP is also the natural subject and it shows the big AGR as defined in Chomsky (1986). The most natural agreement, i.e., the nominative subject agreement has to be specified in a twisted and contorted form under G&W.

2.6.3.2. Active agreement theory We now consider Wali and Koul (W&K) : 2000), They have analysed Kashmiri and Marathi ergativity utilizing Active Agreement (AA) theory (Bobaljik 1993; Chomsky 1995, ch. 3). The theory takes into account

the difference between nominative and ergative systems. (See Dixon 1979.) A hallmark of the ergative system is that properties, such as case, agreement, and control, of both unergative and unaccusaative intransitive subjects, align with the absolutive object (53). In contrast, in a nominative system, subjects of both the intransitives align with the nominative (53).

(53)	Nominative system		Ergative system	
Transitive verb	Nom	Acc	Erg	Abs
Unergative intransitives	Nom	—	—	Abs
Unaccusative intransitives	Nom	—	—	Abs

In AA theory, a transitive verb has two agreements AGR1 and AGR2. AGR1 is active in the nominative system while AGR2 is active in the ergative type. Only one AGR is active at any time due to Economy Principle. Nominative and Absolutive are posited as two distinct cases. AGR1 checks the nominative case while AGR2 checks the absolutive. Both the nominative and the absolutive are perceived as obligatory cases that must be checked in the respective system by their respective agreements. The case of intransitive subjects, whether unergative or unaccusative, links with the active agreement in that particular system. As a result, intransitive subjects in the nominative system bear nominative case while those in the ergative system bear the absolutive case. Bobaljik (1993) states this as Obligatory Case Parameter (OCP). Note that the intransitives in the two systems are structurally different (54, 55).

- (54) Intransitive clause: NOM-ACC
[_{AGR1} NOM [_{TP} [VP NP V] T] AGR1]]]

- (55) Intransitive clause: ERG-ABS
[_{TP} [_{AGR-2} ABS [VP NP V] AGR2] T]]]

According to W&K under AA theory there is no need to refer to the natural subject in (52) as the highest NP as is the case in G&W (49d). In AA, only the nominative subject in (52) may link to AGR1. The unmarked object in (52) cannot link to AGR1. Second, AA theory finds a natural explanation of the absolutive agreement, i.e., AGR2, in the context of unmarked first and second person pronouns (50, 51). The absolutive links to the active AGR2. Unmarked Pronominal case has no bearing on AGR2.

However, AA theory has no explanation for the second person suffix *S* (51). *S* clearly indicates that AGR1 is active, contrary to AA assumption. W&K argue that the complexity of this problem resides in the Marathi agreement system itself. The agreement that the ergative system controls is cued to gender and number. It is this agreement that is subject to AGR1 and AGR2. *S* is cued to person and number. It is a different agreement. It is controlled by INFL. It governs the SUBJECT CASE, i.e., NOM. In short, this analysis also points to two systems of agreement as in G&W mentioned above. It is not clear how AA theory can accommodate AGR and agr. What is clear is that AGR2 is always active in an ergative system irrespective of the subject's ergative/nominative marking.

Consider now the *laa*-marked animate absolutive. As noted earlier, this absolutive blocks the agreement (40). AGR2 seems to be inactive. W&K argue that the blocking of AGR2 is a low level language specific rule. *laa* marking is controlled by a number of micro features (2.1.) and does not necessarily block AGR2 as shown in (56). They claim that the basic case of the direct object in an ergative construction is absolutive as required by the ergative system.

- (56) tyaa-ne lili-laa baandha-l-i
 he-erg Lili.3SG.F-to tie-PAST-3SG.F
 ‘He tied Lili.’

A major problem with AA theory arises with respect to ergative subjects found with the unergative intransitives. These are predominantly present in Marathi subjunctives as noted above (25). Intransitive unergatives with ergative case, also known as active unergatives (Harris 1997), is a common feature of many ergative languages. These active unergative subjects as in Marathi subjunctive(25), align with the ergative subjects of transitives. The alignment matches the nominative system (57).

(57)	Nominative system		Ergative system	
Transitive verb	Nom	Acc	Erg	Abs
Active Unergative subject	Nom	—	Erg	—
Regular Unergative subject	Nom	—	—	Abs
Unaccusative subject	Nom	—	—	Abs

Traditionally these active unergatives intransitives have been suspected to be transitive in nature. This intuition has been formally captured in Hale and Keyser (1993). According to them all unergative intransitives are transitive predicates at the lexical level. In most languages, the objects of unergative predicates undergo incorporation into the verb. The unergative subject then moves to the specifier of AGR1 or AGR2 and is marked nominative or absolutive depending on the system. However, if the subject emerges in the ergative, it is assumed that the objects are not incorporated into the verb. The presence of cognate objects then forces the subject to be ergatively marked. Note however, not all active unergatives show cognate objects. In this context, it is assumed that the cognate objects are present as expletive *pro* at the lexical level. The expletive *pro* forces the subject to be ergatively marked. The hypothesis that all unergatives are lexically transitives preserves the active agreement theory. W&K successfully apply this analysis to Marathi subjunctives. Hale and Keyser’s(1993) theory explains the active unergative intransitives in the subjunctives (58). In addition, it also explains a further subjunctive sub-split. Unergative subjects in the subjunctive may appear in the absolutive (59). The case difference is not tied to the verb or the modal suffix. The difference is tied to semantics. The active unergatives (58) project an obligative modality. The absolutive unergatives (59) are tied to a potential, epistemic or optative modality. The split is clearly tied to obligative vs. potential. (See Hook, et al 1987.) Note that the case distinction is projected

in the verb agreement. The ergative subject fails to agree (58). The absolutive shows agreement (59). In both cases AGR2 is active.

- (58) *Obligative modality*
 tyaa-ne hasa-av-e.
 he-ERG laugh-SBJ-NEUT
 'He should laugh.'
- (59) *Potential modality*
 to hasa-av-aa.
 he.NOM.3SG.M laugh-SBJ-3SG.M
 'I wish he would laugh./May he laugh.'

The pronominal split noted in the perfective persists in the subjunctive. Both first and second persons are unmarked in the obligative modality and fail to show agreement. In the potential, they show the normal agreement pattern. The pronouns are in the absolutive.

- (60) *Obligative modality*
 tu hasa-av-e.
 you laugh-SBJ-NEUT
 'You should laugh.'
- (61) *Potential modality*
 tu hasa-av-aa.
 you.MSG laugh-SBJ-2MSG
 'May you laugh/I wish you would laugh.'

In conclusion, AA theory has several advantages. It captures the crucial alignment difference between Nominative/Accusative and Ergative systems. It provides a proper analysis of nominative and absolutive agreement. It also provides a neat explanation of the obligative/potential split in the subjunctive with the proviso suggested in Hale and Keyser. A big bonus of the proviso is it explains the existence of active unergatives, i.e., intransitives with ergative subjects. These active intransitives had no explanation under previous theories. They were listed as anomalous entities (Comrie : 1979). A crucial problem with AA theory is its failure to explain the nominative agreemental S of the second person in the ergative system. This S indicates that AGR1 is also active in the ergative system. Damle(1911) had classified it as *kartru karma sankar* (subject object mix).⁸

2.6.3.3. Agreement less feature checking theory Recently, agreement based theory has been superseded by the so-called agreement less feature checking theory (Chomsky 1995, chap. 4; Ura 2000). Agreement is assumed to be a feature of Tense itself and not a separate projection. The theory in essence states that sentences are derived phrase by phrase, by the options of MERGE and MOVE. Movement is driven for the sake of feature checking. Functional categories such as Tense (T), and v, the

light verb, carry certain features (F). These features give them the power to attract NP/DP and check their pertinent features (f) in their local/syntactic domain. Feature checking licenses the NP/DP with a proper Grammatical Function (GF). Tense bears the Features such as [NOM], agreement, and [EPP] (Extended Projection Principle). It is EPP that attracts the subject to Specifier (Spec) of T. The light verb *v* assigns theta roles and bears the ACC Feature. Features may be strong, weak, or neutral. (Syntactic operations and checking may take place in PF (i.e., overt syntax) or in LF (i.e., covert syntax). (For details see Ura 2000). A highlight of this theory is that Case and agreement checking is dissociated from each other and also from grammatical functions. Ura has applied this theory to ergative, dative, and some other constructions in several languages including Hindi.

According to Ura, an Ergative system differs from the Accusative, that is, NOM-ACC, by a parameter he calls [\pm TPC] Theta Position Checking. The parameter is based on a stipulation suggested in Chomsky (1995): An element base generated by MERGE in its theta position cannot undergo feature checking unless it moves somewhere other than its base generated position. Ergative system is [+TPC], while Accusative is [-TPC]. Both Accusative and Ergative have the same basic structure (62).

(62) [_{TP} T [_{VP} SUBJ(Tr) *v* [_{VP} V OBJ]]]:

In both Accusative and Ergative the transitive subject, i.e. SUBJ(Tr)(62), originates in the specifier of a light verb *v* and is assigned its theta role⁹ (see Ura 2000: 206 for details). However, there is a difference in the way the case and agreement of NP/DP are checked in the two systems as noted below.

Accusative:

Accusative is [-TPC]. The [EPP]-feature of the Tense(T) attracts the subject. Subject moves to Specifier of T. T's [NOM] and [agr]-features are strong and they check these features on the subject. *v*'s [ACC]-features check the object case.

Ergative:

Ergative is [+TPC]. [+TPC] licenses the light verb *v* to assign both theta role and ergative case to the subject in-situ. An ergative subject is attracted to Spec of T to satisfy T's [EPP]-feature. The absolutive object is assigned theta role by *v*, but its [NOM] and [agr]-features are checked by T's [NOM] and [agr]-features at LF.

In the non-perfective constructions in Marathi the subject is nominative and links with agreement (63). The direct object may be nominative or *laa* marked (63). We gloss *laa* objects as ACC henceforth. The direct object in either case does not link with agreement.

(63) *ti patthar/mulaa-laa phék-t-e.*
 she.NOM stone.NOM.3SG.M/boy-ACC throw-PRES-3SG.F
 'She throws the stone/boy (up).'

Sentence (63) is clearly [-TPC]. [NOM] case and [Agr]-features on the subject are checked by T at PF level. The morphological [NOM]¹⁰ on the object cannot be

checked by v. v can only check the [acc]-feature. [nom]-feature can only be checked by T. This checking takes place at LF. It leads to the conclusion that T's [nom]-feature can enter into a multiple checking relation, once with the subject and once with the object. The *laa* object has the [acc]-feature. It is checked by v.

Returning to ergative, recall that the split is conditioned by perfective and subjunctive and not by any lexical property of v. The DO in the ergative may be in the nominative/absolutive (64), or *laa* marked (65). The nominative/absolutive object obligatorily links with agreement (64). The *laa* object blocks the agreement in the standard dialect (65).

- (64) ti-ni patthar phék-l-aa.
 she-ERG stone.3SG.M.NOM/ABS throw-PAST-3SG.M
 'She threw the stone (up).'

- (65) ti-ni mulaa-laa phék-l-a.
 she-ERG boy.3SG.M-ACC throw-PAST-NEUT
 'She threw the boy (up).'

In order to accommodate the extra aspect/mood factor Ura (2000) stipulates that the ergative case is jointly assigned by perfective/mood and v. In (65), ergative subject raises to Specifier of T to satisfy [EPP]-feature. Ergative NP assumes the subject status. The nominative/absolutive case and agreement features of the direct object (DO) in (64) are checked by T at LF. The *laa* marked DO shows neutral agreement (65). Neutral agreement leaves T's [NOM]-feature unchecked. This is explained by invoking an Impersonal Parameter. The parameter allows the [NOM]-feature on T to remain unchecked. In sum, T's [NOM]-feature is flexible. It may enter into multiple checking relation (63), or remain unchecked (65). Secondly, [NOM] and [agr]-features of T are independently checked.

Consider now dialectal variations on (65). In some dialects, say Dialect A, the *laa* DO shows agreement (66). In some others (Dialect B), the ergative NP also shows agreement. The ergative agreement *na* (67) does not vary with person, gender, or number. It is placed after the *laa* agreement, i.e., *aa* (67).

- (66) *Dialect A*
 ti-ni mulaa-laa phék-l-aa.
 she-ERG boy.3SG.M-ACC throw-PAST-3SG.M
 'She threw the boy (up).'
- (67) *Dialect B*
 ti-ni mulaa-laa phék-l-aa-na.
 she-ERG boy.3SG.M-ACC throw-PAST-3SG.M-ERG
 'She threw the boy (up).'

In both (66,67) [ACC]-feature of *laa* is checked by v. However, in Ura's theory, v has no agreement features. Clearly the *laa* agreement in (66, 67) must be checked by T at LF, though it is not controlled by [NOM/ABS]. The ergative agreement in (67)

imitates the Accusative pattern. According to Ura, this type of agreement is checked by T's strong agreement feature. In short, the difference between DO agreement and ergative subject agreement is cued to T's strength of agreement feature. The [+STRONG agr]-feature checks the subject agreement. The weak [-STRONG agr]-feature checks DO's agreement at LF. The feature [\pm STRONG agr] acts as a parameter. The parameter distinguishes (66) from (67). In addition, (67) suggests that both strong and weak agreement can exist simultaneously.

However, Ura's theory encounters a serious problem with the unmarked first and second person pronouns in the ergative system repeated below (68, 69). Recall that the second person shows agreement S and follows the absolutive agreement (69) thus giving rise to dual agreement. It is a common feature of all dialects including the standard dialect.

- (68) mi kavitaā vaac-l-i.
I.NOM poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F
'I read the poem.'

- (69) tu kavitaā vaac-l-i-S.
you.NOM poem.3SG.F read-PAST-3SG.F-2SG
'You read the poem.'

Both (68, 69) are a hybrid mixture of Accusative and Ergative systems. In both pronominal subject is in the [NOM]. In (69) the subject induces agreement S typical of the Accusative system. The direct object is in the nominative/absolutive and shows absolutive agreement typical of an ergative system. Clearly, the subject's [NOM]-feature cannot be licitly checked by v as required by Ura's [+TPC] mentioned earlier. The light verb v can only check ergative or accusative case. Marathi pronominal subject shows a failure of Ura's [\pm TPC] parameter that distinguishes Accusative from the Ergative one.

Note that Ura's [\pm TPC] parameter equates ergative with the accusative case, and nominative with the absolutive as has been done in several analyses noted earlier. Pronouns in Marathi question this assumption. Marathi pronouns show that ergative is not just another name for accusative. In an ergative system, it is Absolutive that has the prominence, just as Nominative does in the Accusative system. Bobaljik's OCP analysis did capture Absolutive prominence. However, the theory failed due to AA assumptions. It had no power to capture the agreement nuances. We argue that [\pm TPC] be replaced by [\pm MPC], i.e., MOOD POSITION CHECKING parameter. It states that the split is cued to the functional M representing both perfective and subjunctive.

Under our assumption the Accusative is [-MPC] while the Ergative is [+MPC]. In an ergative system v projects M and then T as shown in (70). M has the Features [ERG], [ABS, agr]. T's features are [EPP, NOM, AGR].

- (70) [_{TP} T [_{MP} M [_{VP} SUBJ(Tr) v [_{VP} V OBJ]]]

Schema (70) captures the difference between AGR and agr noted earlier. Note again that AGR is cued to nominative structures, while agr dominates the absolutive object in the ergative. In (70) M checks the [ERG]-feature of the ergative NP but does not allot a subject status to it. T's [EPP]-feature now attracts the ergative NP. Ergative NP moves to Spec. of T and becomes the subject. Consider now the second person pronoun subject in (69). Its features are [NOM] and it shows S-AGR. It checks these features with those of T when it moves to Spec. of T to become the subject. However, in this case M's [ERG]-features, though not [agr]-features, remain unchecked. This is legal in Ura. His theory allows feature to go unchecked. The absolutive object in (69) checks its [ABS, agr]-features with [ABS, agr]-features of M. All the agreement and case features of both the subject pronoun and the absolutive object in (69) are thus satisfied. The structure in (70) thus neatly explains the dual agreement in (69). The success is keyed to the mechanism of feature checking.

Consider now agreement with the ergative subject in Dialect B (67). I suggest that M in (70) also checks the agreement of the ergative subject. This agreement is mostly neutral but it may have a weak value too. The neutral feature is strong and as such ergative subjects never show any agreement, except in certain dialects (67) where the weak agreement comes into play. The checking of these features takes place at LF. These features directly oppose the strong agr of T. Finally, consider active unergatives (58/71).

- (71) *Obligative modality*
 tyaa-ne hasa-av-e.
 he-ERG laugh-SBJ-NEUT
 'He should laugh.'

Ura posits the following structure for all unergative intransitives including active unergative after MERGE with T.

- (72) [_{TP} T [_{VP} SUBJ(I) V]] (SUBJ(I):intransitive subject)

Here Ura again invokes his [\pm TPC] distinction. According to Ura unergative intransitives with [NOM/ABS] subject are [-TPC]. These check T's [NOM/ABS]-features as usual. He argues that the ergative case of the active unergatives as in (71) is checked by v under [+TPC] as is the case with ergative transitives. However, a problem arises with T's nominative/absolutive case features that must be checked off. This poses no problem in the regular ergative transitives. But, in the active intransitive (71) there is no extra argument that would check the required feature of T. Ura suggests that T's [NOM/ABS]-features escape checking due to Impersonal Parameter.

Ura does not resort to Hale and Keyser's suggestion mentioned earlier that all unergatives are basically transitive in nature. He discards the idea of a cognate object in these constructions. The cognate object analysis however, is much more natural and gives a better explanation of unergative absolutive and active unergatives in Marathi. Impersonal parameter should not be invoked in every situation. This is specially true in Marathi where active unergatives and absolutive unergatives form

a major distinction in the subjunctive with a semantic consequence. We suggest that unergatives in Marathi subjunctive are [+MPC] and their case markings will be properly explained with the help of cognate object proviso as dealt with earlier.

2.7. Ergative subjects: conclusions

We showed in the beginning that ergative subjects behave exactly like the nominatives with respect to control in reflexives, participial and equi constructions. Clearly, ergative marking does not interfere with these subject properties. Under Ura these properties are designated as [+construable]-features. A major impact of ergative marking is felt in the agreement system. The agreement system challenged the subject status of ergative. Damle overcame this weakness by classifying various agreements as part of a voice system. His classification preserved the sense of ergative as a subject. Gair and Wali pointed out the drawbacks in Chomsky's (1986) agreement theory. They were the first to suggest that Marathi has two agreement types: (AGR, agr). The distinction was related to the difference between Nominative and Ergative agreement system. AGR and agr challenged the Active Agreement theory as well as Ura's [\pm TPC] parameter. We have argued that Ura's parameter be replaced by [\pm MPC] with certain changes in the distribution of features between T and M. An advantage of feature theory is that a subject is defined by T's [EPP] and [+construable] features. The morphological case and agreement features are checked independently and do not interfere with NPs function as a subject.

3. Dative subjects

In Marathi, subjects of dative/psychological predicates are obligatorily marked *laa* in all tenses and aspects. These include verbs of mental or physical state, belief, knowledge, desire, or perception. Dative Subject (DS)*laa* is homophonic with the *laa* of absolutive animate DO, and IO, the indirect object. DS *laa* is semantically closer to IO *laa*. Both DS *laa* and IO *laa* are not subject to morphological variations as is the case with the DO *laa* (see 2.1). DS unlike the ergative NP, may be animate or inanimate. It does not invoke unmarked first or second person pronouns. DS never agrees with the verb. The agreement function is assigned to, what I call Theme NP, which accompanies DS. Theme NP is always in the nominative. The grammatical control of DS and Theme is noted below. It is quite distinct from the one in the ergative.

3.1. DS and theme control

Reflexives *swataah* and *aapaN*:

DS may not antecede the bare reflexive Theme (74) but it may antecede other reflexive forms (75). Similarly, Theme may not antecede DS (76), but it may antecede other adverbial NPs in the construction (77).

(73) *Simple DS and Theme forms*

mini-laa ravi aavD-t-o.
 Mini-DAT Ravi.3SG.M like-PRES-3SG.M
 'Mini likes Ravi.'

a. Reflexive forms

DS control of reflexivized Theme

(74) *Bare reflexive*

*mini-laa swataah/aapaN aavD-t-e.
 Mini-DAT self/self like-PRES-3SG.F
 'Mini likes self.'

(75) *Possessive reflexive*

mini-laa swataah-ci/aap-li bahiN aavaD-t-e.
 Mini-DAT self-of/self-of sister-3SG.F like-PRES-3SG.F
 'Mini likes self's sister'

Theme control of reflexivized DS

(76) *Possessive reflexive*

*mini swataa-cyaa/aaplyaa bahiNi-laa aavD-t-e.
 Mini self's/self's sister-DAT like-PRES-3SG.F
 'Self's sister likes Mini.'

(77) *Reflexivized adverbials*¹¹

mini-laa ravi swataah-cyaa/aaplyaa aafis-madhe
 Mini-DAT Ravi.3SG.M.NOM self's/self's office-in
 bheT-l-aa.
 meet-PAST-3SG.M
 'Mini met Ravi in his/self's (=Ravi) office.'

b. Participle *taac*: Only the DS NP *Ravi* is in control, not the Theme, *Lili*

(78) hi gosTa aiktaac ravi-laa lili aaThav-l-i.
 this story hear.upon Ravi-DAT Lili.3SG.F remember-PAST-3SG.F
 'Upon hearing this story Ravi remembered Lili./ *Lili remembered Ravi.'

c. Participle *un*: Controller; DS, *Theme.

(79) mini-laa taajmahaal paah-un ravi aaThav-l-aa.
 Mini-DAT Tajmahal see-ing Ravi.3SG.M remember-PAST-3SG.M
 'Mini remembered Ravi upon seeing Tajmahal.'

d. Equi victim: *DS, *Theme

(80) a. *DS
 *ravi-ni mini aavDaay-caa praytna ke-l-aa.
 Ravi-ERG Mini.NOM like-INF try.3SG.M do-PAST-3SG.M
 'Ravi tried to like Mini.'

b. *Theme

*ravi-ni mini-laa aavDaay-caa praytna ke-l-aa.
 Ravi-ERG Mini-DAT like-INF try.3SG.M do-PAST-3SG.M
 'Ravi tried to be liked to Mini.'

e. Present participial construction: DS

- (81) baahuli aavD-Naar-i mulgi.
 doll like-PrP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'The doll liking girl...'
 (The girl who likes the doll)
- (82) Present participial: Theme
 muli-laa aavD-Naar-i baahuli.
 girl-DAT like-PrP-3SG.F doll.3SG.F
 'The doll which the girl likes/girl liking doll.'

f. Past participial: DS

- (83) ?baahuli aavD-lel-i mulgi.
 doll like-PP-3SG.F girl.3SG.F
 'The doll liked girl.'
- (84) *Past participial: Theme*
 muli-laa aavD-lel-i baahuli.
 girl-DAT like-PP-3SG.F doll.3SG.F
 'The girl liked doll./The doll which the girl liked.'

g. Passive: DS does not passivize.

- (85) *muli-kaDun pustak aavD-l-a ge-l-a.
 Mini-by book-NEUT like-PAST-NEUT passive-PAST-NEUT
 'The book is liked by Mini.'

3.2. Case and agreement

The differences between the dative and ergative subjects are striking with respect to case and agreement. For example, the dative subject NPs case and agreement do not change for tense or aspect. Similarly, the dative subject suffix *laa* does not delete for second or first person, as is the case with the ergative. The verb agrees with the nominative Theme for gender and number (86), and also the second person S (87). In short, Theme has all the agreement features of a nominative.

- (86) *Theme agreement*
 mini-laa ravi aavD-t-o.
 Mini.3SG.F-DAT Ravi.3SG.M like-PRES-3SG.M
 'Mini likes Ravi.'

- (87) *Agreement S with the second-person Theme*
mini-laa tu aavD-t-o-S.
Mini-DAT you-MSG like-PRES-2MSG-2SG
'Mini likes you.'

In sum, DS controls both *swataah* and *aapaN* with certain restrictions. It also controls subjects of *taac*, and *un*, participials. The DS control in present and past participial shows variation in acceptability amongst speakers (see Joshi 1993: 57). DS does not control *equi* or undergo passivization. It never links with the agreement. Theme NP controls *swataah* in certain adverbials only. It has no control over *aapaN*. It has control over PRO in present and past participials. It does not participate in *taac*, *un*, *equi* or passive rules. The tabulation of DS and Theme controls as in (88) shows that they share certain rules, though not all.

(88)

	Ref. <i>swataah</i>	Ref. <i>aapaN</i>	<i>taac</i> -PTCP	<i>un</i> -PTCP	<i>Equi</i>	<i>PRES</i> -PTCP	<i>PAST</i> -PTCP
DS	+	+	+	+	*	?	?
Theme	+	–	–	–	*	+	+

3.3. Perspectives on DS and Theme NPs

Grammatical relations of DS and Theme have intrigued grammarians of all traditions starting from PaaNini. Grammarians seem to have no grip on the status of these two NPs. The problem centers around finding a common ground between the semantic nuances and syntactic roles. This common ground is extremely slippery and, as such, DS construction presents a crisis in all grammatical theories including the most recent ones. PaaNini, for example states that dative is not a true subject. Dative is a receiver, i.e., goal as suggested by its case, that is, *chaturthi*, the forth case in Sanskrit. He states that Theme is a true agent. Marathi grammarians vary in their analysis. Damle (1911) for example, argued that DS is a kind of locative NP. Both are marked *laa* and encode the semantic element goal. According to Kelkar (1983) DS has a special case called ‘Bhokta,’ which is equivalent of experincer NP. Arjunwadkar (1987) argues that these analyses do not include all the semantic shades of the predicates which take *laa* DS. He suggests that dative subject should be assigned a ‘Generalized relation case,’ i.e., a case that encompasses many semantic shades.

Returning to current theories, a first in-depth and extensive analysis of Marathi dative subject construction is proposed in Rosen and Wali (1989) within RG framework. The object was to show that inspite of overt case, and agreement differences from the standard nominative construction, the dative subject has several grammatical properties as evidenced by the control of rules noted above. They argued that the dative nominal is a subject at initial strata but demotes to indirect object

at the final stratum. The analysis was not quite clear on the status of the theme NP. Their analysis could not convincingly argue that the theme NP was a final/surface subject. The analysis proposed that it may be a demoted 2, which involved positing a dummy, i.e., a pro subject at the final level. Today, we may not agree with their final conclusions, but their analysis brought to light for the first time the value of grammatical rules to Non-nominative subjects.

A second analysis of dative subjects of this era is found in Pandharipande (1990). The highlight of her analysis is that it brings to attention the two semantic components of *laa* marked dative, namely location and possession. The dative subject *laa* is interpreted as having a possessive sense when it is used as a complement of the auxiliary *aahe* 'is'. Her analysis shows the suspected spread of semantic nuances that accompany Marathi dative subject. However, it does not add to our understanding of its syntactic structure. She argues on the basis of agreement that the dative NP is not a subject and the theme is not an object but does not provide any definitive analysis as to their status.

Working within Chomsky's Government and Binding (GB) theory, Kulkarni (1988) argues that both ergative and dative are inherent cases. I will not go into the details of his derivations here since the GB theory has undergone a complete shift. Joshi (1993) provides a very extensive Marathi data, specially for the dative-subject constructions. She has criticized Rosen and Wali as well as Pandharipande's analyses. Working within LFG (Lexical Functional Grammar) framework she provides excellent arguments for the dative subject being a logical subject and theme NP being a logical object. She notes that both Dative and Theme arguments have surface subject properties. The distinction between logical and grammatical/surface subject and object roles is defined by means of mixed semantic and lexical functional notions. Joshi argues that in Marathi dative constructions grammatical/surface subject and object relations are symmetric. Both are treated equally by the grammatical rules, in particular reflexive *swataah*, and present and past participial constructions (88). According to her, the subject-object distinction in the dative construction exists only at the logical level.

Consider now the Dative Subject Construction (DSC) in Ura's feature checking framework noted above. One of the important highlights of this theory is the notion of Equidistance. Two NPs are equidistant from a single attracting head only if they are in the same minimal domain. (Ura 2000: 31).

This notion plays a crucial role in DSC. Davison (2001) has applied this framework to Hindi/Urdu ergative and DSC. According to her, the dative case of a subject is lexically determined by dative predicates themselves. She posits the following structure for dative predicates:

- (89) [_{TP} T [_{VP} EXP-DAT THEME.NOM V]]

The structure (89) shows the structure after MERGE. In (89) the dative subject, that is, Experiencer (EXP-Dat), and the Theme are in the same minimal domain, the projection of V. They are thus equidistant from T. Both may be attracted by T's EPP feature,

and have the possibility of being a subject. It gives both of them a chance to be a subject. T checks the [NOM] and agreement features of Theme at LF. This structure thus explains how both the Experiencer and the Theme may control the same grammatical rules. Notice, however, the Experiencer, i.e., *DS* and the Theme subjects are not on par. Experiencer is higher on thematic scale and is a logical subject. It shows control of rules that are specific to logical subjects, namely reflexive *aapaN*, and *un* and *taac* participial subject. The evidence for logical subject control of these rules comes from the demoted passive subjects. The demoted passive subjects in Marathi retain the control of these very same rules (90, 91, 92) (see Rosen and Wali 1989). Clearly both dative and demoted passive subjects share the same GF features. Ura(2000) terms these features as [+construable].

In the following, Marathi demoted subjects are marked *kaDun* while the promoted subjects are marked *laa*.

- (90) Reflexive *aapaN*
 mini-kaDun ravi-laa aaplyaa kholi-t Daamb-la ge-la.
 Mini-by Ravi-to self's room-in dump-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Ravi was dumped in self's room by Mini (Reflexive refers to Mini, not Ravi.)
- (91) *taac* participle (*mini* is the controller here)
 he aik-taac mini-kaDun ravi-laa bolaav-la ge-la.
 this hear-upon Mini-by Ravi-to call-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Upon hearing this Ravi was called by Mini.'
- (92) *un* participle (*mini* is the controller here)
 mini-kaDun ravi-laa ghari jaa-un baDav-la ge-la.
 Mini-by Ravi-to home go-ing beat-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Ravi was beaten up by Mini after going home.'

Interestingly, the promoted passive subject *ravi-laa* has no control over these rules (93, 94, 95).

- (93) Reflexive *aapaN* (*aapaN* does not refer to *laa* subject)
 *ravi-laa aaplyaa kholi-t Daamb-la ge-la.
 Ravi-to self's room-in dump-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Ravi was dumped in self's room.'
- (94) *taac* participle (*ravi* is not the controllee here)
 he aiktaac ravi-laa bolaav-la ge-la.
 this hear-upon Ravi-to call-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Upon hearing this Ravi was called.'
- (95) *un* participle (*ravi* is not the controller here)
 ravi-laa ghari jaa-un baDav-la ge-la.
 Ravi-to home go-ing beat-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Ravi was beaten up after going home.'

The promoted passive subject in *laa* controls reflexive *swataah* (96), and Present and Past participials (97, 98). These are the same rules that Theme also controls (88).

- (96) Reflexive *swataah* with promoted passive *laa* NP
 ravi-laa swataacyaa kholi-t Daamb-la ge-la.
 Ravi-to self's room-in dump-PAST PASS-PAST
 'Ravi was dumped in self's room.'
- (97) Present participle
 shaaL-et paaThavlaa jaa-Naar-aa mulgaa.
 school-in sent PASS-PrP-3SG.M boy.3SG.M
 'A boy who is sent to school.'
- (98) Past participle
 shaaL-et paaThavlaa ge-lal-aa mulgaa.
 school-in sent PASS-PP-3SG.M boy.3SG.M
 'A boy who was sent to school.'

Marathi DS aligns with the demoted passive subject, while the properties of Theme align with the passive promoted subject. Clearly both DSC and passive constructions suggest that there are two NPs with subject status. Both the constructions illustrate what Ura calls Grammatical Function, i.e., GF split. Both NPs in both the constructions share subject properties, i.e., [+construable]-features. Note, however, the two subjects are not on par. In DS C, the dative subject is intuitively higher on scale than the Theme NP. This intuition is formally captured in Ura by utilizing the two syntactic levels i.e., PF and LF an integral part of Minimalist framework. PF represents overt syntactic interpretation level while LF is designated as covert syntactic level as mentioned earlier. Ura suggests that the arguments whose [+construable] features are checked at PF, rank higher than the arguments that check their [+construable]-features at LF. We will not go into details of [+construable]-features of the NPs here. However, Marathi data clearly indicates that the features of reflexive *aapaN*, *un* participial, and *taac* participial are to be regarded as [+construable] applying at PF level.

These features rank Dative and Passive demoted subjects higher on the feature scale. The features of reflexive *swataah*, present and past participials, are also [+construable] but they are checked at LF. They rank the Theme and the passive promoted subject on a lower level on a subject hierarchy scale.

Ura's analysis accomplishes something that no previous analyses were able to pin down. For example, RG framework pins down the Subject function of the dative NP but was unable to specify the status of Theme NP. Joshi's analysis realized that the relation between the dative subject and Theme NP was symmetric. However, her framework had no way of accommodating the two NPs as subjects. Her theory was based on the Universal principle: One subject per clause. It had no way to overcome this principle. Ura's feature checking theory shows that it is possible to overcome this principle. It shows that there is a way to accommodate two subjects in a clause

by adopting a feature analysis as stated in Minimalist framework. A bonus of his analysis is its ability to rank the two subjects. There is a primacy relation between them and that it is predictable.

Notes

1. The following verbs take only nominative subjects: *umajNe* 'to understand,' *okNe* 'to vomit,' *cukNe* 'to miss,' *jaNaNe* 'to bear,' *jhombNe* 'to seize,' *DasNe* 'to bite,' *tarNe* 'to float,' *thunkNe* 'to spit,' *pasavNe* 'to foal,' *paavNe* 'to obtain,' *piNe* 'to drink,' *pohNe* 'to swim,' *prasavNe* 'to bring forth,' *bolNe* 'to tell,' *mukNe* 'to lose,' *mhaNaNe* 'to say,' *laagNe* 'to touch,' *leNe* 'to put on,' *viNe* 'to bring forth,' *visarNe* 'to forget,' *shivNe* 'to touch,' *samajNe* 'to understand,' *harNe* 'to lose.'

2. The following verbs may take either ergative or nominative subjects. They show considerable dialectal variation (Damle 1970:612): *aacarNe* 'practise,' *caavNe* 'to bite,' *jinkaNe* 'to conquer,' *jevNe* 'to eat,' *nesNe* 'to wear, to wrap,' *paDhaNe* 'to study,' *paangharNe* 'to clothe,' *shinkarNe* 'to blow the nose,' *smarNe* 'to remember,' *harNe* 'to lose.'

3. There are a few idiomatic exceptions such as *maar khaaNe*, *shivya khaane* 'to eat beating (be beaten); to eat abuse (be abused).' Traditional grammarians classify these as reflexive passives (see Navalkar 1894: 158).

4. Abbreviations used in this chapter : 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; ABS: absolutive; ACC: accusative; DAT: dative; DP: determiner phrase; DS: dative subject; DSC: dative subject construction; ERG: ergative; EPP: external projection principle; FPL: feminine plural; FSG: feminine singular; GEN: genitive; INF: infinitive; IP: inflectional phrase; SG: singular; NEUT: neuter; NOM: nominative; NP: noun phrase; OBJ: object; PP: past participle; PRES: present; PrP: present participle; PTCP: participle; SBJ: subjunctive; SUBJ(I): subject intransitive; SUBJ(Tr): subject transitive; T: tense.

5. The list of features is based on Kelkar's unpublished MS (date unknown) entitled "Subject and Object Marking in Marathi."

6. Exceptional transitive verbs listed in note (1) may also show up with both marked and unmarked subjects. The distinction is cued to an obligatory vs. epistemic sense.

7. The NP in capability passive is also *ne* marked, but it is preceded by the Postpositional suffix *cyaa*. The NP may also be marked simply by *laa*.

8. It is worth noting here that Marathi pronominal system upholds a universal suggested in Dixon (1994), namely, if both pronouns and nouns have a different systems of case inflection, the pronouns will be accusative, and the noun system ergative, never the other way around. Marathi pronominal is a hybrid split. It encodes both the ergative and the accusative agreement.

9. The function of the light verb is to check the case on the direct object. The Verb in VP is only a theta assigner.

10. Here [NOM] has been literally interpreted. [NOM] on the direct object represents a structural case. As such it may also be interpreted as a weak accusative. Note that this is the only nominative that never links to agreement. Its interpretation as an ACC finds a natural interpretation for the absence of agreement. The weak accusative then may be checked by *v* in a

natural way. Secondly as noted earlier the distinction between [NOM] and [DAT] on the DO is not clear. It is conditioned by several factors as noted in (2.1). The distinction is purely morphological and not substantive.

11. These sentences may not be acceptable to all native speakers.

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CHAPTER 12

Non-nominative subjects in Maithili

Yogendra P. Yadava

Outline

In Maithili, as in several other languages, there exists no one-to-one relation between the grammatical relations of nominals and their cases. A nominative nominal, for example, can be the subject of a clause, but it can also function as the object of a verb in another construction. On the other hand, though the subject is typically coded with nominative case it can also be realized with other case markings. In other words, Maithili clauses also involve non-nominative subjects, apart from the nominative one.

This chapter is an attempt to analyze the non-nominative subjects in Maithili in terms of their morphosemantic and syntactic properties associated with them. It is organized into three main sections. Section 1 introduces the various types of non-nominative subjects in Maithili clauses. In Section 2 we deal with the morphological realizations of the non-nominative subjects and their accompanying semantic properties in the language. Section 3 attempts to give an account of the syntactic properties associated with the non-nominative subjects in relevant constructions. These properties include anaphoric coreference, pronominal noncoreference, gap-ping in coordinate structures, verb agreement, and case demotion. Finally, we sum up the main findings of this study.

1. The phenomenon

The subject of a finite clause in Maithili is prototypically marked with nominative case, coded covertly as a null ($-\emptyset$) morpheme, e.g.

- (1) a. hari- \emptyset daur-ait ch-al/ai-ch/rah-at.
Hari-NOM run-IMP AUX-PT.3NH/PRES.3NH-AUX/AUX-FUT.3NH
'Hari was/is/will be running.'
- b. hari- \emptyset ghar- \emptyset kin-ne
 Hari-NOM house-NOM buy-PERF
 ch-al/ai-ch/rah-at.
 AUX-PT.3NH/PRES.3NH-AUX/AUX-FUT.3NH
 'Hari had/has/will have bought a house.'

- c. hari-Ø raam-kē ghari-Ø de-ne
 Hari-NOM Ram-ACC watch-NOM give-PERF
 ch-al/ai-ch/rah-at
 AUX-PT3NH/PRES3NH- AUX/AUX-FUT3NH
 'Hari had/has/will have given Ram a watch.'

In sentences (1a) through (1c), *hari* occurs as the subject of the intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive clauses, respectively, with the verbs in varying aspects and tenses. These examples show that the subject remains uniformly uninflected in nominative case (-Ø), regardless of the fact that the clauses containing it vary in their types of transitivity, aspect and tense. Thus, the assignment of nominative case to an argument in all these cases is governed by grammatical relation.¹

It is, however, to be noted that the uninflected nominative case also marks an inanimate object. Thus, the inanimate objects *ghar* in (1b) and *ghari* in (1c) are -Ø-marked for nominative case. It shows that the nominative case is not always confined to the subject.

Assigning nominative case to the subjects (and also to the inanimate objects) in the Maithili examples (1a–c) is structural case assignment. However, some verbs are intrinsically oriented to assign specific cases to their subjects as their lexical property. In Maithili, for example, certain verbs inherently assign dative (DAT) (2a–c), instrumental (INS) (2d–e), locative (LOC) (2f), genitive (GEN) (2g), and accusative (ACC) (2h) cases to their subjects.

- (2) a. hun-kaa bhukh lag-l-ain(h).
 3H-DAT hunger feel-PT-3H.NN
 'He felt hungry.'
- b. hun-kaa ciThi likh-baak cha-l-ain(h)
 3H-DAT letter write-INF AUX-PT-3H.NN
 'He had to write a letter.'
- c. hun-kaa du-Taa ghar cha-l-ain(h)
 3H-DAT two-CLAS house AUX-PT-3H.NN
 'He had two houses.'
- d. hunkaa-sā i kitaab paDh-al nahi bhe-l-ain(h)
 3H-INS this book read-PCL not become-PT-3H.NN
 'He couldn't read this book.'
- e. hunkaa-sā ciThi likh-al ge-l.
 3H-INS letter write-PCL go-PT
 'The letter was written by him.'
- f. hunkaa-me kono gun nahi ch-ain(h).
 3H-LOC any virtue not AUX-PRES.3H.NN
 'He has no virtue at all.'
- g. hun-ak paisaa haraa ge-l-aiNH. (Bickel et al. 1999:492)
 3H-GEN money lose go-PT-3H.NN
 'He lost his money.'

- h. hun-kaa piT-al ge-l-ain(h).
 3H-ACC beat-PCL go-PT-3H.NN
 'He got beaten.'

In sentences (2a–c), the subject *hun-kaa* is marked with dative case. The logical subjects in (2d) and (2e) appear in the instrumental (INST) case. Similarly, the subjects in (2f–h) inflect for locative (LOC), genitive (GEN), and accusative (ACC) cases, respectively. The subjects with these inherent case markings are referred to as non-nominative subjects.

The examples in (2) constitute the basic realizations of non-nominative subjects in Maithili finite clauses. In addition to the inherent case markings shown above, there also occur some instances of non-nominative subjects in the nonfinite clauses of the language mainly as a result of case demotion. The following examples show the demoted non-nominative subjects in non-finite constructions, viz. infinitival clause, attributive participial construction, and converbal construction in (3a), (3b), and (3c), respectively:

- (3) a. [hari-kē daur-ab] ham caah-ait ch-i
 Hari-DAT run-INF I want-IMP be-PRES.1
 'I want Hari to run.'
- b. [hari-k likh-al] kitaab
 Hari-GEN write-PCL book
 'the book written by Hari.'
- c. [ham-raa ghar aaib-kē] pitaa-ji khush
 I-DAT home come-CONV father-h:NOM happy
 he-t-aah.
 be(come)-FUT-3H.NN
 'When I come home, father will be happy.' (Bickel *et al.* 2000: 353)

It is, however, to be noted that the non-nominative subjects occurring in finite clauses do not undergo any case demotion in non-finite clauses; instead, their cases are retained. (See Bickel and Yadava, 2000 for examples and their details.) In the sections that follow, we examine the morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of the Maithili non-nominative subjects.

2. The morphology and semantics of non-nominative subjects

The examples in (2) reveal that the non-nominative subjects in Maithili, as in other South Asian languages, show a rich array of case markings. Arguments associated with dative, instrumental, locative, genitive, and accusative case markings can function as the (non-nominative) subject of a clause. These case markings along with their main semantic properties are listed in Table 1. The table shows the association of the logical subjects of predicates with various case markings and semantic implications. The association of inherent case with a logical subject may be determined

Table 1. Non-nominative subjects and their morphological markings and semantics

Cases	Morphology	Semantics
a. Dative		experiencer (ex.2a), compulsion (ex. 2b)
Noun	- <i>kē</i>	or possession (ex. 2c)
Pronoun	- <i>raa/kaa</i>	
b. Instrumental	- <i>sā</i>	causee or inter-mediary agent (exs 2d–e)
c. Locative	- <i>me/par</i>	spatial/temporal relations (ex. 2f)
d. Genitive		possession (ex. 2g)
Noun	- <i>ak</i>	
Pronoun	- <i>ar</i>	
e. Accusative		patient (ex. 2h)
Noun	- <i>kē</i>	
Pronoun	- <i>raa/kaa</i>	

by the lexical feature of the predicate it occurs with. Thus, we relate the case markings to subjects in terms of the meaning of their predicates. For example, consider the following sentence:

- (4) *hun-kaa bukhaar lag-l-ain(h)*
 3H-DAT fever feel-PT-3H.NN
 ‘He has fever.’

In (4) the noun (*bukhaar*) + verb (*laagab*) complex predicate, which induces dative case to the subject (*hun-kaa*), assigns the role of an experiencer to the subject. Likewise, the predicates associate relevant semantic features like causee (as in 2d–e) and spatial/temporal relations (as in (2f)) to instrumental and locative subjects, respectively. In (2h) the accusative case is assigned to the subject by its predicate. The semantic association of genitive subject is, however, not analogous to that of dative, instrumental, locative and accusative subjects. It is not governed by the lexical properties of predicates. Instead, it is deemed as ‘an indirect non-semantic case’ (Mohanani 1994: 181).

3. The syntax of non-nominative subjects

This section aims to demonstrate how non-nominative nominals in (2a) through (2h) syntactically behave as ‘subjects’. We first investigate their syntactic behaviour in finite clauses and then in nonfinite clauses.

3.1. Finite clauses

The syntactic features of finite clauses in Maithili which can be relevant to determining the subjecthood of non-nominative nominals in Maithili are anaphoric corefer-

ence, pronominal noncoreference, gapping in coordinate constructions, and verb agreement.

3.1.1. *Anaphoric coreference*

The antecedent of a reflexive in Maithili can be not only the nominative subject but also the non-nominative one.

- (5) a. hari-kē_i apan_i ghar nahi ch-ainh
 Hari-DAT REFL house not be-PRES.3H.NN
 'Hari doesn't have his own house.'
- b. hari-sā_i mohan-kē_j apan_{i/*j} kaaj nahi karaa sak-al
 Hari-INS Mohan-ACC his work not do.CAUS modal-PT-3NH.NN
 'Hari couldn't get his work done by Mohan.'
- c. hari-me_i apan_i desh -ak-lel bahut bhakti
 Hari-LOC REFL country for the sake of great devotion
 cha-l-ainh
 have-PT-3H.NN
 'Hari had great devotion for his country.'
- d. hari-k_i apan_i ghar-me kichu nahi ch-al-ain(h)
 Hari-GEN REFL-GEN house-LOC nothing have-PT.3H.NN
 'Hari had nothing in his house.'
- e. hun-kaa_i apne_i koThari-me piTh-al ge-l-ain(h)
 3H-ACC REFL room-LOC beat-PCL go-PT-3H.NN
 'He got beaten in his own room.'

3.1.2. *Pronominal non-coreference*

Unlike a reflexive, a pronominal cannot be coreferent with subject within a minimal clause. Consider the sentences in (6), wherein a pronoun occurs in the same position as the reflexive in (5):

- (6) a. hari-kē_i o-kar_{*i} ghar nahi ch-ainh
 Hari-DAT 3NH-GEN house not be-PRES.3H.NN
 'Hari doesn't have his house.'
- b. hari-sā_i mohan-kē_j okar_{*i/*j} kaaj nahi kar-aa sak-al
 Hari-INS Mohan-ACC 3NH-GEN work not do-CAUS modal-PT.3NH.NN
 'Hari couldn't get his work done by Mohan.'
- c. hari-me_i okar_{*i} desh -ak-lel bahut bhakti
 Hari-LOC 3NH-GEN country for the sake of great devotion
 cha-l-ainh
 have-PT-3H.NN
 'Hari had great devotion for his country.'
- d. hari-k_i okar_{*i} ghar-me kichu nahi ch-al-ain(h)
 Hari-GEN 3NH-GEN house-LOC nothing have-PT.3H.NN
 'Hari had nothing in his house.'

- e. hun-kaa_i okar-_i koThari-me pith-al ge-l-ain(h)
 3H-ACC 3NH-GEN room-LOC beat-PCL go-PT-.3H.NN
 'He got beaten in his room.'

3.1.3. Gapping in coordinate constructions

In coordinate structures the gapper and the gapped element must be the subjects in the same case. Consider the following examples in this respect.

(7) Dative subject

- a. hari-kē i ghar nik nahi laag-al kintu dosar pasand
 Hari-DAT this house nice not feel-PT but another liking
 bh-el
 become-PT
 'Hari didn't like this house but liked the another one.'
- b. *hari-kē i ghar nik nahi laag-al aur ekraa choir de-l-ak
 Hari-DAT this house nice not feel-PT and it leave give-PT-3NH
 'Hari didn't like this house and gave it up.'

Given the case identity requirement for subjects, the sentence in (6a) is permitted as both the gapper *hari-ke* and the gapped element in the participial clause are subjects with identical dative case. The same requirement also blocks the sentence in (6b) since the matrix subject and the gapped subject differ in their case markings. The former is in the dative case while the latter is in the nominative case. This prediction holds good for other non-nominative subjects as gappers and their gapped elements. Consider the following examples in this respect.

(8) Instrumental subject

- a. hari-sā i kaaj nahi bhe-l kintu prayaas bhe-l
 Hari-INS this work not become-PT but try become-PT.3NH
 'Hari couldn't do this work but tried (to do it).'
- b. *hari-sā i kaaj nahi bhe-l aur cail ge-l
 Hari-INS this work not become-PT and go away-PT.3NH
 'Hari couldn't do this work and went away.'

(9) Locative subject

- a. hari-me aatmbishwaas ai-ch kintu योग्यता nahi ai-ch
 Hari-LOC self-confidence 3PRES-be but ability not 3.PRES-be
 'Hari has self-confidence but doesn't have ability.'
- b. *hari-me aatmbishwaas ai-ch kintu mehnati nahi ai-ch
 Hari-LOC self-confidence 3PRES-be but laborious not 3.PRES-be
 'Hari has self-confidence but isn't laborious.'

(10) Genitive subject

- a. pustak-ak atyant kam mulya ai-ch mudaa bikri taiyo bahut
 book-GEN extremely less price 3.PRES-be but sale despite much
 nahi ai-ch.
 not 3.PRES-be
 'The price of the book is extremely less and yet its sale is not much.'
- b. *pustak-ak atyant kam mulya ai-ch mudaa
 book-GEN extremely less price 3.PRES-be but
 taiyo bahut nahi bik-ait ai-ch.
 despite much not sell-IMP 3PRES-be
 'The price of the book is extremely less and yet it does not sell much.'

(11) Accusative subject

- a. hari-kē pahile baanh-al ge-l aur baad-me piTh-al
 Hari-ACC first tie-PCL go-PT3NH and later-LOC beat-PCL
 ge-l.
 go-PT3NH
 'Hari first got tied up and then beaten.'
- b. *hari-kē pahile baanh-al ge-l aur baad-me piTh-al-ak
 Hari-ACC first tie-PCL go-PT3NH and later-LOC beat-PT-3NH
 '*Hari first got tied up and then beat.'

In the examples (7)–(11), (a) sentences are permitted by the case identity of their subjects. (b) sentences are, however, blocked as their subjects differ in their cases.

3.1.4. *Verb agreement*

Case and verb agreement are, no doubt, related in world's languages. What is, however, striking about Maithili verb agreement is the fact that it makes a binary contrast of nominative and non-nominative agreement. There exist two sets of verb agreement in Maithili: the nominative set for the subjects in nominative case and the non-nominative set for the subjects in non-nominative cases.² The two sets of verb agreement are presented in Table 2.

The morphological contrast between the nominative and non-nominative sets of Maithili verb agreement can be exemplified by the following sentences with nominative subjects and their non-nominative counterparts:

- (12) a. o-Ø ciThi likh-l-aith.
 3H-NOM letter write-PT-3H.N
 'He wrote a letter.'
- b. hun-kaa ciThi likh-baak cha-l-ain(h)
 3H-DAT letter write-INF AUX-PT-3H.NN
 'He had to write a letter.'

Table 2. Nominative and non-nominative single agreement (Bickel *et al.* 1999: 493)³

Person	Tense	Nominative	Non-nominative
1/2H	Present	-i	ai-
	Past	-ai(h)~ -i	∅
	Future	-a-b	-a-t
2NH		-æ	-au(k)
2MH		-a(h)	
3NH	Present	ai-	
	Past	-a(k) ~ ∅	∅
	Future	-a-t	
3H	Present/past	-aith	-ain(h)
	Future	-t-aa(h)	-t-ain(h)
3HH	Present/past	-ath-inh	-ain(h)
	Future	-t-ah-inh	-t-ain(h)

- (13) a. o-∅ i kitaab nahi paDh-l-aith.
3H-NOM this book not read-PT-3HN
'He didn't read this book.'
- b. hunkaa-sā i kitaab paDh-al nahi bhe-l-ain(h)
3H-INS this book read-PCL not become-PT-3H.NN
'He couldn't read this book.'
- (14) a. o-∅ kono gun nahi rakh-ait ch-aith.
3H-NOM any virtue not keep-IMP AUX-PRES.3HN
'He has no virtue at all.'
- b. hunkaa-me kono gun nahi ch-ain(h).
3H-LOC any virtue not AUX-PRES.3H.NN
'He has no virtue at all.'
- (15) a. o-∅ paisaa harau-l-aith.
3H-NOM money lose-PT-3HN
'He lost money.'
- b. hun-ak paisaa haraa ge-l-ain(h).
3H-GEN money lose go-PT
'He lost (his) money.'
- (16) a. o-∅ raam-kē piTh-l-aith
3H-NOM Ram-ACC beat-PT-3HN
'He beat Ram.'
- b. hun-kaa piTh-al ge-l-ain(h).
3H-ACC beat-PCL go-PT
'He got beaten.'

3.2. Nonfinite clauses

Case demotion

Infinitival and participial clauses in Maithili do not permit overt subject NPs in nominative case. Instead, their case must be demoted to the genitive or dative (Bickel and Yadava, 2000: 352–4). In an attributive clause, for example, the nominative case of a subject is demoted to genitive.

- (17) a. [[*raam likh-al] ciThi]
 Ram-NOM write-PCL letter
 b. [raam-ak likh-al] ciThi]
 Ram-GEN write-PCL letter
 ‘The letter written by Ram’

In case the subject is dative it does not involve demotion of any sort; instead, it retains its case, as shown below.

- (18) [[raam-kē nik laag-al] cij (Bickel and Yadava, 2000: 352)
 Ram-DAT good feel-PCL thing
 ‘The thing that Ram felt good about’

In an infinitival complement clause the subject is demoted to dative case. This is exemplified in (19).

- (19) a. *[raam-Ø ehen kaaj kar-ab] ucit nahi thik
 Ram-.NOM such work do-INF proper not. be.PRES
 b. [raam-kē ehen kaaj kar-ab] ucit nahi thik
 Ram.DAT such work do-INF proper not be.PRES
 ‘It is not proper for Ram to do such a work.’

This condition also extends to Maithili converb clauses, as shown in (20).

- (20) a. *[hari-Ø ghar aaib-ke] ham khusi bhe-l-aunh
 Hari.NOM home come-CONV I pleased become-PT-1
 b. [hari-kē ghar aaib-ka] ham khusi bhe-l-aunh
 Hari-DAT home come-CONV I pleased become-PT-1
 ‘When Hari came home I was pleased.’

This pattern of case demotion also applies to purposive clauses. Consider the following examples.

- (21) a. *[hari-Ø sut-b-aak-lel] ham bichaaun choir de-l-aunh
 Hari-NOM sleep-INF-OBL I bed give up-PT-1
 b. [hari-kē sut-b-aak-lel] ham bichaaun choir de-l-aunh
 Hari-DAT sleep-INF-OBL I bed give up-PT-1
 ‘I gave up the bed in order for Hari to sleep.’

4. Conclusion

To summarize, there are five types of non-nominative subjects in the language, viz. dative, instrumental, locative, genitive and accusative subjects. Subjects of Maithili clauses are morphologically marked with a wide array of case features determined by the semantic property of the predicates they cooccur with (except in the case of genitive). The major syntactic features of non-nominative subjects in Maithili include the following:

- (i) Non-nominative subjects of Maithili clauses, like their nominative counterparts, can be coreferential with reflexives and disjoint in reference with pronominals within their minimal clauses.
- (ii) The gapper and the gapped element in a coordinate construction are both subjects with case identity, nominative or non-nominative.
- (iii) Overt nominative subjects in infinitival and participial constructions must be demoted to the genitive or dative.

These features are not confined only to Maithili but apply to several other languages (Keenan, 1975). They have served as diagnostics in investigating the notion of subjecthood in several languages including quite a few South Asian languages (Kachru 1970, Kachru *et al.* 1976, Verma ed. 1976, Mohanan 1994, and Bickel and Yadava 2000). To conclude, this chapter lends support to the fact that Maithili behaves in a fashion very much similar to other South Asian languages in terms of the criterial properties of subjecthood in non-nominative nominals.

Abbreviations

ACC: accusative; CAUS: causative; CLAS: classifier; CONV: converb; DAT: dative; ERG: ergative; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; H: honorific; HH: high honorific; IMP: imperfective; INF: infinitival; INS: instrumental; LOC: locative; MH: mid-honorific; N: nominative; NH: nonhonorific; NN: non-nominative; NOM: nominative; OBL: oblique; PCL: participle; PERF: perfective; PRES: present; PT: past; REFL: reflexive; 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person

Notes

1. In this respect Maithili contrasts with other areally and genetically related languages like Hindi and Nepali wherein the subject of a finite clause is not only marked nominative but also alternates with ergative case with transitive verbs in perfective aspect, e.g.

- (i) raam-ne kitaab padh-ii.
Ram-ERG book read-PT.3SG.FEM
'Ram read a book.'

Hindi

- (ii) raam-le pustak padh-yo. Nepali
 Ram-ERG book read-PT.3SG
 'Ram read a book'

2. As discussed in Yadava (1996), Bickel *et al.* (2000), and elsewhere, Maithili features an extremely complex agreement systems of Indo-Aryan languages. Not only nominative and non-nominative subjects, but also objects, other core arguments, and even non-arguments can be encoded by verbs. Thus, verb agreement is sensitive not only to the notion of subjecthood but also to other grammatical relations (and also pragmatic factors related to discourse strategies).
3. It is to be noted that the non-nominative set of verb agreement listed in Table 2 marks not only the subject but also non-subject nominals in non-nominative cases.

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CHAPTER 13

Non-nominative (major) subjects and case stacking in Korean*

James H. Yoon

1. Introduction

Non-nominative Subject Constructions (NNSCs, hereafter) in Korean have been investigated from a variety of perspectives (Gerdtz and Yoon 1988, 1999; Yoon 1990, 1998; Y-J Kim 1990; K-S Hong 1991; Yoon 1996, *inter alia*). Not surprisingly, the constructions exhibit a number of properties that are found across a wide spectrum of languages that have been claimed to possess NNSCs. In particular, most properties of NNSCs in Korean closely parallel those in Japanese (Shibatani 1999; Ura 1999).

For example, NNSCs in Korean are typically built around predicates that do not govern Accusative case (cf. 1). The predicates that occur in NNSCs also occur independently as intransitive (unaccusative) predicates expressing psychological states, possession, obligation, etc. (cf. 2). The Non-nominative Subject (NNS) is often marked Dative and typically carries the thematic role of Experiencer, though it has also been claimed that Locative-marked NPs can occur as Subjects in NNSCs (cf. 3). For psychological and necessity predicates participating in NNSCs, an event or state described with a NNSC can be alternately expressed using a transitive predicate (cf. 4).

- (1) a. Cheli-eykey ton-i/*ul iss-ta/eps-ta
C-DAT money-NOM/*ACC exist-DECL/not.exist-DECL
'Cheli has/does not have money.'
- b. Cheli-eykey ton-i/*ul philyoha-ta
C-DAT money-NOM/*ACC necessary-DECL
'Cheli needs money.'
- c. Cheli-eykey Yenghi-ka/*lul mwusep-ta
C-DAT Y-NOM/*ACC fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'
- (2) a. Salamtul-i yeki iss-ta
persons-NOM here exist-DECL
'There are people here.'
- b. Manhun ton-i philyoha-ta
much money-NOM necessary-DECL
'A lot of money is needed.'

- c. Ku salam-un mwusep-ta
that person-TOP fearsome-DECL
'That person is scary.'
- (3) a. Cheli-eykey ton-i manh-ta
C-DAT money-NOM much-DECL
'Cheli has a lot of money.'
- b. Changmwun-ey seli-ka kkin-ta
window-LOC frost-NOM collect-DECL
'Frost builds on the window.'
- (4) a. Cheli-ka manhun ton-ul/*i philyo-lo han-ta
C-NOM much money-ACC/*NOM need-INST do-DECL
'Cheli needs a lot of money.'
- b. Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul/*ka mwusew-e han-ta
C-NOM Y-ACC/*NOM fear-COMP do-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'

The NNS in these constructions displays properties that are typically attributed to Subjects in the language. For example, the NNS can bind a subject-oriented reflexive (cf. 5), control PRO in a subject-oriented adjunct clause (cf. 6), control Plural Copying (cf. 7), and undergo GR-changing rules which have been claimed to pick out Subjects (such as ECM/SOR, cf. 8).

- (5) Chelik-eykey-nun [casin_k-uy chinkwutul]-i mwusep-ta
C-DAT-TOP self-GEN friends-NOM fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of his friends.'
- (6) [PRO_k tayhakwensayng-i-myenseto] Chelik-eykey-nun sillyek-i
graduate.student-COP-COMP C-DAT-NOM ability-NOM
eps-ta
not.exist-DECL
'Though he is a graduate student, Cheli's academic abilities are marginal.'
- (7) Ce haksayngtul_k-eykey-nun mwuncey-ka taytanhi-tul_k manh-ta
those students-DAT-TOP problem-NOM extremely-PL much-DECL
'Those students have a lot of problems.'
- (8) Na-nun Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul kulen mwuncey-ka iss-ta-ko
I-TOP C-DAT-(only)-ACC that.kind problem-NOM exist-DECL-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta
think-DECL
'I think that only Cheli has that kind of problem.'

However, in addition to properties that are found with regularity across a wide spectrum of languages possessing NNSCs, Korean NNSCs display certain proper-

ties that are not commonly found in other languages. Three such properties can be identified.

The first property is *Subject-Predicate Agreement*. A fairly robust cross-linguistic generalization about NNSs is that they fail to trigger Subject-Predicate Agreement, unlike Nom-marked Subjects. Agreement in NNSCs holds instead between the Nom-marked 'Object' and the predicate. This is illustrated in (9) below from various languages.¹

- (9) a. Mir gefallen diese Bücher German
 I.DAT like.PL these books
 'I like these books.'
- b. Mne nrvajatsja knigi Russian
 I.DAT like.PRS.3PL.REFL book.PL
 'I like books'
- c. Henni voru gefnar bækurnar Icelandic
 she.DAT were.3PL given book.NOM.PL
 'She was given books.'

In Korean (and Japanese), however, a putative instance of Subject-Predicate Agreement, Honorific Agreement, preferentially holds between the predicate and the NNS, rather than between the Nom-marked Object and the predicate.²

- (10) a. Kim-sensayngnim-**kkey**-(nun) Swuni-ka philyoha-si-ta
 K-teacher-DAT.HON-(TOP) S-NOM necessary-HON-DECL
 'Professor Kim needs Swuni.'
- b. *Swuni-eykey-(nun) Kim-sensayngnim-i/**kkeyse**
 S-DAT-(TOP) K-teacher-NOM/NOM.HON
 philyoha-si-ta
 necessary-HON-DECL
 'Swuni needs Professor Kim.'

If Plural Copying is construed as (optional) Number Agreement with Subject, then it too holds preferentially between the NNS and constituents contained within the phrase headed by the predicate, rather than between the Nom-marked Object and the predicate (cf. 7 above).

The second uncommon property is that in many instances, the NNS may alternate with a regular Nom-marked Subject, giving rise to *Case Alternation*. This is illustrated below in (11).

- (11) a. Cheli-eykey/ka ton-i manh-ta/iss-ta/eps-ta
 C-DAT/NOM money-NOM a.lot-DECL/exist-DECL/not.exist-DECL
 'Cheli has/doesn't have (a lot of) money.'
- b. Cheli-eykey/ka Yenghi-ka mwusep-ta
 C-DAT/NOM Y-NOM fearsome-DECL
 'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'

- c. Cheli-eykey/ka ton-i philyoha-ta
 C-DAT/NOM money-NOM necessary-DECL
 ‘Cheli needs money.’

The Case Alternation seen in (11) is not the same as the alternative encoding of the event/state described by the NNS construction in a transitive frame seen in (4) above, since the predicate remains the same and the Object is still marked Nominative under Case Alternation.

The third unusual property of NNSCs in Korean is that in addition to exhibiting a Case Alternation between Dative/Locative and Nominative, NNS's may surface with *both* of the alternating Cases, giving rise to what has been called *Case Stacking* (Gerds and Yoon 1988; Yoon 1990; Yoon 1996; Schütze 1996, 2001). This is illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. Cheli-eykey-ka ton-i manh-ta
 C-DAT-NOM money-NOM a.lot-DECL
 ‘It is Cheli who has a lot of money.’
 b. Cheli-hanthey-ka Yenghi-ka mwusep-ta
 C-DAT-NOM Y-NOM fearsome-DECL
 ‘It is Cheli who is scared of Yenghi.’
 c. Cheli-hanthey-ka ton-i philyoha-ta
 C-DAT-NOM money-NOM necessary-DECL
 ‘It is Cheli who needs money.’

If both of the stacked Cases are indeed case-markers, then Case Stacking appears to contradict the widespread cross-linguistic generalization that an Inherently case-marked NP is incompatible with additional Structural case-marking.

The chapter is concerned primarily with the last of the typologically uncommon properties of NNSCs in Korean — Case Stacking, though the overall conclusions also shed important light on the two remaining issues, especially, the question of the subjecthood of the Dative-marked NP in its unstacked and stacked incarnations. After introducing the debate on Case Stacking (Section 2), I show that contrary to a recent claim (Schütze 1996, 2001), stacked Nom/Acc cases behave genuinely as case-markers (Section 3). Case Stacking of Nominative has also been investigated in regard to the subjecthood of the nominal on which Nominative is stacked. In particular, it has been claimed (Gerds and Yoon 1988; Yoon 1990) that Nominative stacking is restricted to nominals that function as Subjects. Evidence for the subjecthood of the nominal is assumed to come from the ability of the nominal to surface with only Nominative case (giving rise to Case Alternation), and to trigger Subject Agreement. In contrast to these proposals, I will argue that Case Alternations and grammatical subjecthood are not required of nominals exhibiting Nominative stacking (Section 4). However, I show that the Nominative stacked nominals do behave in some ways like Subjects — namely, they act as *Major Subjects* (Section 5). I claim that Nominative stacking reflects their status as Major Subjects, specifically

as *Non-nominative Major Subjects*. The argument for the Major Subject analysis of Case Stacking is based on a critical re-examination of the debate concerning subjecthood and subject diagnostics in Korean (Y-J Kim 1990; Youn 1990; K-S Hong 1991; K-S Park 1995, *inter alia*), a debate that was predicated on the assumption that there is a unique Subject in a clause, namely, the Grammatical Subject.³ I will suggest, however, that the so-called subject properties need not reside in a unique nominal, but can be distributed between Major and Grammatical Subjects in languages like Korean. Along with Nom-stacking, SOR/ECM is identified as another diagnostic that is sensitive to Major Subject status. I conclude the chapter by showing how the Major Subject analysis of Nom-stacked nominals can account for the properties of stacking identified to date, including dialectal and idiolectal variation among speakers regarding stacking.

2. Three approaches to case stacking

The goals of this section and the next are to introduce the current debate on Case Stacking and to argue that Case Stacking as such exists. Three approaches to Case Stacking are introduced in this section. Arguments are then presented showing that the stacked case particle must be treated as marking case, rather than focus (Schütze 1996, 2001).

Theoretical approaches to Case Stacking in Korean to date fall roughly into three broad categories. They can be distinguished on the basis of the answers they give to the following questions.

- (13) a. Is the stacked case particle in Case Stacking a genuine Case-marker?
- b. Does grammatical subjecthood entail the possibility of Nominative Case-marking?⁴
- c. Is Case Alternation a prerequisite to Case Stacking?

2.1. Case alternations and case stacking

In a well-known approach, exemplified by the work of Gerdts and Youn (1988), Youn (1990) and K-S Hong (1991), the answers to all three questions are in the affirmative.⁵ The stacked particle is a (Structural) case-marker, and grammatical subjecthood correlates with Nominative-marking, in the sense that Nominative case is always possible on Subjects, even on NNSs. Stacking in turn is claimed to be possible only on constituents that allow Case Alternation.

In Gerdts and Youn's (1988) analysis, Case Stacking arises when a Dative-marked nominal that is an underlying Indirect Object 'advances' to become a surface Subject. Being a Subject means in turn that the nominal has the ability to be marked with Nominative case. Assuming that in Korean the Inherent Case associated with underlying GRs (Dative) and/or the Structural Case associated with surface GRs

(Nominative) can be realized, they account for the fact that the Experiencer nominal can surface with either Dative (when the I-Case is realized), Nominative (when the S-Case is realized), or both (when both I-Case and S-Case are realized).

In this approach, the relevant ‘parameter’ distinguishing languages like Korean from, say, Icelandic, could be stated as follows;

- (14) a. Can an I-Case nominal be assigned an additional S-Case?
{Y=Korean, etc., N=Icelandic, etc.,}⁶
- b. If the answer to (a) is ‘Yes’, can the multiple Cases be simultaneously realized? {Y=Korean, etc., ...}

A desirable consequence of this approach, but one that the authors do not actually exploit, is that it is able to account for the remaining unusual property of NNSs in Korean, namely, the ability of NNSs to trigger agreement on the predicate (Honorific and Number Agreement). If the NNS is in fact always marked Nominative, the agreement is expected, since the predicate is in fact agreeing with the Nominative-marked Subject. In this way, the three unusual properties of NNS constructions in Korean could receive a unified treatment.

2.2. Case stacking under movement

In the second approach to Case Stacking (Yoon 1996; 2001; J-M Jo 2001), the answer to (13a) is in the affirmative while the answers to (13b, c) are not. That is, while stacked case is genuine case, being a Grammatical Subject does not require a constituent to be marked with Nominative case, and Case Stacking is independent of Case Alternations.

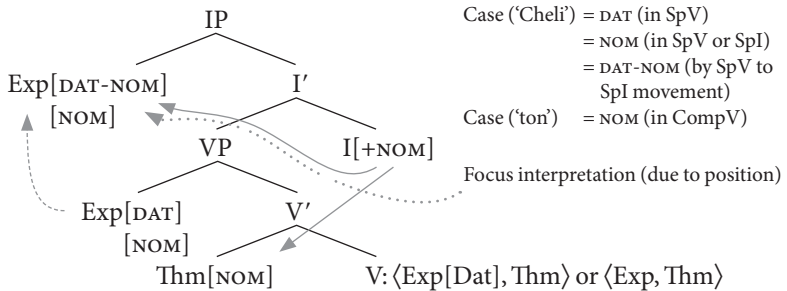
The analysis of Case Stacking in Yoon (1996) works as follows. Yoon (1996) takes Case Stacking to arise when a nominal forms a non-trivial A-Chain, that is, when a nominal has undergone the equivalent of RG ‘advancement’ (Gerdtz and Yoon 1988). The I-Case marks the D-structure role of the nominal while the S-Case marks the S-structure role/position of the nominal. This analysis, like that of Gerdtz and Yoon (1988), posits multiple case assignment and realization (cf. 14 above) in Korean.

The way in which Case Alternations arise in this system is as follows. A dyadic psych predicate is assumed to have two related lexical entries. In one entry, both the Experiencer and Theme arguments are without Inherent Case, while in another, the Experiencer argument carries an Inherent (Dative) case (Belletti and Rizzi 1988). When the Exp has an Inherent case, and moves from its D-structure position (SpVP) to its surface structure position (SpIP), Case Stacking ensues. When the Exp does not carry Inherent Dative case, it can be assigned Nominative either in its base position (SpVP) or in the derived position (SpIP). That is, Case Alternation and Case Stacking structures are associated with two different derivations. The Theme, in contrast, always gets Nominative case in-situ, in its base position within the VP when the V is a non-case assigner.

Noting that Case Stacking gives rise to a focus-like interpretation, Yoon (1996) suggested that the interpretation may arise ‘constructionally’, that is, the SpIP position is a position that is associated with focus interpretation. Therefore, one way to determine whether Nominative is assigned within VP or in SpIP is to attend to the interpretation of the Nom-marked NP.⁷ The question then arises why Nominative cannot stack on a Dat-marked Exp in SpVP. The answer comes from the central claim of the chapter that Case Stacking, as an instance of multiple case assignment, arises only in non-trivial A-Chains.

What is distinctive about this approach is that Case Stacking is independent of Case Alternations. The alternation of Dat with Nom on the Experiencer is handled lexically, while Stacking is handled syntactically (by movement). As a result, unlike the analyses of Gerdts and Yoon (1988) and Yoon (1990), the typologically unusual properties of Korean NNSCs do not receive a unified account. The analysis is illustrated below.

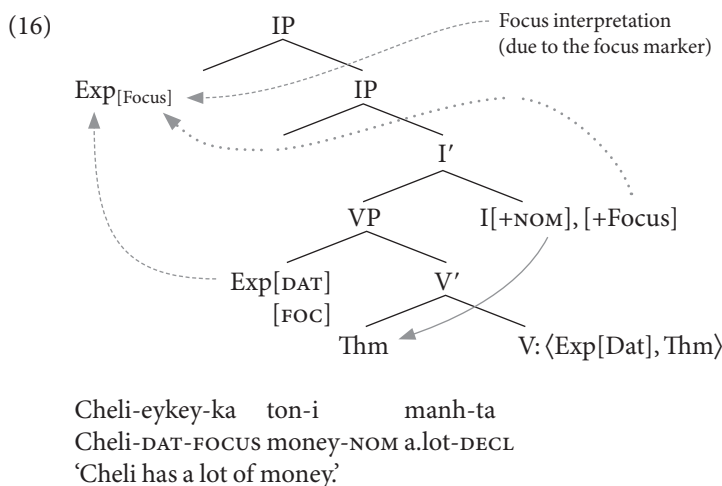
- (15) Cheli-eykey-ka ton-i manh-ta
 Cheli-DAT-NOM money-NOM a.lot-DECL
 ‘Cheli has a lot of money’



2.3. Against case stacking

The analyses presented thus far took both of the stacked cases to be genuine case. Though Yoon (1996) noted the existence of focus interpretation, unlike some earlier researchers (J-Y Yoon 1989), he did not take this to indicate that the case-markers are ambiguous between genuine case-markers and delimiters. Case Stacking for Gerdts and Yoon, K-S Hong, and Yoon constitutes a demonstration that a nominal can receive more than one case.

Schütze (1996, 2001), on the other hand, argues against the interpretation of Case Stacking as being due to multiple case-marking. In other words, the answers to all three questions in (13) for Schütze are in the negative. Capitalizing on the observation that the Case Stacked NP has a focus interpretation (Yoon 1996), he argues that the stacked Nominative is not a case-marker but a focus-marker homophonous with the Nominative case-marker (similarly for the Acc-marker). He posits the following derivation as the analysis of Case Stacking constructions:



The Experiencer nominal receives Inherent (Dative) Case once in SpV, and moves to adjoin to a non-case, focus position, where it is interpreted as focused, perhaps through a feature-checking relationship with *INFL*, which is optionally specified to check the [+focus] feature of focused NPs (Rizzi 1997). The particle that looks like the Nominative marker is not a case-marker, but a focus-marker, according to Schütze. Crucially, *INFL* does not enter a Case-checking relationship with focus NP. We can surmise that the Nominative from *INFL* goes on the Theme argument inside the VP.

What does this analysis have to say about the three typologically unusual properties of NNSCs in Korean? Schütze does not discuss agreement in detail, except to note that some speakers reject agreement between the NNS and the predicate, and while he presents data showing Case Alternations, he does not take a position on whether the Nom-marked Exp carries Nominative Case or Focus. Finally, for Schütze, Case Stacking as such does not exist.

3. Against the focus analysis of case stacking (Schütze 1996, 2001)

It is not difficult to imagine why someone might be reluctant to accept the stacking of Nominative on a Dat-marked Experiencer argument in NNSCs as a genuine instance of multiple case assignment. The reason is that in many languages Nominative-marking co-varies with agreement. That is, a Nominative NP, regardless of its GR, is licensed under agreement with a predicate in a bi-unique manner. It therefore follows that there can be no more than one Nominative NP in the domain of a single predicate.

However, agreement in Korean, as exemplified by Honorific and Plural Agreement, can hold between a Non-nominative Subject and a predicate. That is, there is

no correlation between a (unique) Nom-marked NP and an agreeing predicate. In addition, Nominative and other Structural Cases (Accusative, Genitive) can be assigned to more than one constituent in the domain of the relevant Case-assigners, as is well-known (Maling and Kim 1992). Given these properties, the assignment of what looks a Nominative case-marker to the Dative-marked Experiencer in NNSCs appears to be something that is well within the case-marking resources of the language. Schütze (1996, 2001) argues that despite the initial plausibility, stacked case particles are not genuine case-markers. The stronger conclusion he defends is that even unstacked Nominative and Accusative case-markers are ambiguous between marking case and discourse functions like Topic and Focus.

3.1. The case against case stacking

Schütze's arguments against Case Stacking have been addressed in a number of other places (Gerdtz and Youn 1999; Youn 1998; D-W Yang 1999, 2000, *inter alia*). By far, the consensus has been against Schütze's contention that Structural case-markers are ambiguous between Case and Focus. However, the assessment of the debate is made difficult by the fact that Case Stacking is somewhat marginal to begin with. Additional difficulty stems from the fact that speakers appear to have genuine differences in their idiolects/dialects concerning the acceptability of crucial sentences. It is unfortunate that many of the crucial arguments against the Focus analysis are based on disagreements regarding data (Gerdtz and Youn 1999; Youn 1998). In the discussion that follows, I will indicate areas in which there is disagreement among speakers. However, the objections I raise against Schütze's analysis do not depend on speaker disagreements. There are deeper flaws in the analysis that make it unworkable, as I will show in the next section.

Schütze's arguments against stacked case as case fall into two categories. In the first category are arguments intended to show that a stacked Nominative case-marker behaves differently from regular, unstacked Nominative. For example, Case Stacking seems to be optional unlike other instances of case assignment that are obligatory (*pace* the effects of case-marker drop) (cf. 17). Stacked Nominative requires special prosody (cf. 18). Stacked Nominative differs from regular, unstacked Nominative with regard to syntactic processes such as agreement and the licensing of Quantifier Float (cf. 19). In particular, stacked Nominative fails to trigger Honorific Agreement or license a Nom-marked Floated Quantifier (FQ) for some speakers. Neither does a FQ carrying stacked Nom need to be licensed by a Nom-marked antecedent. Nominative can stack even on constituents that are not Subjects (cf. 20). Finally, Nominative can stack on top of another Nominative (cf. 21). (In 17–21, the Nominative markers in bold are those that Schütze claims are focus-markers.)

- (17) a. Cheli-hanthey ton-i manh-ta
 C-DAT money-NOM a.lot-DECL
 vs.

- b. Cheli-hanthey-**ka** ton-i manh-ta
 C-DAT-NOM money a.lot-DECL
 'Cheli has a lot of money.'
- (18) Cheli-hanthey-**KA** ton-i manh-ta (KA = stressed)
 C-DAT-KA money-NOM a.lot-DECL
- (19) *Honorific agreement*
- a. Yoon kyoswunim-i/kkeyse Yenghi-ka mwusew-usi-ta
 Y professor-NOM/HON.NOM Y-NOM fearsome-HON-DECL
- b. %Yoon kyoswunim-eykey/kkey Yenghi-ka mwusew-usi-ta
 Y professor-DAT/HON.DAT Y-NOM fearsome-HON-DECL
- c. %Yoon kyoswunim-eykey/kkey-**ka** Yenghi-ka mwusew-usi-ta
 Y professor-DAT/HON.DAT-NOM Y-NOM fearsome-HON-DECL
 'Professor Yoon is afraid of Yenghi'

Quantifier Float

- a. haksayngtul-i ton-i seys-i philyoha-ta
 students-NOM money-NOM three-NOM necessary-DECL
- b. %haksayngtul-eykey ton-i seys-eykey philyoha-ta
 students-DAT money-NOM three-DAT necessary-DECL
- c. %haksayngtul-eykey-**ka** ton-i seys-eykey philyoha-ta
 students-DAT-NOM money-NOM three-DAT necessary-DECL
- c'. *haksayngtul-eykey-**ka** ton-i seys-i philyoha-ta
 students-DAT-NOM money-NOM three-NOM necessary-DECL
- d. %haksayngtul-eykey-**ka** ton-i seys-eykey-**ka** ...
 students-DAT-NOM money-NOM three-DAT-NOM
- e. %haksayngtul-eykey ton-i seys-eykey-**ka** ...
 students-DAT money-NOM three-DAT-NOM
- f. *?haksayngtul-eykey ton-i seys-i philyoha-ta
 students-DAT money-NOM three-NOM necessary-DECL
- g. *?haksayngtul-i ton-i seys-eykey philyoha-ta
 students-NOM money-NOM three-DAT necessary-DECL
 'Three students need money.'
- (20) a. %cipan-eyse-**ka** Swuni-eykey namphyen-i mwusep-ta
 house-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM fearsome-DECL
 'It is in the house that Swuni is scared of her husband.'
- b. %ku kulus-eyse-**ka** mwul-i sayn-ta
 that bowl-LOC-NOM water-NOM leak-DECL
 'It is from that bowl that water is leaking.'
- c. ecey-pwuthe-**ka** nalssi-ka coh-a ci-ess-ta
 yesterday-FROM-NOM weather-NOM good-COMP become-PST-DECL
 'The weather turned nice from yesterday.'

- (21) sensayngnimtul-kkeyse-man-i kulen il-ul ha-l-swu iss-ta
 teachers-NOM.HON-only-NOM.PL that.kind work-ACC do-possible-DECL
 'It is only teachers who can do that kind of work.'

The second category of arguments is designed to show that stacked Nominative can be positively identified with focus. Constituents carrying stacked Nominative have the interpretive properties of focus, such as being compatible with WH-questions, contexts of correction, as well as the addition of other focus particles (cf. 22). Stacking forces a generic interpretation on bare plural indefinite Dative Subjects, a fact that could be construed as being due to focus (cf. 23). Multiple stacking is possible, since Korean is a multiple focus language (H-S Choe 1995) (cf. 24). Finally, stacking becomes obligatory under certain conditions, namely, when it is required to mark focus (cf. 25).

- (22) a. nwukwu-hanthey-ka ton-i manh-ni?
 who-DAT-NOM money-NOM a.lot-Q
 'Who has a lot of money?'
 b. Swuni-eykey Chelswu-ka acwu coh-un kapwa
 S-DAT C-NOM very good-seems.like
 Ani. Yenghi-eykey-ka (Chelswu-ka) coh-un kes kath-a
 no Y-DAT-NOM C-NOM good-ADN thing seem-DECL
 'Swuni seems to like Chelswu. No. Yenghi seems to like Chelswu.'
 c. Na-eykey-man-i paym-i mwusep-ta
 I-DAT-only-NOM snake-NOM fearsome-DECL
 'Only I am afraid of snakes.'
- (23) a. sopangswutul-eykey kyewul-palam-i mwusep-ta
 firemen-DAT winter-wind-NOM fearsome-DECL
 [existential/generic]
 b. sopangswutul-i kyewul-palam-i mwusep-ta
 firemen-NOM winter-wind-NOM fearsome-DECL
 [existential /generic]
 c. sopangswutul-eykey-ka kyewul-palam-i mwusep-ta
 firemen-DAT-NOM winter-wind-NOM fearsome-DECL
 [generic]
 'Firemen fear the wintry chill.'
- (24) cipan-eyse-ka kyewul-ey-ka Swuni-eykey namphyen-i
 house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
 mwusep-ta
 fearsome-DECL
 'It is in her house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of her husband.'

- (25) kyoswunim-eykey-*(ka) ani-la haksayngtul-eykey ton-i
 professor-DAT-NOM NEG.COP students-DAT money-NOM
 philyohata
 necessary
 'The students need money, not the professors.'

Parallel arguments establish that Accusative under stacking must also be a focus-marker (Schütze 2001, Section 4.1). Schütze (2001) then goes on to argue that Nominative and Accusative have non-case uses even when they do not stack on top of an I-case-marked NP (Schütze 2001, Section 5). Two constructions where unstacked Nominative and Accusative function in their non-case guises are identified — the 'Generic Topic' type Multiple Nominative Construction (cf. 26), and the 'SOR/ECM' construction (cf. 27).

- (26) 'Generic topic' multiple-nominative construction⁸
 Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta
 airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
 'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'
- (27) 'SOR/ECM' construction
 Na-nun Yenghi-lul apeci-ka pwuca-la-ko sayngkakhanta
 I-TOP Y-ACC father-NOM rich.person-DECL-COMP think
 'I consider Yenghi's father a rich man.'

Finally, he argues that genuine PPs, as opposed to I-case-marked NP/DPs, do fall under the domain of Structural case-marking, as shown by the obligatoriness of Case Stacking and the absence of obligatory focus interpretation (cf. 28).

- (28) Pangan-ulo-*(ka) macnun panghyang-i-ta
 room.inside-toward_{POST}-NOM correct direction-COP-DECL
 'Toward the room is the correct direction.'

3.2. The case for case stacking

3.2.1. Problem 1: The distribution of two focus markers

Before we can begin our counterargument, it is necessary to clarify what Schütze is *not* claiming. He is not claiming that Structural case-markers express case and focus fusionally, as some others have claimed (D-W Yang 1999; K-S Park 1995). He is claiming that they express *either* case *or* focus. That is, the Nominative case particle is not associated with the suite of features in (29a), but with that in (29b).

- (29) a. -ka: [+nominative, (+focus)]
 b. -ka1: [+nominative]
 -ka2: [+focus]

Schütze must assume (29b), since if the marker involved in Case Stacking that gives rise to focus interpretation is the portmanteau morpheme in (29a), we still have

assignment of S-Case on top of an I-Case-marked nominal when Case Stacking occurs, and this is a situation that Schütze claims never exists cross-linguistically.

- (30) Cheli-eykey-ka ton-i manh-ta
 C-DAT-[NOM,FOCUS] money-NOM a.lot-DECL
 ↑
 Still doubly case-marked!!

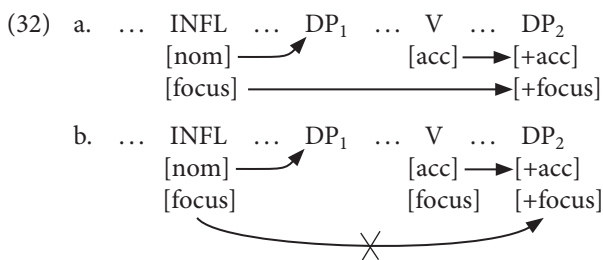
In my view, the biggest hurdle to making (29b) work out technically is that under Schütze's analysis, there are *two* focus-markers that are homophonous respectively with Nominative and Accusative case-markers. The putative focus-markers are assigned in the same domain in which the corresponding case-markers are assigned and are sensitive to the same lexical factors that govern the distribution of the corresponding case-markers. That is, the putative Focus Nominative is assigned by all and only those predicates that do not assign Accusative case and in the same domain as regular Nominative case. Likewise, the putative Focus Accusative is assigned by all and only those predicates that assign Accusative case and in exactly the same domain where regular Accusative case is assigned (Schütze 2001, Section 4.2). This is illustrated below.

- (31) a. Cheli-eykey-ka/*lul mwuncey-ka manh-ta
 C-DAT-NOM/*ACC problem-NOM a.lot-DECL
 'It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.'
 b. Swuni-ka Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul/*i senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta
 S-NOM C-DAT-(only)-ACC/*NOM present-ACC send-PST-DECL
 'It was only to Cheli that Swuni sent presents.'
 c. Austin-eyse-ka/*lul Cheli-ka kongpwu-lul cal hay-ss-ess-ta
 A-LOC-NOM/*ACC C-NOM study-ACC well do-PERF-PST-DECL
 'It was while he was in Austin that Cheli did well in his studies.'

In (31a), the stacked particle must be *-ka* and not *-lul* because the predicate is not an Acc-case assigner. In (31b), the stacked particle on the Indirect Object must be *-lul*, since the predicate is an Acc-case assigner and the Indirect Object lies within the case-assignment domain of the predicate. In (31c), even though the predicate assigns Acc case, the locative Austin-eyse is positioned outside of the Acc-assignment domain and hence the stacked particle can only be *-ka* rather than *-lul*.

Schütze (2001) proposes that the domain sensitivity as well as sensitivity to lexical specification can be captured if we make the assumption that the assigners of Focus-Nom and Focus-Acc are the same heads that assign Nom and Acc Cases (following Horvath 1995). Specifically, he proposes that a constituent within a VP headed by an Acc-assigning V cannot skip the lower Focus position (i.e., Adjunct-to-VP position) and end up in the higher position (Adjunct-to-IP position), since doing so would constitute a violation of Relativized Minimality (equivalently, Minimality of Agree, under Chomsky 2001).

This suggestion will not do the job, for the following reasons. Let us suppose, following Schütze (2001), that focus in the Case Stacking construction involves feature-checking (Agree in the system of Chomsky 2001) followed by movement to a focus position (Adjunct-of-IP/VP). Let us first determine if a focus DP within VP is always prevented from Agree-ing with a higher focus licensing head (INFL, under Schütze's assumptions). The long-distance Agree between a focus-checking INFL and a VP-internal focus DP is possible under the assumptions of Chomsky (2001) when V does not bear a specification for focus. For example, taking left-to-right order below to reflect c-command, in the configuration shown in (32a), V will not be able to prevent the higher head INFL from accessing DP2 (which we are assuming is the focused Object) and Agreeing with it in terms of the focus feature. It is only when V has a focus feature, as shown in (32b), that the higher head INFL cannot access DP2 for the purposes of Agree.



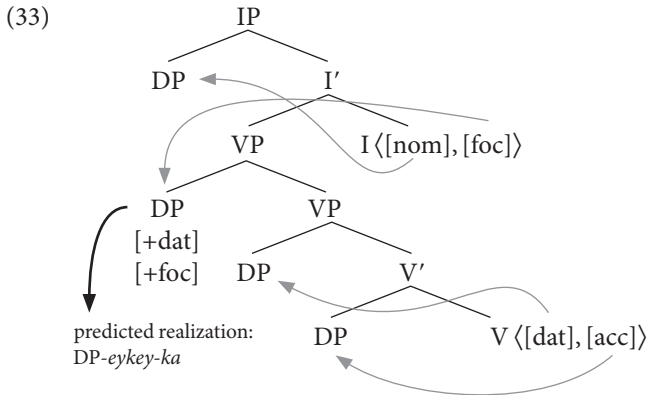
However, there is no reason to suppose that V (or INFL) has an obligatory focus feature in Korean. In addition, since Korean is presumably a multiple focus language, even when INFL has to check the focus feature of a higher DP (=DP₁ in 32), it should still be able to access DP₂ when V does not have a focus feature.

We have just seen that there is no way to prevent a VP-internal DP from agreeing with a VP-external focus-licensor under the system outlined by Schütze. There still may be a way to block illegitimate realizations of the putative focus-markers in his system since he assumes that focus in the Case Stacking construction involves movement (in addition to feature-checking). Suppose that INFL could Agree with DP₂ in (32a). Can DP₂ move to the focus-checking position associated with INFL (Adjunct-to-IP)? The answer depends on various technicalities. However, given that the movement in question is A'-movement (which allows the movement to use the edge of the lower phase vP/VP as an escape hatch), and given that the VP/vP does not have an obligatory focus position, the movement in question should not be blocked.

The above discussion entails that when the focus feature is present on INFL but not on a transitive V, the Object is predicted to be able to move to the higher Focus position and show up with Nominative, rather than Accusative, as the marker of focus. This prediction is falsified in the data we have seen, however.⁹

The scenario depicted below is equally problematic for Schütze's proposal. Suppose that a ditransitive V is chosen with only the case features (i.e., [acc] and [dat]),

but not [focus] as part of its lexical specification, while INFL is chosen with both [nom] and [focus]. Suppose that the Indirect Object (marked Dative, normally), is chosen with a [+focus] feature (as well as its case feature). Then, there is no way to rule out (31b) with a Nominative-marker instead of Accusative showing up as the doubled focus-marker under Schütze's analysis. The illegitimate derivation is illustrated schematically below.¹⁰



Similarly, Schütze's analysis is unable to capture the fact that a Case-stacked DP scrambled to clause-initial position from within VP will carry Acc as the stacked particle, rather than Nom.

- (34) Mary-eykey-man-**ul**/*?i John-i chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta
M-dat-only-acc/*nom J-nom book-acc give-pst-decl
'It was only to Mary that John gave the book.'

Sentence (34) with Nom as the stacked particle is predicted to be possible if V is not specified for [focus], and scrambling of IO (adjunction to IP) takes it to the higher focus position. If INFL is associated with [+focus], then it will be able to check the [+focus] feature on the scrambled IO, predicting *-ka* instead of *-lul* as the realization of the stacked particle.

It is clear how to rule out the illegitimate derivations. For example, the derivations will not be allowed if the putative focus-markers assigned by INFL and V are case-markers. A case-assigning V will block the higher head INFL from assigning Case to dependents within its immediate case-licensing domain, including the Dative-marked IO. The fact that Accusative may be already assigned to the Direct Object is of no consequence here, since INFL and V assign/check case multiply in Korean and will block an external case-assigner from Agree-ing with constituents within its domain. (34) can be accounted for straightforwardly as well. Scrambling does not give rise to Case Alternations. Therefore, the stacked case on the scrambled element must have been assigned within the VP followed by scrambling of the nominal to the beginning of IP.¹¹

It is instructive in this regard that there are in fact constructions where case-markers are distributed in a way that makes it difficult to view them as realizing (abstract) Case. Accusative case on certain adverbials constitutes the relevant example. As has been observed by many researchers, Accusative is possible on certain adverbials even when the predicate cannot assign Acc-case to its arguments.

- (35) Cheli-eykey emeni-ka/*lul ku-hwu phyengsayng-ul kuliw-ess-ta
 C-DAT mother-NOM/*ACC after-that whole.life-ACC missed
 ‘After that time, Cheli missed his mother his whole life.’

Now, since the distributions of adverbial Accusative and argument Accusative *diverge* in sentences like (35), we might posit two different sources for Accusative in such sentences (cf. M-J Kim 2001 for one such proposal, and Kim and Maling 1998 for another). What is instructive is that there is no such divergence in the case of putative focus-markers and case-markers in Case Stacking. Their distributions are completely identical. Therefore, the ambiguity thesis of Schütze has no independent justification.

3.2.2. Problem 2: Rampant ambiguity

Another problem for Schütze’s analysis is that when all of the relevant data are taken into consideration, Nominative and Accusative markers end up leading not only a secret double life as focus and case-markers, but a triple life. That is, the non-case uses of these markers must encompass both Focus and Topic. This means that the lexical properties of the Nominative and Accusative particles (and the corresponding assigners/checkers) must be revised as follows:

- (36) -ka1: [+nominative]
 -ka2: [+focus]
 -ka3: [+topic]
 -lul1: [+accusative]
 -lul2: [+focus]
 -lul3: [+topic]

The three types of Nominative particles are exemplified in (37) below.

- (37) a. Cheli-ka₁ o-ass-ta
 C-NOM come-PST-DECL
 ‘Cheli came.’
 b. Cheli-eykey-ka₂ mwuncey-ka manh-ta
 C-DAT-FOC problem-NOM a.lot-DECL
 ‘It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.’
 c. Pihayngki-ka₃ 747-i khu-ta
 airplane-TOP 747-NOM big-DECL
 ‘As for airplanes, the 747 is big.’

And while Schütze (2001) claims that the ‘raised’ nominal in ECM/SOR is focused, others (K-S Hong 1990, 1997; J-G Song 1994) have argued that it functions as a Topic with regard to the embedded clause, which is a conclusion that accords better with native speaker intuitions. If so, the particle *-lul*, like *-ka*, is three-ways ambiguous. The three uses of *-lul* are exemplified below.

- (38) a. Cheli-ka pap-ul₁ meknun-ta
 C-NOM meal-ACC eat-DECL
 ‘Cheli is having his meal.’
 b. Cheli-ka Yenghi-eykey-man-ul₂ senmwul-ul hay-ss-ta
 C-NOM Y-DAT-only-FOC present-ACC DO-PST-DECL
 ‘It was only to Yenghi that Cheli sent the present.’
 c. Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul₃ apeci-ka pwucala-ko sayngkakhhan-ta
 C-TOP Y-TOP father-NOM rich-COMP think-DECL
 ‘Cheli thinks of Yenghi that her father is rich.’

Indeed, Schütze’s final statement about the distribution of these particles acknowledges their three-way ambiguity.

- (39) *Distribution of discourse particles (final version)* (=54 in Schütze 2001, p.219)
 If a constituent XP can be marked as Topic or Focus by a case particle, that particle will correspond to the case assignable by XP’s Focus- or Topic-licensing head.

That is, a head (V, INFL) licenses either Case, Focus, or Topic, realized in exactly the same way.

The fact that the analysis has to posit a systematic three-way ambiguity for both *-ka* and *-lul* suggests that something fundamental is being missed. Therefore, Schütze (2001) attempts to shore up support for his three-way ambiguity thesis on the basis of the following observations. First, he observes that the Topic particle *-nun* is also ambiguous between Topic and Focus (Contrastive Topic/Contrastive Focus) uses, so that the ambiguity of Topic and Focus expressed by case particles is not without precedent in the language. Second, he suggests that the ambiguity thesis may explain why Nominative *-ka*, Accusative *-lul*, and Topic *-nun* occupy the same (final) morphological slot in the nominal affixation template (Yu-Cho and Sells 1995; Yoon 1995).

Let me address the second observation first. What Schütze is saying is that the particles that occupy the final slot of the nominal inflectional template have uses as Topic and Focus particles, in addition to their usual functions as Structural case-markers. However, this is an observation that has no generality, since the Genitive case-marker is also in the final slot but lacks any Topic or Focus properties. In addition, if Yu-Cho and Sells (1995) are to be believed, even the verbal copula also occupies the final slot, so that there can be no syntactic-semantic coherence to the particles that fill the slot.

Turning now to the first observation about the ambiguity of the Topic particle *-nun*, it is far from obvious that it is systematically ambiguous between topic and focus interpretation. The particle has always been taken to express two varieties of topics — the ‘thematic’ and ‘contrastive’ Topic. Thus, the argument in C. Lee (1998), which is cited in support of the ambiguity thesis, is not so much that *-nun* is a focus-marker, but that the semantics-pragmatics of what is called ‘contrastive’ Topic necessarily involves Focus.

In addition, it isn’t necessary to attribute the two different readings of *-nun* to the ambiguity of the marker itself. The distinction between ‘thematic’ and ‘contrastive’ Topics can be accounted for without positing two homophonous particles. For example, it is well known that in a series of NPs marked with *-nun*, all but the first necessarily receive ‘contrastive’ Topic/Focus readings.

- (40) I hakkyo-**nun** enehak.kwa-**nun** coh-ta
 this school-TOP linguistics.dept-TOP good-DECL
 ‘As for this university, the linguistics department is tops (but psychology
 is so-so).’

The distinct interpretations of the first and second occurrences of *-nun* can be accounted for in terms of syntax–semantics without assuming that the marker itself is ambiguous (cf. C-H Han 1998). Since the second instance of *-nun* sets up a contrast within the syntactic-semantic domain picked out by the first *-nun*, it is necessarily much more strongly contrastive than the first, yielding the ‘contrastive’ Topic reading.

The supposed three-way ambiguity of *-ka* and *-lul* lends itself to a similar kind of explanation. In particular, as I will show in greater detail in Section 5, an alternative to the three-way ambiguity analysis is to treat *-ka* and *-lul* as unambiguously case-markers, but to attribute the focus or topic-like interpretations of constituents marked with *-ka* and *-lul* to the fact that the constituents function as Topic or Focus of the constructions in question.

That is, the reason the ‘ECM’ nominal appears to be marked with ‘Topic Accusative’ is not because the Accusative functions ambiguously as the marker of Topic, but because the constituent that carries Accusative case is the Major Subject of the embedded clause which has undergone SOR to become the Major Object of the root clause and because raised Objects in Korean are associated with Topic interpretation, as K-S Hong (1997) argues. This is what leads to the impression that the Accusative on the raised nominal marks a Topic. The reason it is marked Acc, and not Nom, is that the constituent falls within the case-marking domain of an Accusative assigner, namely, the matrix verb.

- SOR-ed Major Subject assigns Acc case
- ↓ ↘
- (41) Cheli-nun [Yenghi-**lul** [apeci-ka pwucala-ko]] sayngkakhan-ta (=38)
 C-TOP Y-ACC father-NOM rich-COMP think-DECL
 ‘Cheli thinks of Yenghi that her father is rich.’

Similarly, (37b) does not exemplify ‘Focus Nominative’, but simply Nominative assigned to the Dat-marked Subject, which, as we shall argue in Section 5, functions as a Major Subject that falls within the domain where Nominative is assigned. The Focus interpretation arises due to the fact that the case-stacked Subject is occupying the Major Subject position, a position that is correlated with Focus interpretation.¹²

- Major Subject position Nom assigned
- ↓ ↙
- (42) Cheli-eykey-ka mwuncey-ka manh-ta (=37b)
 C-DAT-NOM problem-NOM a.lot-DECL
 ‘It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.’

3.2.3. Problem 3: Unexpected properties of A'-constituents

In this section, we discuss several additional pieces of evidence that apparent Topic and Focus case particles should be analyzed as case-markers. The evidence revolves around some technical difficulties that a Focus/Topic analysis of the Nominative/Accusative particles faces.

A floated quantifier (FQ) can, but need not, agree in terms of Case with its antecedent ECM/SOR nominal.

- (43) Cheli-nun haksayngtul-ul seys-ul/i kaceng-i cohta-ko
 C-TOP students-ACC three-ACC/NOM family-NOM good-COMP
 mitnunta
 believed
 ‘Cheli thinks that of the students, three of them come from good families.’

Schütze (2001) makes much of the fact that the FQ need not agree with the ECM nominal in case. Since for him, the first *-lul* is not case but focus, the only case that the raised nominal *haksayngtul* in (43) has is Nominative. Thus, the FQ, which is assumed to agree with its antecedent in terms of case and not focus/topic-marking, is predicted to carry Nominative, rather than Accusative.

The problem is, FQ can also carry Accusative. This is not predicted unless the FQ agrees with the antecedent in terms of the case that would have been assigned to the antecedent nominal if in fact the marker that realizes the focus had been a case-marker! Of course, no such problem arises if the *-lul* on *haksayngtul* is case. The nominative–accusative alternation on FQ is predicted since it is well-known that ECM/SOR can effect either the highest dependent of the embedded clause (single raising/ECM, yielding Case mismatch between antecedent and FQ) or more than one dependent (multiple raising/ECM, yielding Case matching).¹³

Another problem has to do with the well-known difference in binding behavior between Acc-marked and Nom-marked Subjects in ECM/SOR constructions.

- (44) a. Cheli_k-nun ku_k-ka ttokttokhata-ko mitnun-ta
 C-TOP he-NOM smart-COMP believe-DECL
 b. *?Cheli_k-nun ku_k-lul ttokttokhata-ko mitnun-ta
 C-TOP he-ACC smart-COMP believe-DECL

It is unclear how this contrast can be accounted for in Schütze's analysis. (44b) under his analysis would be derived by A'-movement of the embedded Subject to the matrix VP, where it is assigned [+focus] from the matrix verb. Since the movement is A'-movement akin to long-distance Scrambling, it should not affect binding possibilities. If such movement could affect binding, we predict that an embedded Object scrambled to matrix VP should trigger disjointness effects, but it does not seem to, though the judgments are less than crystal clear.¹⁴

- (45) a. Cheli_k-nun [Yenghi-ka ku_k-lul coahanta-ko] sayngkakhan-ta
 C-TOP Y-NOM he-ACC like-COMP think-DECL
 b. Cheli_k-nun ku_k-lul [Yenghi-ka t_k coahanta-ko] sayngkakhan-ta
 C-TOP he-ACC Y-NOM like-COMP think-DECL
 'Cheli thinks that Yenghi likes him.'

If on the other hand, the ECM/SOR nominal receives Accusative case from the matrix predicate, and hence occupies an A-position, the contrast in (44) can be easily accounted for.

Finally, unless the Acc on the ECM nominal is case, the Case Filter (or whatever replaces it in current theory) is violated by certain nominals under Schütze's analysis.

- (46) a. Cheli-nun kko_{ch}-ul cangmi-ka yepputa-ko mitnun-ta
 C-TOP flower-ACC flower-NOM pretty-COMP believe-DECL
 'Cheli believes that among flowers, the rose is the prettiest.'
 b. Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta
 airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
 'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'

The initial NP in (46b) and the ECM-ed NP in (46a) has focus or topic-marking but not case-marking under Schütze's analysis. These NPs therefore violate the Case Filter, since they are not assigned case. However, if *-ka* and *-lul* on these nominals mark case, no problems arise.

In sum, on conceptual, empirical, and technical grounds, we have reasons to take stacked case-markers and unstacked case-markers receiving topic or focus interpretation to be markers of case.¹⁵

4. Case alternations, case stacking, and grammatical subjecthood

Assuming that case particles uniformly express case, regardless of where they show up, let us turn now to the question of whether Case Stacking is correlated with any

other property of Korean syntax. In particular, let us evaluate the claim that Nominative stacking presupposes the ability of the nominal to undergo Case Alternation and to assume Grammatical Subjecthood (Gerdtz and Youn 1988; Youn 1990).¹⁶

The empirical basis for Gerdtz and Youn's claim comes from sentences containing certain I-case-marked NPs (and/or PPs) that resist Case Stacking, and those that resist stacking do not participate in Case Alternation either (the data and judgments are from Youn 1998).

- (47) a. Phokwu-lo/*ka/*lo-ka ku tali-ka
 heavy.rain-INST/*NOM/*INST-NOM that bridge-NOM
 mwuneci-ess-ta
 collapse-PST-DECL
 'It was due to heavy rain that the bridge collapsed.'
- b. Uyca-ey/*ka/*ey-ka Cheli-ka anc-ass-ta
 chair-LOC/*NOM/*LOC-NOM C-NOM sit-PAST-DECL
 'It was on a chair that Cheli sat.'
- c. I pang-eyse/*ka/*eyse-ka Cheli-ka nao-ass-ta
 this room-FROM/*NOM/*FROM-NOM C-NOM come.out-PST-DECL
 'It was from this room that Cheli came out.'

In contrast to the sentences in (47), the Dat/Loc-marked constituents below are Subjects (of unaccusative predicates) and undergo both Case Alternation and Case Stacking.

- (48) a. Cheli-eykey/ka/eykey-ka ton-i philyoha-ta
 C-DAT/NOM/DAT-NOM money-NOM necessary-DECL
 'It is Cheli who needs money.'
- b. Semyukongcang-eyse/i/eyse-ka pwul-i na-ss-ta
 textile.factory-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM fire-NOM break.out-DECL
 'It was in the textile factory that a fire broke out.'

On the basis of the contrast between (47) and (48), Gerdtz and Youn (1988) and Youn (1990) propose the following account of Case Stacking.

- (i) Only constituents that are Subjects at some level of representation can receive Nominative case.
- (ii) Thus, the failure of Case Alternation on nominals is due to the fact that they are not Subjects at any level of representation.
- (iii) Since Case Stacking of Nominative is possible only on constituents showing Case Alternation, the impossibility of Case Stacking on nominals that fail to undergo Case Alternation also follows.

4.1. Case alternation does not correlate with case stacking or subjecthood

However, the proposed correlations among Case Alternation, Subjecthood, and Case Stacking fail to hold up when additional data are taken into account. For example,

the phrase occurring as the complement of the negative copula in the Cleft Construction admits Case Stacking, even when it fails to undergo Case Alternation.¹⁷

- (49) a. Cheli-ka nao-n kes-un i pang-**eyse*/??i/eyse-ka
 C come.out-ADN thing-TOP this room-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM
 ani-ess-ta
 neg-PST-DECL
 'It wasn't from this room that Cheli came out.'
- b. Ku tali-ka mwuneci-n kes-un
 that bridge-NOM collapse-AND thing-TOP
 phokwu-**lo*/**ka*/lo-ka
 heavy.rain-INS/NOM/INS-NOM
 ani-ess-ta
 neg-PST-DECL
 'It wasn't due to the heavy rainfall that the bridge collapsed.'

I-case-marked nominals that undergo Tough Movement in the Tough Construction (Gerds and Yoon 1987; H-R Chae 1998) generally allow both alternation and stacking. However, in some cases, the correlation fails to hold and only stacking yields a well-formed output.

- (50) a. caki pang-eyse/??i/eyse-ka Cheli-eykey-n kongpwuha-ki-ka
 self room-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM C-DAT-TOP study-NML-NOM
 elyepa
 difficult
 'It is in his room that Cheli finds it difficult to study.'
- b. Ku kongkwu-lo/**ka*/lo-ka na-eykey-n cha-lul kochi-ki-ka
 that tool-INST/NOM/INST-NOM I-DAT-TOP car-ACC fix-NML-NOM
 elyepa
 difficult
 'It is that tool with which I find it difficult to fix the car.'

As Gerds and Yoon (1987) show, the raised nominal in Tough Constructions does not display properties of Grammatical Subjects. Therefore, stacking takes place on non-subject constituents in (50).

Other constructions where the correlation between alternation, subjecthood, and stacking fails are shown below. (51a)–(51c) contain NNSs with different types of predicates and stacking on non-subjects. In all the sentences, Case Stacking on a non-subject constituent is possible, even when the nominal fails to undergo Case Alternation.

- (51) a. cipan-eyse/??i/eyse-ka Swuni-eykey namphyen-i
 inside-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
 mwusep-ta
 fearsome-DECL
 'It is inside the house that Swuni is afraid of her husband.'

- b. Austin-eyse/*?i/eyse-ka Bill-i kongpwu-lul cal hay-ss-ess-ta
 A-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM B-NOM study-ACC well do-PERF-PST-DECL
 'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'
- c. ecey-pwuthe/*ka/pwuthe-ka nalssi-ka
 yesterday-FROM/NOM/FROM-NOM weather-NOM
 coha-ci-ess-ta
 good-become-PST-DECL
 'It was from yesterday that the weather started to get better.'

In order to account for sentences such as these, in Youn (1998) and Gerdts and Youn (1999), the possibility that non-subjects may allow Case Stacking is acknowledged, which leads them to abandon the three-way correlation among Case Stacking, Case Alternations and Grammatical Subjecthood. However, they claim that non-subject stacking arises only in very restricted circumstances. We will discuss their specific proposal after we deal with multiple stacking first.

4.2. Multiple stacking

In the earlier analyses of Gerdts and Youn (1988) and Youn (1990), multiple stacking is predicted to be ill-formed. This is so since stacking correlates with Subjecthood, and there can be only one Subject in a clause at a given level of representation. And while they admit stacking on non-Subjects in their later analyses, Youn (1998) and Gerdts and Youn (1999) still reject certain sentences with multiple stacking, such as (52a) below (from Schütze 2001:201, ex. 18). (Youn's 1998 judgments are given below)

- (52) a. *cipan-eyse-ka kyewul-ey-ka Swuni-eykey namphyen-i
 house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
 mwusepta
 fearsome
 'It is in the house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of her husband.'
- b. *cipan-eyse-ka kyewul-ey-ka Swuni-eykey-ka namphyen-i
 house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT-NOM husband-NOM
 mwusepta
 fearsome
 'It is in the house that it is during the winter that it Swuni who is afraid of her husband.'

They claim that this is due to the fact that one or more of the case-stacked constituents is a non-subject and non-subject stacking can only arise under the following restricted condition.

(53) *Case Extension Rule* (Youn 1998: 144, 66)

If Nom case does not appear on the I-case-marked Subject, then the Nom case may appear on a temporal or locative adjunct.

Now, since only clauses with unaccusative/psych predicates contain I-case-marked NNSs, the rule predicts that stacking on non-subjects will be restricted to such clauses when the Grammatical Subject does not have stacking. Even then, it may stack on a non-subject only once.

However, the proposal in (53) is problematic. There are speakers who accept multiple stacking, as Youn (1998) himself acknowledges. In order to deal with this variation, Youn (1998) suggests that the difference between the dialects/speakers might have to do with whether the Case Extension Rule in (53) is allowed to iterate. If it is, multiple stacking arises, while if it is not, stacking must be unique in a clause. This modified proposal predicts that in the dialect(s) where (53) can iterate, (52a) will be acceptable, while (52b) will still be out.

(53') *Case Extension Rule* (Youn 1998: 144, 66 — revised)

- a. If the Nom case does not appear on an I-case-marked Subject, then the Nom case may appear on a temporal or locative adjunct.
- b. (53'a) *may* (in permissive dialects) or *may not* (conservative dialects) iterate.

Given the revised Case Extension Rule, the following pattern of grammaticality is predicted, where * now means 'ungrammatical in all dialects' and % means 'acceptable in permissive dialects'.

- (54) a. %cipan-eyse-**ka** kyewul-ey-**ka** Swuni-eykey namphyen-i
house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
mwusepta
fearsome
- b. *cipan-eyse-**ka** Swuni-eykey-**ka** namphyen-i mwusep-ta (cf. 52b)
house-LOC-NOM S-DAT-NOM-nom husband-NOM fearsome-DECL
- c. cipan-eyse-**ka** Swuni-eykey namphyen-i mwusep-ta
house-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM fearsome-DECL
- d. cipan-eyse Swuni-eykey-**ka** namphyen-i mwusep-ta
house-LOC S-DAT-NOM husband-NOM fearsome-DECL

Since I tend to accept multiple stacking, my dialect must be the one in which (53) is allowed to iterate. However, multiple Nom-stacking on a Subject and a non-subject is not too degraded for me. In particular, (54a) and (54b) do not contrast as sharply as they should under Youn's modified proposal.

For speakers like myself, multiple stacking is quite acceptable in the Tough Construction, even when one of the stacked nominals (the matrix Experiencer) is a Subject. This is shown below.

- (55) a. LA-eyse-ka imincatul-eykey [PRO umsik-cangsa-lul
 LA-LOC-NOM immigrants-DAT food-business-ACC
 ha-ki]-ka elyep-ta
 do-NML-NOM difficult-DECL
 'It is in LA that it is difficult for immigrants to run a restaurant.'
- b. ?LA-eyse-ka immicatul-eykey-ka [PRO umsik-cangsa-lul
 LA-LOC-NOM immigrants-DAT-NOM food-business-ACC
 ha-ki]-ka
 elyep-ta
 do-NML-NOM difficult-DECL
 'It is in LA that it is for immigrants that running a restaurant is difficult.'

In addition, while (53) allows non-subjects to carry stacked case only in clauses with unaccusative predicates, case-stacked non-subjects in sentences like (51b) (repeated below) containing an agentive predicate are acceptable.

- (56) Austin-eyse-ka Bill-i kongpwu-lul cal hay-ss-ess-ta (=51b)
 A-LOC-NOM B-NOM study-ACC well do-PERF-PST-DECL
 'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'

4.3. Summary

In sum, the conjecture that Gerdts and Youn (1988) and Youn (1990) had concerning the close relationship among Grammatical Subjecthood, Case Alternations, and Case Stacking cannot be maintained. Non-subjects allow stacking even for conservative speakers, though these speakers may be constrained by something like (53). Permissive dialects allow multiple stacking, and do not seem to abide by the restrictions in (53). Thus, there is no correlation between Case Alternations and Case Stacking on non-subjects for both conservative and permissive speakers. Putting the conclusion of this section (Section 4) together with that of the previous section (Section 3), we are driven to an analysis of Case Stacking where stacked case is to be treated as case, but where there is no correlation between stacking and alternation. What about the subjecthood of case-stacked nominals? Clearly, some of them do not function as Grammatical Subjects. Why then do they allow Nom-stacking? In the following section, I will suggest that the answers to these two questions are related. Case-stacked nominals function as *Major Subjects* and Nom-stacking reflects their status as *Major Subjects*.

5. Major Subjects and nominative case stacking

5.1. Major Subjects and grammatical subjects

Traditional grammars of Korean (as well as those of Chinese and Japanese) often describe the first and second Nom-marked NPs in the following Multiple Nomina-

tive/Subject Constructions (MNC/MSc) as *Major Subjects* and *Minor Subjects*. The idea behind this description is that both of the Nom-marked NPs are Subject-like in some sense, in particular, in being marked with Nominative case.

- (57) a. Cheli-ka apeci-ka pwuca-i-si-ta
C-NOM father-NOM rich-COP-HON-DECL
'As for Cheli, his father is rich/It is Cheli whose father is rich.'
- b. Apenim-i sonmok-i pwuleci-si-ess-ta
father-NOM wrist-NOM break-HON-PST-DECL
'Father's wrist was broken.'
- c. Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta
airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
'As for/it is airplanes (that) the 747 is big.'

In scholarship informed by modern syntactic theory, however, the use of the term Multiple *Subject* Construction has been eschewed in favor of the term Multiple *Nominative* Construction (cf. Yoon 1987; Youn 1990). The renaming of the construction is based on the supposition that only one of the Nom-marked nominals in (57a–c) is the Subject. The reasoning goes as follows: since we know that there are clear cases of non-subjects marked with Nominative case (that is, Nominative Objects), Nominative-marking cannot be a sufficient condition for a nominal to be identified as bearing the GR of Subject. Therefore, the constructions in question may contain multiple nominals marked with Nominative case, but only one of the nominals is the Subject.

Indeed, the major thesis of Youn (1990) is to defend the assumption of the uniqueness of Subjects in MNCs against apparent evidence to the contrary. The demonstration that there is a unique Subject (at a given level of representation, that is, D- or S-structure or their equivalents in other frameworks) has typically relied on certain 'subjecthood tests.' For example, Youn (1990) assumes that Subject Honorific Agreement is determined by a 'Final I', that is an S-structure Subject. Given this assumption, the second Nom-marked nominal *apeci-ka* must be the unique S-structure Subject in (57a), while in (57b), the unique S-structure Subject is the first Nom-marked nominal *apenim-i*.¹⁸

Notice that this line of reasoning sometimes leads to different decisions concerning subjecthood in MNCs even when the predicates are identical. For example, using the Subject Honorification (SH) test, Youn (1990) concludes that the first nominal is the Subject in (58a), while the second nominal is the Subject in (58b).¹⁹

- (58) a. Ku ai-ka(SUBJ) elkwul-i acwu yeppu-*si-ta
that child-NOM face-NOM very pretty-HON-DECL
'That child's face is very pretty.'
- b. Ku ai-ka emenim-kkeyse(SUBJ) acwu mi.in-i-si-ta
that child-NOM mother-HON.NOM very pretty-COP-HON-DECL
'That child's mother is very pretty.'

This line of research, if successful, appears to render the traditional notion of Major vs. Minor Subjects obsolete, since there is only one Subject in MNCs. It also predicts that the relevant subjecthood tests should pick out a unique nominal in MNCs as Subject at a given level of representation. However, this is a prediction that fails to be substantiated.

Youn (1990) assumes that SOR/ECM is another subjecthood test that picks out a 'Final I'. In conjunction with the results from the SH test, this then predicts that the second nominal, but not the first nominal, should undergo SOR/ECM in (58b), while the first nominal should undergo it in (58a). While the prediction is confirmed for (58a), it fails for (58b). It is the first nominal that undergoes SOR/ECM.²⁰

- (59) a. Cheli-nun ku ai-lul elkwul-i acwu yepu-ta-ko
 C-TOP that child-ACC face-NOM very pretty-DECL-COMP
 sayngkakhanta
 think
 'Cheli thinks of that child that her face is pretty.'
- a'. *Cheli-nun ku ai-ka elkwul-ul acwu yepu-ta-ko
 C-TOP that child-NOM face-ACC very pretty-DECL-COMP
 sayngkakhanta
 think
- b. Cheli-nun ku ai-lul emenim-kkeyse acwu
 C-TOP that child-ACC mother-HON.NOM very
 yepu-si-ta-ko sayngkakhanta
 pretty-HON-DECL-COMP think
 'Cheli thinks of that child that her mother is very pretty.'
- b'. *Cheli-nun ku ai-ka emenim-ul acwu yepu-ta-ko
 C-TOP that child-NOM mother-ACC very pretty-DECL-COMP
 sayngkakhanta
 think

If both SH and SOR/ECM are diagnostics for S-structure Subjects, then (S-structure) subjecthood in MNCs remains indeterminate.

In order to deal with contradictions such as this, K-S Hong (1991) proposed that while SH may be a test for Subjects, in particular, Grammatical Subjects, SOR/ECM is not a Subject test at all, but instead picks out Discourse Topics. However, while I concur with Hong that SOR/ECM is not restricted to Grammatical Subjects, I disagree with K-S Hong's (1991) suggestion that SOR/ECM has nothing to do with subjecthood, but only topichood. It is not the case that any constituent that can function as Topic can undergo SOR/ECM, and constituents that cannot be Topics may also undergo SOR/ECM.²¹

This leaves us with the task of deciding the role of the constituent that undergoes SOR/ECM in Korean. As many, including K-S Hong (1990, 1997), have observed (see J-M Yoon 1989 for the original conjecture), there is a non-trivial correlation between a nominal's ability to undergo SOR/ECM and its ability to occur as the first

Nom-marked NP in an MNC.²² This is what (59) illustrates. In order to capture this correlation, Yoon (2003) proposes, following J-M Yoon (1989), that what undergoes SOR/ECM is not the Grammatical Subject, but the *Major Subject* (Kuroda 1986, Heycock 1993). That is, while SOR/ECM may not be a diagnostic for Grammatical Subjects, it serves as a diagnostic for Major Subjects, rather than Topics.²³

A *Major Subject* (Large Subject in Shibatani 1999; Broad Subject in Doron and Heycock 1999) differs from the *Grammatical Subject* (Small Subject in Shibatani 1999; Narrow/Thematic Subject in Doron and Heycock 1999) in a number of respects. As exemplified by the first Nom-marked NP of the MNC in (57a), one difference between the Grammatical Subject and the Major Subject is that unlike a Grammatical Subject, a Major Subject is not an argument of the predicate. Secondly, while the predicate in construction with a Grammatical Subject is a thematically unsaturated VP, the predicate of a Major Subject is a thematically saturated sentence, hence, a Sentential Predicate, as long recognized in the analysis of MNCs (B-S Park 1982). Thirdly, a well-known condition on Sentential Predicates is that they must satisfy an ‘aboutness’ condition, or must denote a ‘characteristic property’ of the Major Subject on which they are predicated (Kuno 1973). Predicates in construction with Grammatical Subjects need not have this property.

As for other syntactic properties of Major Subjects, I will take them to be base-generated as (multiple) Specifier(s) of IP/TP, following Doron and Heycock (1999). I also assume that the base-generated Major Subject is assigned Nominative case in its base position.

Now, while a Major Subject is not an argument of a lexical head, nothing prevents a Major Subject from being coindexed with an argument. The following Korean translation of a Japanese sentence from Doron and Heycock (1999) illustrates this possibility.

- (60) [?]cohun nokcha-ka_i(MS) ilponsalamtul-i(GS) e_i culkye-masi-n-ta
 good green.tea-NOM Japanese-NOM enjoy-drink-PRS-DECL
 ‘As for good green tea/it is good green tea (that) the Japanese enjoy drinking.’

The base-generated Major Subject *cohun nokcha* in (60) is coindexed with the internal argument/Direct Object of the verb *masi-n-ta*.

Upon cursory inspection, it may appear that SOR/ECM applies to the Grammatical Subject, as its name implies. However, what undergoes SOR/ECM is the Major Subject that may or may not be coindexed with the Grammatical Subject.²⁴ Yoon (2003) shows that this assumption allows us to explain, among others, the restrictions on embedded clauses noted by J-M Yoon (1989) — namely, that the predicate in construction with an SOR/ECM nominal must be semantically stative, or be ‘about’ the nominal. A Grammatical Subject does not impose such requirements on its associated predicate. Nor is an indefinite Grammatical Subject restricted to specific interpretation. However, these are plausible properties of Major Subjects in construction with Sentential Predicates.

Now, when the Major Subject undergoing SOR/ECM is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, it will show the full set of Subject properties encompassing both Grammatical and Major Subjects. In contrast, when the Major Subject undergoing SOR/ECM is not coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, the properties associated with Grammatical Subjects will continue to be associated with the Grammatical Subject rather than the nominal raised by SOR/ECM. Sentence (59b) introduced earlier constitutes an example of the latter, while (61) below is an example of the former.

- (61) Cheli-ka Kim-kyoswunim-ul_i (SOR-ed MS)
 C-NOM Kim-professor-ACC
 [pro_i(GS) pwuca-i-si-la-ko] sayngkakhan-ta
 rich-COP-HON-DECL-COMP think-DECL
 'Cheli thinks of Professor Kim that he is rich.'

In (61), the raised Major Subject *Kim kyoswunim-ul* appears to control Honorific Agreement (a diagnostic for Grammatical Subjects, according to our account) in the embedded clause. However it does so in virtue of being coindexed with a phonologically unexpressed Grammatical Subject.

5.2. Nominative stacks on Major Subjects

The proposal I wish to make about Nom-stacking, in light of the evidence examined in Sections 3 and 4, is that it signals the status of the stacked nominal as a Major Subject. That is, Nominative stacks on *Non-nominative Major Subjects*. The Major Subject status of the nominal is indicated by Nom-marking, as well as by the special interpretation in root contexts.²⁵

As with SOR/ECM, the Nom-stacked Major Subject need not be the Grammatical Subject. For example, while the Nom-stacked Experiencer in a typical NNSC is a Dat-marked Major Subject that is coindexed with a Grammatical Subject (62a below), the Nom-stacked nominal raised in the Tough Construction (62b below) is a Major Subject that is not coindexed with a Grammatical Subject (but instead, with a non-subject constituent in the embedded clause).²⁶ The Nom-stacked adjunct in (62c) is a Major Subject under our assumptions but not a Grammatical Subject.

Now, when the Major Subject is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, it will display a fuller set of Subject properties than when the nominal is not coindexed with a Grammatical Subject. Thus, in (62a) below, Honorific Agreement appears to be controlled by the Nom-stacked Major Subject that is in turn coindexed with the Grammatical Subject. In (62b), by contrast, Honorific Agreement is controlled by the Grammatical Subject *Kim-kyoswunim-kkey*, rather than the Major Subject. Similarly, Plural Copying is controlled by the Grammatical Subject *atultul-eykey*, rather than the Major Subject, in (62d).²⁷

- (62) a. kyoswunim-kkey-ka_i (MS) [e_i (GS) ton-i
 professor-HON.DAT-NOM money-NOM
 philyoha-si-ta]²⁸
 necessary-HON-DECL
 'It is the professor who needs money.'
- b. cip-eyse-ka_i (MS) Kim-kyoswunim-kkey_j (GS) [PRO_j e_i il-ul
 house-LOC-NOM K-professor-HON.DAT work-ACC
 ha-si-ki]-ka elyew-usi-ta
 do-HON-NML-NOM difficult-HON-DECL
 'It is at home that it is difficult for Professor Kim to do work.'
- c. Austin-eyse-ka (MS) sensayngnim-kkeyse (GS) *kacang*
 A-LOC-NOM teacher-HON.NOM most
 hayngpokha-si-ess-ta
 happy-HON-PST-DECL
 'It was in Austin that the teacher was the happiest.'
- d. ?Kim-taylonglyeng-eykey-ka (MS) atultul-eykey (GS)
 Kim-president-DAT-NOM sons-DAT
 mwuncey-ka taytanhi-tul manh-ta
 problem-NOM greatly-PLUR a.lot-DECL
 'It is President Kim whose sons are causing a lot of problems.'

Now, if SOR/ECM is a Major Subject diagnostic, it is predicted that when the Nom-stacked Major Subject is not a Grammatical Subject, SOR/ECM should apply to it rather than to the Grammatical Subject. The prediction is confirmed. The relevant contrast is illustrated in (63) below. Similar results obtain for the other sentences, as readers can verify for themselves.

- (63) a. ?Cheli-nun Austin-eyse-lul sensayngnim-kkeyse *kacang*
 C-TOP A-LOC-ACC teacher-HON.NOM most
 hayngpokha-si-ess-ta-ko sayngkakhan-ta
 happy-HON-PST-DECL-COMP think-DECL
 'Cheli thinks that it was in Austin that the teacher was the happiest.'
- b. *Cheli-nun Austin-eyse-ka sensayngnim-ul *kacang*
 C-TOP A-LOC-NOM teacher-ACC most
 hayngpokha-si-ess-ta-ko sayngkakhan-ta
 happy-HON-PST-DECL-COMP think-DECL

5.3. Accounting for the properties of nom-stacking under the major subject analysis

A significant advantage of the Major Subject analysis of Nom-stacked nominals lies in its ability to provide plausible accounts of a number of generalizations about Case

Stacking that Schütze (1996, 2001) adduced as evidence against stacked case particles as Case-markers. This is what we turn to below.

5.3.1. *Special discourse status of major subjects:*

It is well-known that Major Subjects are characterized by special discourse — Topic or Focus — interpretation in root contexts. This is seen clearly in MNCs where the first Nom-marked NP is not the Grammatical Subject. (57c), repeated below, exemplifies this property.

- (57) c. Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta
 airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
 ‘As for airplanes (TOP), the 747 is big.’
 ‘It is airplanes (FOC) that the 747 is big.’ (pragmatically odd)

This helps us to explain why Nom-stacking gives rise to a Focus-like interpretation in root contexts. Since focus interpretation is one of the readings associated with Major Subjects, we can explicate the whole set of focus-like properties associated with Case Stacking without having to posit that case-markers do double duty as focus-markers in the language.²⁹

5.3.2. *Stacking and grammatical subjecthood*

Schütze (1996, 2001) reports that at least for some speakers, Subject Honorific Agreement and Quantifier Float become degraded when the Grammatical Subject is Dat-marked, and that the degradation does not improve under Nom-stacking. He took this to be evidence against analyzing stacked Nominative as case. The judgments of these speakers are predicted in our account as well. Recall that while Nom stacks on Major Subjects, properties sensitive to Grammatical Subjects are not affected by the stacking — cf. (62a–d). What may be going on with these speakers is that they are having trouble treating the Dat-marked NP as a Grammatical Subject in the first place and this difficulty persists under stacking.

5.3.3. *Optionality of case stacking*

Recall that Schütze’s central theoretical objection against treating stacked case as case was the apparent optionality of stacking. However, under the analysis of Nom-stacking as stacking on Major Subjects, the structures and derivations associated with stacked and unstacked nominals are different. Therefore, there is no optionality of Nom-stacking on a Major Subject. What gives rise to the appearance of optionality is the fact that the Major Subject position is optional.

- (64) *Structure without Major Subject Position — No Stacking*
 a. Cheli-eykey (GS) ton-i philyoha-ta
 C-DAT money-NOM necessary-DECL
 ‘Cheli needs money’

Structure with a Major Subject Position — Stacking

- b. Cheli-eykey-ka_i (MS) [e_i (GS) ton-i philyoha-ta]
 C-DAT-NOM money-NOM necessary-DECL
 'It is Cheli who needs money.'

Schütz's argument that stacked case is not case also centered on the contrast between the optionality of stacking on Inherently case-marked nominals (see above) and the obligatory stacking on genuine argument PPs. His claim was that since Postpositions are not case-markers, nothing bans the stacking of Structural case-markers on PPs. The relevant data is given below.

- (65) a. Pangan-ulo-*(ka) macnun panghyang-i-ta (=28)
 room.inside-LOC-NOM correct direction-COP-DECL
 'Toward the room is the correct direction.'
- b. ?Cikum-pwuthe-*(ka) mwuncey-lul yakiha-n-ta
 now-FROM-NOM issue-ACC raise-PRS-DECL
 'The problem is (what to do) from now.'
- c. Keki-lul ka-nun tey-nun Seoul-lo-pwuthe-*(ka) ceyil cohta
 there-ACC go-ADN NML-TOP S-LOC-FROM-NOM most good
 'To go there it is best to leave from Seoul.'

The analysis I propose for these sentences is as follows. The case-stacked constituents in these sentences are all Major Subjects and that is why Nom-stacking is obligatory. (65c) is the most transparent case, since *Seoul-lo-pwuthe-ka* is the raised nominal in a Tough Construction (see H-R Chae 1998 for different types of Tough Constructions). As we saw earlier, the Tough nominal is obligatorily case-stacked and functions as a Major Subject, while the (optional) Experiencer argument of the matrix predicate functions as a Grammatical Subject. This is seen in (66) below.³⁰

- (66) keki-lul ka-nun tey-nun chopocatul-eykey-nun (GS)
 there-ACC go-MOD NML-TOP beginners-DAT-TOP
 Seoul-lo-pwuthe-ka (MS) ceyil coh-ta
 S-LOC-FROM-NOM most good-DECL
 'For beginners, to go there, it is best to leave from Seoul.'

In (65b), the case-stacked nominal *cikum-pwuthe-ka* is a Major Subject. The Grammatical Subject, though not expressed in (65b), can be easily filled in, as shown below.³¹

- (67) cikum-pwuthe-ka (MS) kutongan millin il-tul-i (GS) mwuncey-lul
 now-FROM-NOM in.the.past put.off work-PL-NOM problem-ACC
 yakiha-lkesi-ta
 raise-FUT-DECL
 'From now on, the things we put off in the past will create problems.'

Finally, (65a) is an Inverse Copula Construction related to (68).

- (68) macnun panghyang-un pangan-ulo-i-ta
 correct direction-TOP room.inside-LOC-COP-DECL
 'The correct direction is toward the room.'

In the analysis of Korean copula constructions in Yoon (2001), the Inverse is derived by fronting the Predicate of the SC complement of the copula to a position where it is interpreted as either Topic or Focus. We have identified these interpretive properties as those of the Major Subject. As we can tell from its Nominative case-marking and focus interpretation, the fronted predicate in (65a) occupies the Major Subject position. This explains the obligatoriness of Case Stacking since we have been assuming that Nom-assignment is obligatory on Major Subjects.³²

5.3.4. *Conditions on major subject predication explain restrictions on case stacking*

As we saw earlier, Major Subjects must be 'news-worthy' items. In addition, the Sentential Predicate in construction with the Major Subject should denote a characteristic property of the referent of the Major Subject (Kuno 1973). This interpretive requirement can be satisfied in various ways. For example, the Sentential Predicate in (69a) below satisfies this condition because the Major Subject and Grammatical Subject stand in a *Type-Subtype* relation (I-S Yang 1972). The 747 is a type of airplane and the Sentential Predicate '747 is big' states a characteristic property of the Major Subject 'airplanes'. The Major Subject 'airplanes', in turn, is news-worthy enough for the following sentence to be construed as saying something relevant about it. In contrast, the assertion in (69b) is anomalous, since the Type-Subtype relationship is reversed. The sentence 'airplanes are big' cannot be construed as saying something relevant about the 747. Therefore, the only felicitous reading of (69b) is if, say, there is a brand of automobile called 747, and comparison is being made among the entities that are called 747. In such a context, the sentence would be a felicitous assertion about entities named '747'. In the same way, we can understand why the Major Subject '747' in (69a) is construed as a Topic, rather than Focus, since the Focus reading presupposes that there is more than one type of entity with the 747 designation.

- (69) a. Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta
 airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
 'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'
 'It is airplanes that the 747 is big.' (pragmatically odd)
 b. *747-i pihayngki-ka khu-ta
 747-NOM airplane-NOM big-DECL
 'As for the 747, the airplane is big.' (pragmatically odd)

Something along these lines may be behind the restrictions on Nom-stacking observed by Youn (1998) and Gerdts and Youn (1999). In the alternative analysis here, Nom-stacked nominals are Major Subjects. As such, they must qualify as 'news-

worthy' entities. In addition, the Sentential Predicate in construction with the Major Subject must state a characteristic property of the Major Subject.

With this background, let us return to the sentences in (47), repeated here, which exemplify the limits on stacking according to Youn (1998) and Gerdts and Youn (1999).

- (70) a. *Phokwu-lo-ka ku tali-ka mwuneci-ess-ta
 heavy.rain-INST-NOM that bridge-NOM collapse-PST-DECL
 'It was due to heavy rain that the bridge collapsed.'
 b. *Uyca-ey-ka Cheli-ka anc-ass-ta
 chair-LOC-NOM C-NOM sit-PST-DECL
 'It was in the chair that Cheli sat.'
 c. *I pang-eyse-ka Cheli-ka nao-ass-ta
 this room-FROM-NOM C-NOM come.out-PST-DECL
 'It was out of this room that Cheli came out.'

We note first that in (70a), the Nom-stacked adjunct nominal expresses an (instrumental) Cause. It seems that taking a Cause (of events/eventualities) as a Major Subject is more difficult than taking other types of semantic relations expressed by adjuncts, such as the spatio-temporal Location of events, as a Major Subject. If this is correct, we can understand why (70a) is unacceptable as a Major Subject-Sentential Predicate construction.³³ (70b) is rejected by Youn (1998). However, this may be due to the fact that a non-specific chair is not something that is 'news-worthy' enough to be a Major Subject. Indeed, for many speakers, the following sentence, with the same syntactic structure, is much more acceptable.

- (71) ?i uyca-ey-ka Kim-taythonglyeng-i anc-usi-ess-ess-ta
 this chair-LOC-NOM Kim-president-NOM sit-HON-PST-PERF-DECL
 'It was in this chair that President Kim sat.'

Let's consider the following scenario, reportedly based on a true story. The president of South Korea visits Los Angeles and makes an unplanned stop at a restaurant to have lunch. The owner was so honored by the visit that he places the chair on which the president sat during lunch on prominent display in his restaurant. Curious (and flabbergasted!) guests ask why the chair is on display. In such a context, we could imagine the proud owner saying (71). The chair in such a context is certainly a 'news-worthy' item and 'President Kim having sat on it' a relevant property that could be predicated of it. For a similar reason, while Youn (1998) rejects (70c), I find that it sounds better than (70a, b), because it is easier to think of a context where it would be uttered (imagine a scenario where Cheli ran out of a room where he was hiding and the police want to know which room he was hiding in).

However, the interpretive condition that holds between Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates is elusive, since what counts as 'news-worthy' or a 'characteristic property' may be influenced by contextual factors, and as such, might vary from speaker to speaker and context to context. For example, in the literature it is

often asserted that (72a) is ungrammatical (likewise for 69a) (Y-S Kang 1985).

- (72) a. *kkoch-i cangmi-ka yeppu-ta* (*' in Y-S Kang 1985)
 flower-NOM rose-NOM pretty-DECL
 b. *kkoch-un cangmi-ka yeppu-ta*
 flower-NOM rose-NOM pretty-DECL

Interestingly, speakers who reject (72a) readily accept (72b). The reversal of judgments can be explained as follows. These speakers are interpreting the first NP in (72a) as (non-contrastive) Focus. Under this interpretation, the sentence asserts that 'it is the flower that the rose is pretty'. It is not easy to find a context where the utterance would be appropriate since the rose flower is perhaps the only part of the rose plant that is pretty. On the other hand, (72b) asserts that 'as for flowers, the rose is pretty', and is readily accepted by all speakers, because it requires no special context to be accepted. The context-dependency of the interpretive conditions on Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates may explain why speakers have varying judgments regarding Nom-stacked sentences, since the felicity of a given sentence with Nom-stacking depends, among others, on finding the right context in which the sentence could be uttered.

5.3.5. *Multiple stacking*

Multiple Nom-marked Major Subjects are possible, given the right context. This is shown below where the first and second Nom-marked NPs are Major Subjects.

- (73) *Cheli-ka chinkwu-ka [apeci-ka tani-nun hoysa]-ka manghayssta*
 C-NOM friend-NOM father-NOM go-ADN company-NOM go.bankrupt
 'It is Cheli (not Tongswu) and it is his friend (not a relative) whose
 father's company went bankrupt.' (one possible reading)

Because of multiple (embedded) foci, and because the relevant contexts may be hard to think of, sentences with multiple stacking (i.e., those with multiple non-nominative Major Subjects) are marginal. However, once the relevant contexts are identified, they can become acceptable. In the contexts provided below each example, the following sentences with multiple stacking are fine for many speakers.

- (74) a. *cipan-eyse-ka kyewul-ey-ka Swuni-eykey namphyen-i*
 house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
 mwusepta
 fearsome
 'It is in the house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of
 her husband'
 (Context: Swuni has a husband with a mental condition that gets
 worse in cold weather especially when he is inside the house.)

- b. cipan-eyse-ka kyewul-ey-ka Swuni-eykey-ka namphyen-i
 house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM S-DAT husband-NOM
 mwusepta
 fearsome
 'It's in the house that it's during the winter that it's Swuni who is
 afraid of her husband'
 (Context: Both Swuni and Yenghi have husbands with the aforemen-
 tioned condition. Only Swuni is afraid. Yenghi copes with the situ-
 ation well.)

5.3.6. *Unmarked vs. marked instances of stacking*

Analyzing Nom-stacked nominals as Major Subjects also helps us understand the reasons behind the two sets of empirical generalizations that have been made about stacking. Recall that in their earlier work, Youn (1990) and Gerdts and Youn (1988) assumed that Nom-stacking was restricted to Grammatical Subjects. In later work, they allow Nom-stacking on constituents other than Grammatical Subjects, but only in clauses with unaccusative predicates (cf. 53).

We can make sense of the earlier Gerdts-Youn generalization as being about the core, or unmarked, cases of stacking, if we make the plausible assumption that a Major Subject that is coreferential with a Grammatical Subject constitutes the unmarked instance of Major Subject.

It is significant that a similar variability holds in SOR/ECM, another Major Subject diagnostic in our account. Many researchers who have not bothered to examine the full range of data claim that only Grammatical Subjects undergo raising in SOR/ECM (Youn 1990, J-S Lee 1992, for example). However, constituents that clearly are not Grammatical Subjects can raise in SOR/ECM, as we saw earlier. We can think of these two sets of contrasting empirical claims in a manner similar to the two sets of claims made about Nom-stacking. If, as we suppose, in the unmarked case, a Major Subject is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, unmarked instances of SOR/ECM will seem to target the Grammatical Subject. When a Major Subject that is not the Grammatical Subject raises in SOR/ECM, it will constitute a marked case. That is why a cursory examination of the evidence often ignores these cases of SOR/ECM.

Returning to Nom-stacking, the later Gerdts-Youn generalization (cf. 53), especially the idea that only unaccusative predicates allow non-subjects to show Nom-stacking, can also be made sense of. Subjects of unaccusative clauses are less subject-like than those of unergative clauses. This generalization, worked out differently in different frameworks, is widely accepted in the literature. Therefore, it is not surprising that Major Subjects that are not Grammatical Subjects prefer unaccusative clauses to unergative clauses as Sentential Predicates since there would be less 'competition' for subjecthood from an unaccusative Grammatical Subject than an unergative Grammatical Subject, meaning that a clause with an unaccusative predicate is more likely to be reconstrued as a Sentential Predicate.

However, we have seen that there are exceptions to (53). (56), repeated below as (75a), contains a Nom-stacked Major Subject co-occurring with a clause containing an unergative predicate.

- (75) a. Austin-eyse-ka Bill-i kongpwu-lul cal hay-ss-ess-ta
 A-LOC-NOM B-NOM study-ACC well do-PST-PERF-DECL
 'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'
 b. *cangmachel-ey-ka nay-ka manhun chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta
 rainy.season-LOC-NOM I-NOM many book-ACC read-PST-DECL
 'It was during the rainy season that I read many books.' (Youn 1998, ex. (68))

Now, in contrast to (75a) which is acceptable for most speakers, an analogous sentence (75b) with the same syntactic structure has been claimed to be ungrammatical by Youn (1998). What could be the relevant difference between (75a) and (75b)?

Again, the key to the contrast has to do with the interpretive conditions on Sentential Predicates and Major Subjects. For example, (75b) improves if the predicate tense is changed to Present, yielding a generic (vs. episodic) reading.

- (76) ?cangmachel-ey-ka salamtul-i chayk-ul manhi ilk-nun-ta
 rainy.season-LOC-NOM people-NOM book-ACC a.lot read-PRS-DECL
 'It is during the rainy season that people read a lot.'

This is doubtless because the sentence 'people read books a lot', makes for an easier Sentential Predicate, which states a characteristic property of the Major Subject, 'rainy season'. In contrast, the sentence 'I read many books' cannot be easily construed as saying something characteristic about the Major Subject, 'rainy season'. This may be behind the contrast in judgments regarding structurally identical sentences.

Comparison with SOR/ECM is instructive here again. Various researchers have claimed that the embedded predicate in SOR/ECM is lexically restricted. For example, J-S Lee (1992) claims that the predicates must be intransitives that do not assign Acc case — unaccusatives and/or individual-level predicates. However, contrary to his claim, embedded transitives are fine for most speakers, as long as the entire embedded clause can be construed as stating a characteristic property of the SOR/ECM nominal (cf. Yoon 2003 for discussion). For example, the embedded clause in (77b), in contrast to that in (77a), has a generic-habitual interpretation, which makes it more suitable as a Sentential Predicate predicated of the raised Major Subject *Yenghi*.

- (77) a. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul pap-ul cikum ha-n-ta-ko
 C-TOP Y-ACC meal-ACC now do-PRS-DECL-COMP
 sayngkakhanta
 think
 'Cheli believes of Yenghi that she is cooking now.' (J-S Lee 1992)

- b. Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul cip-eyse pap-ul nul
 C-TOP Y-ACC home-LOC meal-ACC always
 ha-n-ta-ko sayngkakhanta
 do-PRS-DECL-COMP think
 ‘Cheli thinks of Yenghi that she always cooks at home.’

In the analysis proposed here, the contrasts shown in (75)–(77) are due to a common cause. Both Nom-stacked nominals and SOR/ECM nominals are Major Subjects. Therefore, they are sensitive to the same (admittedly illusive) factors that underlie a felicitous Major Subject-Sentential Predicate relation.

6. Conclusion and remaining issues

In this chapter, I have argued that Nom-stacked constituents are Major Subjects and that the stacked particle should be treated as a Nominative case-marker, rather than a homophonous focus-marker. The conclusion differs from those of previous researchers, in particular, both the earlier and later positions of Gerdts-Youn as well as that of Schütze. However, it would be remiss not to point out that the present analysis builds on crucial insights of earlier analyses. The investigation of the possible correlation of subjecthood with Nom-stacking owes to the work of Gerdts-Youn. In particular, I have recast the insights behind their Case Realization Rule (53) in terms of the licensing properties of Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates. The special interpretive properties of case-stacked nominals that Schütze investigated in detail have been recast in terms of the special properties of Major Subjects, including Non-nominative Major Subjects. Therefore, the major contribution of the present analysis is not so much in the discovery of new empirical generalizations (though there are some), but in attempting to relate the debate on Case Stacking to a known typological (parametric, if you will) property that pervades the syntax of Korean — the existence of Major Subjects — which is perhaps itself a reflection of a deeper ‘macro’-parameter. I have shown that in addition to Nom-marking, there is at least one other property of Korean that exploits this property, SOR/ECM.

In the remainder of the chapter, I will briefly discuss issues and areas that need to be investigated further.

6.1. On case alternation

If Nom-stacked nominals are all Major Subjects as the present chapter claims, the ability to be marked with a sole Nominative (i.e., to undergo Case Alternation) cannot be a necessary property of Major Subjects, since not all Major Subjects with stacked Nominative undergo Case Alternation. However, since Case Alternation implies Stacking (though not the other way round), we can say that alternating Major Subjects are in some sense more prototypical Major Subjects than the non-

alternating ones.³⁴ This is so since, when we restrict our attention to Non-nominative Major Subjects coindexed with Grammatical Subjects, Case Alternation does seem to correlate with Case Stacking (Gerdts and Youn 1988).

6.2. Case-marking and (major) subjecthood

According to the analysis in this chapter, all Major Subjects are Nom-marked, regardless of whether they also carry Inherent case. This is in contrast to Grammatical Subjects for which Nom-marking is not obligatory, as there are clear cases of Dative (and possibly Locative) Grammatical Subjects in the language. The question naturally arises why this should be so.

A speculative answer could be formulated on the basis of the fact that while a Grammatical Subject is an argument (the most prominent one) of the predicate that is in construction with it, a Major Subject is not, since the Major Subject is not a lexically selected argument of the predicate that heads the Sentential Predicate.

Suppose that the canonical position of Subjects is SpTP, possibly multiple. We proposed earlier that a Dat/Loc-marked Grammatical Subject occupies SpVP/vP (the lower subject position), rather than SpTP (the higher subject position). When Dat/Loc Subjects occupy SpTP, they do so as Major Subjects, giving rise to Nom-stacking. Now, assume that the SpTP is a position to which Nominative is obligatorily assigned. Since Major Subjects are not arguments of the verb, they never raise from within vP/VP to SpTP, but are directly merged in the higher subject position (Doron and Heycock 1999).³⁵ The conjunction of these two assumptions predicts that when a non-Nominative XP is merged in SpTP as a Major Subject, it will be obligatorily marked with Nom-case, yielding Case Stacking. In contrast, a Dat-marked Grammatical Subject, being an argument of the verb, can remain in the lower subject position, SpVP/vP. If we assume that there is no obligatory case-driven raising of Grammatical Subjects in Korean/Japanese (Fukui and Takano 1998, contra Miyagawa 2001), the Dat-NP which remains within vP/VP will not be marked with an additional Nom-case.³⁶

6.3. Agreement and subjecthood

The reanalysis of Nom-stacking in this chapter no longer makes it possible to view Honorific and Plural Agreement with a Dat-marked Grammatical Subject as agreement with a (covertly) Nom-marked Grammatical Subject, as in the earlier analysis of Gerdts and Youn (1988) and Youn (1990). How then could we explain the unusual pattern of Subj-Predicate Agreement in Korean NNSCs?

The answer must come from the fact that Nominative is not assigned by agreement in Korean, as many researchers have already pointed out (Y-J Kim 1990; K-S Hong 1991, etc.). This is what allows Subject Agreement to be controlled by the Grammatical Subject, regardless of how it is case-marked.

6.4. Acc-stacking and major objects

Finally, if our analysis is on the right track, Acc-stacked nominals must function as Non-accusative Major Objects. Possible examples of Major Objects without Case Stacking exist in the language. One such example is the Possessor NP in an Inalienable Possession type Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC), illustrated below.

- (78) Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul (MO) son-ul (GO) cap-ass-ta
 C-NOM Y-ACC hand-ACC catch-PST-DECL
 ‘Cheli caught Yenghi by the hand.’

The two Acc-marked nominals in this construction can be thought of as respectively instantiating the Major Object (MO) and the Grammatical Object (GO). If being selected and assigned an internal theta-role by the verb is a property of Grammatical Objects, the second, Possessee nominal must be the Grammatical Object (Yoon 1990; Maling and Kim 1992, *inter alia*). However, while the second Acc-marked nominal is the selected argument, it is the first Acc-marked NP that is syntactically active and undergoes relation-changing rules that affect Objects in other languages, such as Passive. This may be because it is functioning as a Major Object.³⁷

Other potential examples of Major Objects (MO) are found in the following constructions.

- (79) a. Cheli-ka Yenghi-eykey-man-ul_i (MO) e_i ton-ul ponay-ss-ta
 C-NOM Y-DAT-ONLY-ACC money-ACC send-PST-DECL
 ‘It was only to Yenghi that Cheli sent money.’
 b. Cheli-nun cemsim-ul (MO) cacangmyen-ul mek-ess-ta
 C-TOP lunch-ACC noodle.name-ACC eat-PST-DECL
 ‘As for lunch, Cheli had cacangmyen.’

In (79a), we have Acc-stacking on a Dat-marked Goal. (79b) is a sub-type of MAC in which the two Acc-marked nominals stand in a Topic-Comment relation. The constituents analyzed as Major Objects in (78) and (79a,b) have in common the property that they are not selected as arguments of the predicates in question. This is true in (79a) as well if we take the MO to be coindexed with the unexpressed Goal argument. Like Major Subjects, then, Major Objects will be directly merged into the structure, possibly as multiple Specifiers of VP. They are marked Accusative because they are in the domain of an Accusative assigner.

In sum, the existence of Major Subjects and Objects, coupled with the availability of multiple case assignment, may be what lies behind the peculiarities of Case Stacking constructions in the language. If we are on the right track, Major Subjects and Objects play a much more pervasive role in the grammar of languages like Korean and Japanese. This is certainly a topic that is worth a more extensive investigation than this chapter can provide.

Notes

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1. German may not be an appropriate example since it has been claimed that the Dative is not a Subject.

2. The reason I qualify this generalization as 'preferential' is that contrary to prevalent belief (e.g., Ura 1999 for Japanese and Gerdts and Youn 1988 for Korean), there are instances where speakers accept Honorific Agreement between the Nom-marked Object and the predicate (cf. Shibatani 1999 for relevant Japanese and Nepali data; J-H Kim 2001 for Korean).

Boeckx (2000) argues that in fact even in Icelandic, a case could be made that the Dat-marked Subject in NNS constructions agrees with the predicate (which also agrees simultaneously with the Nom-marked Object). He bases his analysis on the observation that agreement with Nominative Object fails when the Object is First or Second Person. Taking this to reflect the same generalization that underlies the Person-Case Constraint, Boeckx (2000) argues that it is the agreement with the Dat-marked Subject which prohibits the predicate from agreeing with 1st/2nd person Objects. If Boeckx is correct, then agreement with the NNS is more widespread than previously thought. However, the agreement with Dat-marked Subject in Korean (and Japanese) is much more robust and can be detected readily, since the presence of 1st/2nd person Nom-marked Object plays no interfering role.

3. In fact, the stated goal of Youn (1990) is to defend the Stratal Uniqueness Law (as it applies to Subjects) with respect to Korean on the face of evidence that seems to contradict it. As is well-known, the issue of the uniqueness of Subjects and Subjecthood diagnostics also depend on whether the syntactic framework is mono-stratal or multi-stratal. We will come back to this issue in Section 5.

4. This question should be understood as a conditional, rather than a bi-conditional. That is, it asks — if some constituent bears the GF of Subject, can/must it be marked Nominative? Nominative-marking does not entail Subjecthood, since the Nominative 'Object' in NNS constructions fails to exhibit properties associated with typical Subjects. However, Shibatani (1999) can be read as endorsing a bi-conditional interpretation, since for him, the Nominative 'Object' is in fact a Subject, a 'Small Subject', while the Dat/Loc-marked NP is a 'Large Subject'. I do not adopt this position in this chapter.

5. The account in Gerdts and Youn (1999) and Youn (1998) are different, as we shall see. The position advocated in their later works is close to that in Yoon (1996).

6. Gerdts and Yoon do not actually pursue a parametric account of the differences between Korean and other languages with NNS constructions. However, the scenario sketched in the text would be a plausible way of thinking about variation within their system. Of the two parameters, it is clear that the first is primary, since the second becomes relevant only when a language allows multiple case assignment.

D-W Yang (2000) argues that (14a) is not a parameter, since for him, NNSs in all languages receive Nominative Case. Under his approach, only the second property is parametric. Korean allows realization of both cases, while Icelandic doesn't. In this connection, Cedric Boeckx (p.c.) asks if there are languages where the parameter in (14a) can be set to negative, especially given the conjecture (Chomsky 2001) that Quirky Case has a Structural Case feature. If (14a) turns out not to be parametric, variation would have to be restricted to (14b), as D-W Yang (2000) argues.

Ura's (1999) proposal for NNSCs in Japanese and Korean utilizes the dissociation of the EPP, phi-, and Case assigning features of T. He proposes to account for the 'GF-Splitting' observed in NNSCs by assuming that the Dat-NP is the constituent which moves to SpTP to satisfy the EPP need of T, and that it is also the constituent that enters into phi-feature Agreement with T. The case feature of T, on the other hand, is checked by the Nominative 'Object'. He forces this split of properties by proposing that while the EPP and phi-features are 'strong', the Nom-case feature of T is 'weak'.

Besides being based on theoretically discarded notions ('strong' vs. 'weak' features), Ura's account predicts that cross-linguistically, agreement in DSCs should not prefer the Nom-NP, but should be possible with the Dat-NP with about equal chance. This is so since the two different types of agreement arises from the strong/weak parameterization of phi-features in his analysis. However, we know that this is not the case. Agreement in NNSCs is predominantly with the Nom-NP. Finally, Ura's account has nothing to say about Case Stacking either, which is attested robustly in Korean, though not in Japanese (but see Shibatani 1999 for examples).

7. Nominative-marked NPs can receive focal stress anywhere and be interpreted as Focus. Therefore, what this analysis is claiming is that the peripheral SpIP position is a position where Focus interpretation is obligatory. It is not a claim that the only context where a Nom-marked NP can be focused is when it is in SpIP. See Schütze (1996, 2001) for discussion on this point.

A related question has to do with whether the Exp nominal marked only with Dat can occupy SpIP. In Yoon (1996), it is assumed that nothing prevents it from doing so, in part to deal with the fact that the Exp nominal behaves as a Subject regardless of its case-marking. However, this assumption is not necessary. Following Y-J Kim (1991), we can take Subjects to be defined as the highest A-position in a clause. Under this view, the Dat-marked NP in SpVP can show all the properties associated with Subjects. The precise nature of Subjects will be addressed in detail in light of the distinction between Major and Grammatical Subjects in Section 5 of the chapter.

8. Unlike Japanese speakers who interpret the initial Nom-marked NP as Focus, Korean speakers allow the initial Nom-marked NP to be construed as Topic, especially when the second Nom-NP is a WH-phrase.

- (i) pihayngki-ka etten kicong-i ceyil khu-ni?
 airplane-NOM which model-NOM most big-Q
 'Among airplanes (Topic), which model is the largest?'

9. Note that under the scenario sketched here, there is a conflict between the assigned Case (realized as Acc) and the assigned focus (realized as Nom). The conflict arises since both of them are competing to be realized in the same morphological slot. When such conflicts arise (as in the case of the genuine Topic-marker competing with case-markers), the language resolves the conflict in favor of the realization of pragmatic functions. Under this strategy, the assigned focus (realized as Nom) should be realized in the scenario sketched here. The prediction is falsified, however. In addition, when the Object is marked Dative, the conflict does not arise, as we shall see momentarily.

10. In the tree shown below, there is no way to prevent INFL from 'governing' (or, 'Agreeing with' the IO adjoined to VP) either under GB assumptions or under Minimalist assumptions, since V is not a closer Head with focus features.

11. The marginal acceptability of (34), especially in contrast to the degraded nature of (31b), with a similar structure, is due to the fact that the initial XP in (34) can be construed as a base-generated Major Subject which is coindexed with a pro occupying the IO position. (31b) is out, as there is no possibility of analyzing the case-stacked DP as a left-peripheral Major Subject.

12. Since this type of analysis attributes the focus interpretation of case stacking to constructional focus positions, it is predicted that the focus interpretation will not arise when a stacked case occupies a non-focus position. This prediction is borne out. Genitive is obligatorily stacked on I-case-marked nominals within DPs, and yet no focus interpretation arises. This is so since there are no constructional focus positions within DPs.

- (i) Mary-uy John-eykey-uy phyenci
 M-GEN J-DAT-GEN letter
 'Mary's letter to John'

13. Schütze's system can account for the case-agreeing patterns in the following way. He can assume either that the case-matching FQ is not assigned Case but only Focus in the Focus position associated with the matrix VP or that the FQ is assigned Acc case but the ECM nominal is assigned Focus from the matrix V. In either case, both the FQ and the antecedent nominal must raise into the domain of the matrix V.

14. J-M Jo (p.c.) suggests that (45b) could be analyzed as local scrambling of the embedded Object (adjunction to lower IP or CP). Indeed, when a matrix adverb intervenes, forcing the Object to be adjoined to the matrix VP, disjointness between the matrix Subject and the scrambled embedded Object is strongly preferred.

- (i) *Cheli-nun[1] ku-lul[1], papo-kathi, [Yenghi-ka coahanta-ko] sayngkakhan-ta
 C-TOP he-ACC foolishly Y-NOM like-COMP think-DECL

Since Schütze (2001) assumes that the SOR/ECM nominal is adjoined to the matrix VP in (44b), the disjointness effect can still be accounted for under his analysis.

However, it seems that we can still construct an argument demonstrating that the position of the SOR/ECM nominal and that of the embedded Object scrambled to matrix VP are different. The two behave differently with respect to Negative Polarity licensing. That is, while an SOR/ECM NPI nominal can be licensed by matrix negation, a scrambled Object cannot, as we see below.

- (ii) a. [?]Na-nun Yenghi-pakkey acikto pap-ul cal hanta-ko sayngkakha-ci
 I-TOP Y-only (NPI) still meal-ACC well do-COMP think-COMP
 anhnunta
 NEG
- b. *[?]Na-nun pap-pakkey acikto [Yenghi-ka cal hanta-ko] sayngkakha-ci
 I-TOP meal-only (NPI) still Y-NOM well do-COMP think-COMP
 anhnunta
 NEG

Since (ii-b) shows that an NPI that is unambiguously adjoined to matrix VP cannot be licensed by matrix negation, we can infer that the SOR/ECM nominal in (ii-a) is not in the same position and that it is in an A-position. However, the relevant contrasts are not sharp. The A-position status of the SOR/ECM nominal is independently supported by its ability to undergo Passive in the matrix clause (J-M Yoon 1989).

15. I have not shown how the uniform Case analysis is able to account for all of Schütze's arguments against Case Stacking introduced in Section 3.1, though I have addressed some of them. I will return to some of these facts in Section 5.

16. An analogous claim is made for the stacking of Accusative by Schütze. Accusative stacks only on nominals that behave as Direct Objects, as shown by an alternating Acc case. However, unlike Subjects, the diagnostics for Objects are not well established. In addition, since the focus of the chapter is Non-nominative Subjects, we will restrict our subsequent discussion to Subjects.

17. Schütze (1996, 2001) claims that the *-ka* particle here is a Focus-marker assigned by negation, assuming that the complement of the Negative Copula is always in Focus. However, since the analysis of *-ka* as Focus has been effectively refuted, we assume that *-ka* is Nom-case here, as elsewhere. Besides, the complement of an affirmative Copula is also Focus, especially in the Cleft construction. However, there is no obligatory *-ka* marking.

18. Analogous reasoning picks out the second NP in (57c) as Subject. Youn (1990) posits the following subjecthood tests.

Final 1 (surface subject): Honorific Agreement, Plural Copying, SOR/ECM, Controller of *-myense* adjunct clause.

Metatratal 1 (subject at some level of representation): Antecedent of reflexive *casin*.

19. In contrast, K-S Hong (1991) assumes that the second nominal is the unique Subject in both sentences, so that in (58a), the agreement holds with *elkwul*. Since faces belong to people, an inference is made that the agreement is to be construed with the possessor of the body part, namely, *ku ai*. This inference leads to unacceptability since children are not usually deemed worthy of honorification.

Hong's proposal is similar to the view of Shibatani (1999), who holds that all initial NPs in MNCs are Major Subjects (or Large Subjects, as he calls them). I do not adopt this view, since I take the initial NP in (58a) to be a Grammatical Subject. This entails that the second NP, *elkwul*, is not a Subject of any kind. In (58b), by contrast, I take the first NP to be a 'Major Subject', while the second is the Grammatical Subject.

20. What makes (59a, b') bad has nothing to do with the position of the SOR/ECM nominal. Even when the Acc-marked nominal precedes the Nom-marked one, the sentences are still bad, as readers can verify for themselves.

21. For example, WH-phrases cannot be Topics but undergo SOR. See Kuroda (1986) and Doron and Heycock (1999) for a more general discussion of the differences between Topics and Major/Broad Subjects.

22. These include the fact that the nominals preferably co-occur with semantically stative predicates, generic or habitual tense, and get interpreted as specific when they are indefinite.

23. K-S Hong (1991) also lists the ability to control PRO in an adjunct or complement clause, and the ability to trigger deletion in coordination contexts as properties of Discourse Topics. Whether these too can be considered properties of Major Subjects should be explored further.

24. There is a technical question of how this comes about. Yoon (2003) argues that the embedded Major Subject moves to a position within the matrix VP where it is assigned Acc case.

25. Grammatical Subjects need not be marked Nominative. This raises the question of why Major Subjects have to be marked Nominative. We will come back to the possible roots of this difference in Section 6. Of course, a Major Subject that undergoes SOR/ECM will surface with Acc case, not Nom. This is because Nom and Acc cannot both be realized. Case resolution rules in Korean demand that the late-assigned case be realized (Yoon 1996).

26. It is possible, in light of the evidence given in Takano (2003), that the Case-stacked Tough nominal is not a Major Subject, but a Nom-marked *Major Object*. This will explain, among others, why the Tough nominal need not precede the matrix Experiencer. If the Experiencer were the GS and the Tough nominal the MS, we expect the latter to precede the former, since MS is more peripheral than GS.

27. Since the complement of the Negative Copula in negated Cleft Constructions is also a stacking position, we are led to claim that the constituent occupying that position is also a Major Subject. This analysis is not implausible, since Yoon (2001) argues, following Hoji (1987) and Matsuda (2000), that Cleft constructions are Inverse Copula constructions, in which the pre-copula constituent is the Subject.

What is the status of the nominals that act as Major Subjects in (62) when case is not stacked on them? In (62a), the Dative NP *kyoswunim-kkey* is a Grammatical Subject. In (62b), *cip-eyse* is a fronted adjunct associated with the embedded clause. In (61c), *Austin-eyse* functions as an adjunct to the whole clause. A similar story presumably extends to unstacked *Kim-taythonglyeng-eykey* in (62d). From facts such as these, it should be clear that Major Subjecthood is distinct from Grammatical Subjecthood. It is not even restricted to constituents bearing primary Grammatical Functions (Subject, Object, Indirect Object), as adjuncts can act as Major Subjects.

28. Since Major Subjects and coreferential Grammatical Subjects are coindexed, the position of the case-stacked nominal in (62a) is different from that of the unstacked Dat-NP. In saying this I am assuming that the presence of the Grammatical Subject (in the form of an empty category) implies that the predicate is a sentential constituent, as should be the case for predicates in construction with Major Subjects.

Another possibility, however, given that predicates that take Dat-marked Subjects can also be intransitive, is that the sentential predicate in (62a) is *ton-i manh-ta*, without a gap in the Exp/Dative position. Under this analysis, the GS will be the DP *ton-i*. I have no evidence to decide between the two analyses.

29. One might ask why Nom-stacking gives rise to only the Focus reading, not the Topic reading, at least for most speakers. In this connection, the claim by Youn (1998) that he does not find the focus reading obligatory is interesting, since this claim could be construed to mean that for speakers like him, both Topic and Focus readings are possible.

As is well-known, in non-asserted, embedded contexts, focus reading is not obligatory for Nom-marked Major Subjects (Heycock 1993; Kuroda 1986). If case-stacked constituents are Major Subjects, the focus reading should not be obligatory in similar contexts. The prediction seems to be borne out, as we see below (Soowon Kim, p.c.).

- (i) banyak Cheli-hanthey-ka ton-i manhta-myen wuli-nun iceykkes
 if C-DAT-NOM money-NOM a.lot-COND we-TOP till.now
 sok-ass-ta
 deceive-PST-DECL
 'If Cheli in fact has a lot of money, we were being fooled till now.'

The non-obligatoriness of Focus reading on case-stacked XPs in non-asserted contexts is another argument against Schütze's analysis.

30. But see n. 24, where it is suggested that the Tough nominal may be a Nom-marked/stacked Major Object, rather than a Major Subject. I will abstract away from this complication in the discussion here.

31. When case is not stacked, *cikum-pwuthe* functions simply as scene-setting adjunct. As we saw earlier, argumenthood is not necessary for Major Subjects. Therefore, nothing prevents *cikum-pwuthe* from being selected as a Major Subject when other conditions are met.

Unlike PP Major Subjects, genuine PP Grammatical Subjects do not require stacking. This is shown below.

- (i) apenim-ccok-eyse na-eykey sakwa-lul mence ha-si-ess-ta
 father.HON-side-from I-DAT apology-ACC first do-HON-PST-DECL
 'Father(honorific) apologized to me first.'

As Yoon (2001/to appear) argues, *-eyse* in *apenim-ccok-eyse* is a Postposition (similarly for *-kara* Subjects in Japanese) and the entire constituent functions as the Grammatical Subject, shown by the fact that it controls Honorific Agreement. However, the PP Subject does not require Nom-stacking.

32. The Inverse nominal in (65a) is unacceptable with a Topic-marker, as shown in (ia). This has to do with the fact that the information structure expressed by its Canonical counterpart (ib) is pragmatically odd.

- (i) a. #pangan-ulo-nun macnun panghyang-i-ta (inverse)
 'As for the direction toward the inside of the room, it is the correct direction (to follow).'
 b. #macnun panghyang-i pangan-ulo-i-ta (canonical)
 'It is the correct direction (to follow) that the direction toward the inside of the room is.'

33. However, K-S Hong (p.c.) notes that the following sentence where Nom stacks on Instruments can be acceptable, and I agree with her judgments.

- (i) 5000-phawuntu phokthan-ulo-man-i ce tongkwultul-i
 5000-pound bomb-INST-ONLY-NOM those caves-NOM
 phakoy-toy-lkesi-ta
 destroy-PASS-MOD-DECL
 'It is only with 5000lb bombs that those caves will be destroyed.'

34. Shibatani (1999) attempts to address this issue in terms of 'degree of dependency'. The idea is that Nom-marked Major Subjects (Large Subjects, for him) exhibit a greater degree of dependency on the (sentential) predicate that follows it than a Dat/Loc-marked Major Subject.

35. If this suggestion is on the right track, the dependency between a MS and a coindexed GS in stacking cannot be one of movement, but rather control, contra Yoon (1996). If the relation is control, the existence of case connectivity, which is taken to be a diagnostic of movement, has to be accounted for in some way.

36. If this suggestion is on the right track, Nom-assignment is obligatory in the higher subject position but not in the lower subject position. Why would this be? Perhaps because the only way of indicating the subject-like status of the higher position is through case-marking, whereas the lower subject is also the most prominent argument in terms of argument structure.

37. In RG, the fact that only the first NP is 'relationally active' is attributed to the 'chômeur' status of the second NP whose Direct Object status has been usurped by the first nominal which ascends to Direct Object. However, this analysis does not generalize to other MACs for which an Ascension analysis cannot be extended, such as the Topic-Comment type MAC illustrated in (79c). In addition, there is little evidence of real 'chômage' in Korean. For example, as we have seen, the putative 1-chômeur in MNCs may still be active in controlling agreement.

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