SUBJECTHOOD OF QUIRKY SUBJECTS AND GF-SPLIT

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we show that most of the adduced intuitions about subjects and subjecthood are true for Nominative subjects and depend exactly on this Case, i.e. a subject is bound to have all, or most, of the subject properties only when it stands in Nominative. The problems with subjecthood properties arise, however, once the potential subject does not bear this apparently special Case, but is inherently Dative or Accusative, i.e. "Quirky". We argue that Quirky Subjects undeniably bear subjecthood and we support this view with relevant data. We also propose parameter settings for the analysed languages and eventually a definition of subject based on Ura's (2000) analysis of Grammatical Function Split phenomena (hence GF-Split).

1. Defining subject and subjecthood.

Even though subjecthood has quite a long history in linguistics, it cannot really boast a satisfying definition. The existing definitions concentrate on the following three areas: form (formal, or morphological, features of a subject like agreement features and Case); meaning, i.e. theta-role; syntactic position, i.e. where the subject usually occurs in sentences.

Falk (2003: 1-2), following Keenan (1976) and Andrews (1985), enumerates various standardly assumed subjecthood properties; we present them below.

If a verb has an Agent argument, in the active voice the Agent is realised as subject:

(1a) *John ate an apple.*

(1b) *Piotr wyszedł z domu.*
Peter.NOM left.3SG.M from home
'Peter left home.'

The addressee of an imperative is a subject:

(2a) *Go away!*

(2b) *Finish your breakfast, will you!*

(2c) *Kup chleb!*
buy.2SG.IMP bread
'Buy bread!'

(2d) *Zjedzcie śniadanie!*
eat.2PL.IMP breakfast
'Eat (your.PL) breakfast!'

Subjects antecede reflexives:

(3a) *John$_i$ washed himself$_i$.*

(3b) *Jan kupił sobie samochód.*
John.NOM bought.3SG.M self a car.ACC
'John bought himself a car.'

(3c) *Maria zobaczyła siebie w lustrze.*
Mary.NOM saw.3SG.F self in mirror
'Mary saw herself in the mirror.'

If any argument can be left covert/empty (pro) in a language, the subject can:

(4a) *Am busy now so don't disturb me!* (coll. Eng.)

(4b) *Kupiłam nowe buty.*
bought.1.SG.F new shoes

'I have bought new shoes.'

If coordinated clauses share an argument, the argument they share is the subject:

(5a) *John left and didn't come back.*

(5b) *Maria wyszła i jeszcze nie wróciła.*
Mary.NOM left.3SG.F and yet not came back.3SG.F
'Mary left and didn't come back yet.'

The controlled (PRO) argument of a subordinate clause is its subject:

(6a) *John$_i$ left without PRO$_i$ saying goodbye.*

(6b) *Maria$_i$ wyszła nie PRO$_i$ mówiąc dokąd idzie.*
Mary.NOM left.3SG.F not PRO telling where go.3SG
'Mary left without telling where she was going.'

Subjects undergo raising (examples from Postal (1974: 60)):

(7a) *Melvin seems to be an addict.*

(7b) *It seems that Melvin is an addict.*

(7c) *Jan zdaje sie być dobrym nauczycielem.*
John.NOM seems be [good teacher].INSTR
'John seems to be a good teacher.'

In some languages, only subjects can be extracted; in others, subjects have special extraction characteristics, such as resistance to being a resumptive pronoun or susceptibility to the *that*-trace effect (examples from Haegeman 1991: 456):

(8a) *Who do you think [$_{CP}$ t'$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ came]]?*

(8b) **Who do you think [$_{CP}$ t'$_i$ that [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ came]]?*

In many languages, every sentence must have a subject (either overt or covert); moreover subjects are often required to be definite, or take wide scope over other elements of the clause; subjects also tend to occupy a special "external" position (e.g. outside of VP); the subject is usually the discourse topic. In many languages subjects are realised with no overt Case-marking or bearing the so-called "unmarked Case", often referred to as Nominative; the subject usually induces agreement on the finite verb of the clause. It may also launch a quantifier floating (see Sportiche 1988):

(9a) *All the children have done their homework.*

(9b) *The children have all done their homework.*

(9c) *Wszyscy uczniowie będą mogli wyjechać latem.*
all students.NOM will.3PL be-able.3PL.PAST leave.INF summer
'All the students will be able to go away in summer.'

(9d) *Uczniowie będą mogli wszyscy wyjechać latem.*
students.NOM will.3PL be-able.3PL.PAST all leave.INF summer
'The students will all be able to go away in summer.'

The subject is in a position which constitutes a pivot of inversion in the English-type languages:

(10a) *John has done his homework.*

(10b) *Has John done his homework?*

The enumerated properties characterising subjects are of such varying nature that it is surprising that they should boil down to just one nominal expression. Especially, when

considering the syntactic status of subject or the syntactic position of subject, it seems impossible to attribute all the aforementioned properties to just one universal syntactic position. Moreover, there appear to be plenty constructions in natural languages where these properties are shared by more than one nominal expression – both Polish and English belong to this group. This is particularly worrying since we are accustomed to the idea of having just one subject per clause, and, once the subjecthood properties are distributed among more NPs, we have a hard time deciding which of these NPs should really be the subject.

In the generative tradition, it has been customary to consider grammatical functions as purely configurational, i.e. some nominal expression (an NP or a noun clause) was referred to as subject if it occupied a certain position in the structure associated with the grammatical function subject. Subjecthood properties were peculiar to a concrete structural position (configuration), never to a particular lexical item – a lexical item exhibited subjecthood properties only because it happened to occupy the subject position. Nowadays, in the minimalist tradition, the notions are no longer configurationally defined, but rather relationally. In the following section we present an approach which employs the minimalist ideas and, moreover, bases them on the only certain phenomenon that must take place in the course of a syntactic derivation, i.e. the process of feature checking. The approach is that of Ura (2000).

2. Grammatical Relations, Grammatical Functions and GF-Split

Ura (2000) proposes a minimalist approach to Grammatical Relations (GRs) and Grammatical Functions (GFs) based on the theory of multiple feature checking. The notions are defined on the basis of checking relations which the categories enter in the course of the derivation when checking off their formal features (FFs). He also presents an idea of grammatical function

splitting, which we are going to introduce into our analysis following his proposals. Grammatical function splitting takes place whenever any Grammatical Relation (GR) has its assumed Grammatical Functions (GFs) realised by two different categories. Our main concern is his analysis of the so-called Quirky Subject Constructions (QSCs).

Depending on the phase of generative approach one may come across different ways of defining GRs and GFs. In the Government and Binding Theory (GB), grammatical relations such as subject or object were purely derivative, i.e. defined structurally. For instance, some category would be referred to as a GR subject if it occupied [Spec, IP] position and performed certain syntactic functions (GFs) such as binding, inducing agreement and control. What is crucial here is that the element occupying [Spec, IP] was admittedly of no great importance itself, rather all the GFs were associated with the position in which it happened to be situated. Thus, the category acquired certain subject GFs via [Spec, IP] position to which these GFs were indigenous. This state of the matters continued, though slightly modified through the addition of Agreement Phrases (AgrSP and AgrOP) where the elements moved to get their Cases assigned, in the Principles and Parameters approach. Some striking changes came with the rise of Chomsky's Minimalist Program (1995), where structural relations were disposed of together with the notion of government, on which they were based, and the standard X-bar format. Grammatical relations and functions were redefined in terms of relations, i.e. a grammatical relation was defined in terms of its relation to other elements in the construction; structural positions were no longer absolute, instead they were to depend on other elements and as a result be defined relationally (the leftover of the past systems is c-command). The relations of which we are talking about here, as discussed by Ura, are the ones created in the process of formal feature checking, to be more precise: a particular grammatical function (GF), say control, is a result of [Φ] feature checking of some DP against the Tense (T) element in TP. A grammatical relation (GR) then is a group of GFs associated with it, e.g. a

GR subject is going to be a combination of the following GFs: (1) standing in Nominative; (2) binding a subject-oriented reflexive; (3) launching a quantifier floating; (4) controlling a missing subject in a subordinate-adjunct clause; (5) inducing agreement on the finite verb of the clause, etc. Now, if we encounter a situation in which the above GFs are checked off by more than one nominal element, then we are unquestionably dealing with an example of grammatical function split. We shall see that such situations are legion in the case of non-Nominative Subject Constructions.

2.1. Subjecthood tests and feature checking: Nominatives as model subjects

According to Ura (2000) there are actually two most important [+Interpretable], i.e. in his terms [+Construable] features of T that subjects check off: [EPP] and [Φ]; subject may also check the [+NOM] feature of T (which is [-Interpretable/-Construable]. The most important feature checking configuration is the one which an element enters before Spell-Out checking a [+Construable] feature (such as [EPP] or [Φ]; the [+NOM] Case feature is [-Construable]). The checking of the two [+Construable] features, if performed by the same element, will result in a fully-fledged subject that should most probably pass all subjecthood tests. In Ura's approach checking the strong [EPP] of T gives a DP the possibility of occupying the sentence--initial position and binding a subject-oriented reflexive. The DP can also check T's [+NOM], if not already Case-marked idiosyncratically, and enter a [Φ] feature checking relation thanks to which it would also induce agreement and gain the ability to control, as in the following examples:

(11a) *John$_i$/He$_i$ hurt himself$_i$ without PRO$_i$ blinking an eye.*

(11b) *John$_i$ /He$_i$ seems t$_i$ to have hurt himself$_i$.*

(11c) *Has John$_i$ /he$_i$ hurt himself$_i$?*

In (11) the DP *John* checks T's [EPP] overtly, the [EPP] feature checking relation gives *John* the possibility to bind a subject-oriented reflexive, which it does (as indicated by coindexation) in all the above examples. *John* also checks off T's [+NOM], which is visible on the form of the pronoun *he*, as well as [Φ] features which allows it to induce agreement and control PRO in the adjunct clause.

If we check the DP *John* against the subjecthood tests, we get the following results:

(12) The DP *John*:

a. is standing in the [Spec, TP] due to checking the strong [EPP] of T;
b. is standing in Nominative due to checking the [+NOM] of T;
c. induces agreement on the finite verb due to checking the [Φ] of T together with its also [+NOM];
d. raises thanks to the [EPP] checking relation with T;
e. binds a subject-oriented reflexive due to the [EPP] feature checking relation with T;
f. controls a missing subject in an adjunct-subordinate clause due to the [Φ] feature checking relation with T;
g. takes part in subject-verb inversion due to the [EPP] feature checking relation with T.

As assumed (and expected), most subject properties result from checking these two [+Construable] features. This is usually possible only for the Nominative subjects. We know, however, that non-Nominatives also have the possibility of checking these [+Construable] features, perhaps not both of them, and not simultaneously, nevertheless, even checking of one of these features gives them a number of unquestionable subjecthood properties. We

would like to see, however, checking of which of these features gives an non-Nominative NP a ticket to subjecthood, i.e. we would like to find out which of these two : [EPP] or [Φ] may be more decisive, if at all. Now, if this is really the case, let us see how non-Nominative subjects do in terms of subjecthood properties when feature checking constitutes the relevant yardstick.

2.2. Subjecthood of quirky subjects: Polish, Icelandic and Spanish

A Quirky Subject is a nominal expression occupying a clause/sentence-initial position, bearing inherent Dative/Genitive/Accusative Case; most often it is also bearing an Experiencer theta role, which right after the role of Agent is the second highest ranking in the Thematic Hierarchy (Jackendoff 1972; Grimshaw 1990). We discuss examples of Quirky Subjects in Polish, Icelandic and Spanish and show how they perform with respect to feature checking and subjecthood.

First, we discuss Polish Dative Subject Constructions and Numeral Phrase Subject Constructions, next we present Icelandic Quirky Subject Constructions and, finally, we present dative and Locative Subject Constructions.

2.2.1. Polish Datives and Numeral Phrases as subjects

2.2.1.1. Datives

When discussing Polish Dative subjects we mostly mean Dative NPs in constructions such as those under (13). We are going to enumerate quite a large number of examples in which such Dative NPs occur in the sentence initial position where they function as subjects. The types of

constructions we are presenting give support for the subjecthood of the Dative NPs, i.e. they test Datives for their subjecthood properties as given in section 1. We begin with infinitival constructions under (14):

(13a) *Janowi było wesoło.*
Jan.DAT was.3SG.N merry.SG.N
'John was having fun'.

(13b) *Janowi$_i$ było/jest żal siebie$_i$ i swojej$_i$ rodziny*
Jan.DAT was/is sorry self and self's family
'John feels sorry for himself and his family.'

Infinitival constructions:

(14a) *Po co tobie leźć do Soplicowa?*
for what you.DAT go.INF to Soplicowo.GEN
'Why should you go to Soplicowo?'
(Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*)

(14b) *Tobie by na wojnę chodzić!*
you.DAT should to war.ACC go.INF
'You should go to war!'
(Sienkiewicz, *Krzyżacy*)

(15) *Tobie iść do klasztoru, nie wychodzić za mąż.*
you.DAT go.INF to convent.GEN not marry.INF to husband
'It's not for you to get married, you should join the convent'.
(Franks 1995)

Constructions with adjectival agreement:

(16a) *Marysi trudno być grzeczną.*
Mary.DAT difficult be.INF good.INSTR.SG.F
'It's difficult for Mary to be good'.

(16b) *Jankowi łatwo być najlepszym uczniem.*
John.DAT easy be.INF the best.INSTR.SG.M student.INSTR.SG.M
'It's easy for John to be the best student'.

(17a) *Marysi żal być starą panną.*
Mary.DAT sorry be.INF old.INSTR.F spinster.INSTR.F
'Mary feels sorry to be an old spinster'.

(17b) *Jankowi było smutno samemu w swoim domu.*
John.DAT was sad alone.DAT in self's house.
'John was sad to stay alone in his house'.

Datives controlling PRO:

(18a) *Janowi trudno PRO zapanować nad swoimi uczuciami.*
John.DAT difficult PRO control over his[+refl] feelings.INSTR
'John finds it difficult to control his feelings'.

(18b) *Janowi trudno PRO opanować swój strach.*
John.DAT difficult PRO overcome his[+refl] fear.ACC
'John finds it difficult to overcome his fear'.

(19a) *Im nie chce się PRO pracować samym.*
they.DAT NEG want+się PRO work.INF alone.DAT.PL
'They don't feel like working alone'.

(19b) *Nie im zaczynać PRO pracować samym o tej porze.*
NEG they.DAT begin.INF PRO work.INF alone.DAT.PL at this time
'It's not for them to begin working at this time'.

(19c) *Janowi trudno PRO zapanować nad swoimi uczuciami.*
John.DAT difficult PRO control over his[+refl] feelings.INSTR
'John finds it difficult to control his feelings'.

(19d) *Janowi trudno PRO opanować swój strach.*
John.DAT difficult PRO overcome his[+refl] fear.ACC
'John finds it difficult to overcome his fear'.

A raising construction with a Dative subject under (20a), (20b) and (20c) and an Accusative subject of a small clause under (20d):

(20a) *Janowi$_i$ zdaje się t_i podobać nasz nowy samochód.*
John.DAT seem+się like.INF [our new car].NOM.SG.M
'John seems to like our new car.'

(20b) *Marii podobało się, że Piotr kupił jej kwiaty.*
Mary.DAT liked+się that Peter.NOM bought her flowers.
'Mary liked it that Peter bought her flowers.'

(20c) *Janowi trudno zacząć pracować nad sobą.*
John.DAT difficult begin.INF work.INF on self.INSTR
'It's difficult for John to start working on himself.'

(20d) *Sąd uznał [Janka i Marysię]$_i$*
court.NOM acknowledged.3.SG.M [John and Mary].ACC
odpowiedzialnymi za swoje$_i$ czyny.
responsible for their deeds.
'The court acknowledged

Dative subjects binding a reflexive:

(21a) *Janowi$_i$ trudno zapanować nad swoimi$_i$ uczuciami.*
John.DAT difficult control.INF over his[+refl] feelings.INSTR
'John finds it difficult to control his feelings'.

(21b) *Janowi$_i$ trudno opanować swój$_i$ strach.*
John.DAT difficult overcome his[+refl] fear.ACC
'John finds it difficult to overcome his fear'.

(22a) *Janowi$_k$ znudziła się swoja$_k$/jego$_{k/i}$ żona.*
John.DAT bored.SG.F+się his[+refl]/his[-refl] wife.NOM.SG.F
'John got bored with his wife'.
(a possible interpretation with a [-refl]:
'John got bored with somebody else's wife')

(22b) *Jan$_k$ znudził się swoją$_k$/jego$_{i/*k}$ (własną) żoną.*
John.NOM.M bored.SG.M+się his[+refl]/his[-refl] (own) wife.INSTR
'John got bored with his wife'.
(a possible interpretation with a [-refl]:
'John got bored with somebody else's wife')

Dative subject inverting with the verb:

(23a) *Tę książkę pisało mi się ciężko.*
this book.ACC.SG.F wrote.3SG.N me.DAT self hard.
'This book was hard for me to write'.

(23b) *Tę książkę pisało mi$_i$ się dobrze, PRO$_i$*
this book.ACC.SG.F wrote.3SG.N me$_i$.DAT self well, PRO$_i$
będąc na bieżąco z nowymi informacjami.
being up to date with new information
'This book was easy for me to write as I was up to date with new information'.

Dative subject ellipsis under identity with a Nominative subject:

(24) *Maria twierdzi, że znaleźć pracę było trudno, ale* ___
Mary.NOM claims that find.INF a job was difficult, but ___ (DAT)
pracować było jeszcze trudniej.
work.INF was even more difficult
'Mary claims that finding a job was difficult but working even more so.'

Dative subject in a construction expressing lack (a)/gain (b) (usually occurring with Genitive subjects):

(25a) *Mnie brakuje pieniędzy.*
me.DAT lack.3.SG.PRES money.GEN
'I lack money.'

(25b) *Przybyło mi pieniędzy.*
gain.3.SG.N.PAST me.DAT money.GEN
'I gained money.'

Dative subject in a construction with a Nominative object:

(26a) *Janowi podoba się Maria.*
John.DAT like.3SG.F Mary.NOM.SG.F
'John likes Mary.'

(26b) *Janowi podobają się wysokie dziewczyny.*
John.DAT like.3PL.F tall-girls.NOM.PL.F
'John likes tall girls.'

(27) *Janowi podoba się dziewczyna$_i$ PRO$_i$ siedząca po drugiej*
John.DAT like.3SG girl.NOM.SG.F PRO sitting.3SG.F on the other
stronie sali.
side of the room
'John likes the girl sitting on the other side of the room.'

(28) **Janowi$_i$ podoba się dziewczyna PRO$_i$ siedząc po drugiej*
John.DAT like.3.SG girl.NOM.SG.F PRO sitting.3.SG on the other
stronie sali.
side of the room
'John$_i$ likes the girl PRO$_i$ sitting on the other side of the room.'

The Dative subjects in the above constructions pass the subjecthood tests to which they could be exposed within their constructions. Judging by the range of constructions in which Datives appear as subjects, it is more than clear that they cannot be denied subjecthood of some kind. Now, what we are interested in is whether and how the Datives in question are compatible with Ura's proposal. Let us check what features they might check off.

All the Datives seem to check the [EPP] of T before Spell-Out, as they tend to occupy the sentence/clause-initial position. Checking [EPP] in Ura's terms means binding a subject-oriented reflexive, which is exemplified by (21) and (22). [EPP] checking also allows subsequent raising as shown in (20). The [EPP] feature is to a certain extent responsible for the subject-verb inversion, i.e. the subject position indicates the movement and landing site of the verb; the Dative DP inverting with a verb must be occupying a position where the [EPP] feature is checked; such an example is shown under (23).

The Dative nominals, however, mostly do not enter the [Φ] feature checking relation with T, the verbs either show the default 3SG.N, or no agreement as in the infinitival constructions under (14); some of them enter secondary adjectival agreement where the relevant examples are (16) and (17); in some constructions, however, the verb agrees with the Nominative object whenever present, as in the example (26), (27) and (28). In Ura's terms the [Φ] feature checking relation allows a DP entering that relation to control a missing subject in an adjunct-subordinate clause. The Dative subjects in (18) and (19) all seem to have the ability to control. In view of Ura's proposal this is unexpected. They are, apparently, denied control in constructions with Nominative objects. Let us then consider the relevant examples:

(29a) *Janowi podoba się Maria.*
John.DAT like.3SG.F Mary.NOM.SG.F
'John likes Mary.'

(29b) *Janowi podobają się wysokie dziewczyny.*
John.DAT like.3PL.F tall-girls.NOM.PL.F
'John likes tall girls.'

We can see that the Nominative object triggers agreement on the finite verb; this indicates that the Nominative object enters the [Φ] feature checking relation with T. It also seems that in a construction with a Nominative object the Dative DP loses its ability to control, thus it would be ungrammatical to say:

(30) **Janowi*$_i$ *podoba się dziewczyna PRO*$_i$ *siedząc po drugiej*
John.DAT like.3.SG girl.NOM.SG.F PRO sitting.3.SG on the other
stronie sali.
side of the room
'John$_i$ likes the girl PRO$_i$ sitting on the other side of the room.'

This implies that in constructions with no verbal agreement (infinitival constructions) or default 3SG.N agreement, the Dative subject still enters some kind of 'default' [Φ] feature

checking relation with T which triggers the appearance of 3SG.N or some secondary adjectival agreement. This is indicated by the fact that Datives in constructions where the [+NOM] of T has not been checked perform control; however, in constructions where the checking of [Φ] takes place together with the checking of T's Nominative feature, the element bearing Nominative has an exclusive ability to induce agreement and control.

2.2.1.2. Numeral Phrase Subjects

Polish Numeral Phrase Subjects consist of a numeral and a noun that can either stand in Nominative or Genitive, the whole phrase occupying the clause/sentence initial position. The noun may be Nominative with numerals from 2 to 4 in all genders, but it can just as well be Genitive in the masculine gender with which the numeral also exhibits alternant forms:

(31a) *dwaj/trzej/czterej chłopcy*
two/three/four boy.NOM.PL.M
'two/three/four boys'

(31b) *dwóch/trzech/czterech chłopców*
two/three/four boy.GEN.PL.M
'two/three/four boys'

(32a) *Dwaj chłopcy bawili się na boisku.*
two boy.NOM.PL.M played.3PL.M refl on playground
'Two boys were playing in the playground.'

(32b) *Dwóch chłopców bawiło się na boisku.*
two boy.GEN.PL.M played.3SG.N refl on playground
'Two boys were playing in the playground.'

Klemensiewicz et al. (1964: 396) explains that the form of a numeral phrase containing a Nominative noun with numerals from 2 to 4, as in (32a), can be explained by the adjectival nature of these numerals – a property the possessed already in the Proto-Indoeuropean. Example (32b), on the other hand, is a result of the influence of constructions with numerals

from 5 onwards, where the cardinal number is always followed by a Genitive noun (examples from Dziwirek (1990: 147)):

(33a) *Pięć dziewcząt przeczytało tę książkę.*
five.NOM girls.GEN.SG.F read.3SG.N this.ACC book.ACC
'Five girls have read this book.'

(33b) *Siedem zeszytów leżało na stole.*
seven.NOM notebooks.GEN.PL.M lay.3SG.N.PAST on table
'Seven notebooks were lying on the table.'

(33c) *Czternaście jabłek spadło z drzewa.*
fourteen.NOM apples.GEN.PL.N fall.3SG.N.PAST from tree
'Fourteen apples fell from the tree.'

These facts, Klemensiewicz claims, can also be explained historically. The numerals from 5 to 9 and 10, 100, 1000 and their multiplied forms used to be nominal in nature and, what follows, inflected just like nouns, very often also bearing a collective meaning (see also Pisarkowa (1984) for the same view). Thus, in combination with a noun, they would syntactically dominate the relationship, i.e. they would head the phrase, forcing the 'counted' noun to take on Genitive Case:

(34a) *kosz jabłek* (Pisarkowa 1984: 21)
a basket.NOM apples.GEN
'a basket of apples'

(34b) *pudełko zapałek*
a box.NOM matches.GEN
'a box of matches'

(35a) *piątka dziewcząt*
five.NOM.SG girls.GEN
'five girls' (lit. 'a five of girls')

(35b) *siódemka chłopców*
seven.NOM.SG boys.GEN
'seven boys' (lit. 'a seven of boys')

(35c) *dziesiątka przyjaciół*
ten.NOM.SG friends.GEN
'ten friends' (lit. 'a ten of friends')

As shown above, since these numerals used to be nominal (and we still have some leftovers of this phenomenon, see example ((35) above), their present syntax is not surprising. It is transparent from the examples under (33), however, that the Numeral Phrase Subjects are not unproblematic, i.e. similarly to the Dative Subjects discussed previously, they also tend to induce 3SG.N default agreement on the verb. Agreement is traditionally considered one of the standard subjecthood properties; nevertheless, we have seen quite a few examples in which the subject was not responsible for agreement on the verb, yet we still considered it the subject because of numerous other subject properties it exhibited. That is why now, we would like to submit Numeral Phrase Subjects to some standardly assumed subjecthood tests including: secondary adjectival agreement, raising, binding a subject-oriented reflexive, controllability and coordination reduction.

We begin with the Numeral Phrase subject inducing secondary adjectival (predicate) agreement:

(36a) *Sześć kobiet było smutnych.*
six.NOM women.GEN.PL.F was.3.SG.N sad.PL.GEN
'Six women were sad.'

(36b) *Dwadzieścia pięć pokoi było czystych.*
twenty.NOM five.NOM rooms.GEN.PL.M was.3.SG.N clean.GEN.PL
'Twenty-five rooms were clean.'

As opposed to impersonal constructions:

(37) *Było się wtedy młodym.*
was.3.SG.N refl then young.INSTR.SG.N
'One was young then.'

Furthermore, it seems that Numeral Phrase Subjects have the ability to raise:

(38) *Pięć nauczycielek zdaje się być na zwolnieniu.*
five.NOM teachers.GEN.PL seem.3SG.N refl be.INF on leave
'Five teachers seem to be on doctor's leave.'

In the following example the Numeral Phrase subject is unquestionably binding a subject-oriented reflexive:

(39) *[Sześć kobiet]$_i$ kupiło sobie$_i$ sukienki.*
six.NOM women.GEN.PL.F bought.3.SG.N refl.DAT dresses.ACC.PL.F
'Six women bought themselves dresses.'

Numeral Phrase subjects can also easily control PRO:

(40) *Pięć kobiet chciało PRO pojechać na Florydę.*
five.NOM women.GEN.PL.F wanted.3.SG.N PRO go.INF to Florida
'Five women wanted to go to Florida.'

In coordinate structures the Numeral Phrase Subject may undergo ellipsis (a process also referred to as coordination reduction):

(41) *Sześć kobiet weszło i usiadło.*
six.NOM women.GEN.PL.F entered.3.SG.N and sat down.3.SG.N.
'Six women entered and sat down.'

Now, similarly to the previously discussed Datives, we can see that the Numeral Phrase Subjects exhibit properties which are strongly supporting the idea of their being true subjects. We shall now proceed in a similar fashion and check what and how they are checking off.

Occupying the position in which we find them in the above examples, it seems reasonable to propose that they check the [EPP] of T overtly, i.e. before Spell-Out. This is further

supported by the fact that they are able to bind a subject-oriented reflexive, which in Ura's (2000) terms happens thanks to checking the [EPP] of T. Moreover, as exemplified by (38), they are able to raise as well, which, we remind, also results from the [EPP] feature checking relation with T.

When it comes to the [Φ] feature checking relation with T, the situation seems to be a bit more complicated than in the case of Dative Subjects. We have seen in example (32a), at the very beginning of this section, that the noun inside the numeral phrase *dwaj chłopcy* must be the head of this phrase since we have a clear cut agreement between this Nominative noun and the finite verb (*bawili*). It is more problematic all the other remaining examples in this section where the default 3SG.N agreement prevails and we can expect a secondary adjectival agreement at best. We could assume that 3SG.N is the system's escape hatch whenever it comes across a problematic nominal with seemingly contradictory requirements, say *pięć dziewcząt* (five.NOM girls.GEN) which contains a semantically superordinate noun and a syntactically more relevant numeral (it is accepted that the numeral heads the numeral phrase with numerals from 5 onwards, hence the subject is a QP, whereas with numerals from 2 to 4 it appears to be the noun that heads the phrase, thus the subject is an NP (Franks 1995: 132; Przepiórkowski 1996, 2001: 2)). We could simply propose that a combination of two different Cases 'confuses' the system and 3SG.N is triggered by default. We could, however, follow Franks (1995) and Przepiórkowski (1996; 2001) and propose that the whole numeral phrase bears Accusative Case, hence similarly to Datives, the default agreement pattern, when no Nominative is present to save the construction's finite agreement. This is exactly the approach we are taking here, and we refer the reader to the analyses of Franks (1995) and Przepiórkowski (1996; 2001) for more details.

We have seen under (40) that the Numeral Phrase Subject has the ability to control – this in turn, in Ura's terms, is a result of a [Φ] feature checking relation with T. Thus, we propose,

in a parallel fashion to the Dative Subjects, that the Numeral Phrase Subjects have the option of checking off T's [Φ] features in a default manner resulting in 3SG.N or secondary adjectival agreement. Due to the [Φ] feature checking relation with T the Numeral Phrase Subject has the ability to control PRO (example (40)). As already discussed above, they undoubtedly check off T's [EPP] feature, thanks to which they raise, bind reflexives and sit in the sentence-initial position. We can, thus, conclude that numeral phrases in Polish when in a sentence-initial position behave like, and unquestionably are, subjects.

2.2.2. Icelandic Quirky Subjects

Icelandic is famous for its Quirky Subject Constructions of which Dative Subject Constructions are a subtype. Thus, apart from Dative subjects, Icelandic also allows Accusative and Genitive subjects. For the time being, we are going to concentrate only on the Dative Subject Constructions, such as:

(42a) *Honum var hjálpað.*
him.DAT was helped
'He was helped'.

(42b) *Hennar var saknað.*
her.DAT was missed
'She was missed'.

Under (43) we witness raising of the Dative (Quirky) subject:

(43) *Ég tel henni hafa alltaf þótt Ólafur leiðinlegur.*
I believe her.DAT have.INF always thought Olaf.NOM boring.NOM
'I believe her always to have found Olaf boring'.

Dative subject binding a subject oriented reflexive:

(44a) *Henni þykir bróðir sinn/*hennar leiðinlegur.*
her.DAT thinks brother.NOM her[+refl]/*[-refl] boring
'She finds her brother boring'.

(44b) *Hverjum þykir sinn fugl fagur.* (Proverb)
everyone.DAT thinks his[+refl] bird.NOM beautiful
'Everyone thinks his own bird beautiful'.

In Icelandic grammatical subjects follow the finite verb if some other element undergoes fronting or preposing. If an object undergoes topicalisation, no other element can be topicalised. Dative subjects pattern exactly like Nominative subjects (the underlined elements), i.e. they do co-occur with topicalised objects and follow the finite verb:

(45a) *Haraldi hafði <u>Sigga</u> aldrei hjálpað.*
Harold.DAT had Sigga.NOM never helped
'Harold, Sigga had never helped.

(45b) *Ólafur hefur <u>henni</u> alltaf þótt leiðinlegur.*
Olaf.NOM has her.DAT always thought boring
'Olaf, she has always found boring'.

Extraction from binding domains is disallowed for subjects in Icelandic - here, again Dative subjects pattern with Nominative ones in not allowing such extraction; Polish Dative subjects do not allow such extraction, either, which might count as an argument for their subjecthood conducive to our analysis, consider:

(46a) *Jón telur að Ólafur hafi henni alltaf*
John.NOM believes that Olaf.NOM has her.DAT always
þótt leiðinlegur.
thought boring
'John believes that Olaf, she has always found boring'.

(46b) *Hvenær telur Jón að Ólafur hafi henni
when believes John.NOM that Olaf.NOM has her.DAT
þótt leiðinlegur?
thought boring
'When does John believe that Olaf she has found boring?'

In the case of subject ellipsis, we see that it is possible to delete an oblique (DAT) subject under identity with a Nominative subject. Interestingly, objects resist deletion of this kind:

(47) *Hann segist vera duglegur, en ___ finnst*
he.NOM says.self be.INF diligent, but ___ .(DAT) finds
verkefnið of þungt.
the homework too hard
'He says he is diligent, but finds homework too hard.'

However, it is the Nominative object that induces agreement, and when no Nominative element is present agreement is default/impersonal (example taken from Sigurðsson (1989)):

(48a) *Okkur *likuðu/likaði við Olaf.*
us.DAT liked.3PL/IMP with Olaf.ACC
'We are pleased with Olaf.'

(48b) *Mir likuðu/*likaði hestarnir.*
me.DAT liked.3PL/3SG the horses.NOM
'I liked the horses.'

To conclude, both the subject and the object establish a [+Construable] feature checking relation with T at some point in the derivation, but it is essential that the Dative subject does so before Spell-Out, hence it gains the exclusive ability to control; it also has the ability to bind due to checking off T's [EPP].

2.2.3. Spanish Datives and Locatives

Fernández-Soriano (1999a & 1999b) proves Dative nominals as well as Locative phrases in the sentence-initial position in Spanish to be true subjects. She demonstrates their subjecthood via application of some, by now, standard subjecthood tests such as raising, agreement, position in interrogatives, nominalization and binding. She also argues that the preverbal position of the Datives and Locatives is unmarked (1999b: 95) and that it is exactly the same position as the one occupied by agentive subjects. Following Contreras (1983) (among others), she claims that this can be easily tested: if a sentence can function as an answer to the question '*What happens?/What happened?'*, then it must be an unmarked structure; this indeed turns out to be the case with Datives and Locatives as subjects (Fernández-Soriano 1999b: 96, 1999a: 105):

(49a) *¿Qué ha pasado/pasó?*
what has happened/happened
'What happened?'

(49b) *A Juan se le ha quemado la comida.*
to Juan SE Cl.DAT has burned the food
'The food has burned on Juan.'

(50a) *¿Qué pasa/pasó?*
what happens/happened
'What's happening?/What happened?'

(50b) *En esta casa falta café.*
in this house misses coffee
'Coffee is missing in this house.'

In the following subsections we present Fernández-Soriano's arguments for the subjecthood of both Datives and Locatives supported by empirical evidence based on subjecthood tests.

2.2.3.1. Datives as subjects

The constructions we are interested in, i.e. the ones containing a Dative NP in the subject position, are of the following kind in Spanish (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 121):

(51a) *Me pasa algo.*
to-me.DAT happens something
'Something is happening to me.'

(51b) *Me falta café.*
to-me.DAT misses coffee
'I am missing coffee.'

In raising constructions with verbs such as *parecer* ('seem') the Dative nominals turn out to be the ones eligible to movement. The Theme argument never raises if a Dative one is present (52a); without the Dative subject the Theme argument may raise forming a perfectly grammatical sentence (52c), however, the construction is highly awkward if both elements are present and the Theme raises. This proves that it is the Dative nominal which blocks the Theme argument from raising, hence it must be higher in the structure, always more eligible for raising (52b).

(52a) *A Juan parece habérsele roto el coche.*
to Juan seems to-have-SE-CL broken the car
'Juan seems to have broken the car.'

(52b) ?? *El coche parece habérsele roto a Juan.*
the car seems to-have-SE broken to Juan
'Juan seems to have broken the car.'

(52c) *El coche parece haberse roto.*
the car seems to-have-SE broken
'The car seems to have broken.'

Dative subjects are notorious for their inability to induce agreement on the finite verb, however, they seem to be able to induce secondary adjectival agreement (similarly to Polish and Icelandic discussed before) (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 124):

(53a) *Nos dieron las dos borrachos.*
to-us.DAT struck the two drunk
'It got as late as two o'clock on us and we were drunk.'

(53b) *Le ocurrió un accidente borracha.*
to-her.DAT happened an accident drunk
'An accident happened to her while being drunk.'

In interrogatives the Datives tend to follow the finite verbal element forming the following order: AUX DAT V. The Dative subject works, similarly to English (and other Germanic languages) subjects, as a pivot of inversion, consider (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 125):

(54a) *¿Me podría a mí ocurrir lo mismo?*
CL could to me happen the same
'Could the same happen to me?'

(54b) *¿Cómo puede a una persona tan lista faltarle valor en este momento?*
how can to a person so smart miss courage at this moment
'How can such a smart person lack courage in a moment like this?'

When the impersonal verbs in question are nominalized, the Dative must necessarily be introduced by *de*, never by *a*, as expected if they are true subjects. They contrast in this respect with goal Datives as can be seen in the (b) example (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 125):

(55a) *la falta de valor de / *a Juan* (Dative subject)
the lack of courage of / *to Juan
'Juan's lack of courage.'

(55b) *la entrega del premio *de / a Juan* (Dative object/goal)
the gift of-the prize *of / to Juan

'the gift of the prize to Juan.'

If the Dative subject contains a quantifier, this quantifier has the ability to bind a pronoun inside the Theme argument, which proves again that the Dative nominal must occupy a position which is higher in the structure with a possibility of c-commanding the Theme (Fernández-Soriano 1999b: 97):

(56) *A cada cocinero se le quemó su pescado.*
to every cook SE CL.DAT burned his fish
'Each cook's fish burned on him.'

And again we can see that the Datives we have just dealt with must have entered in the required feature checking relations with T, in short, due to the surface position they appear in, we conclude that they must have checked T's [EPP] feature, which also allows them to bind reflexives, raise and invert; they must also enter in some kind of [Φ] feature checking relation since they induce secondary adjectival agreement similarly to the Polish Datives.

2.2.3.2. Locatives as subjects

Fernández-Soriano (1999a & 1999b) shows that the preverbal position of the Locative is unmarked. Neither the Datives above, nor the Locatives are internal arguments of the verb and, moreover, they share the property of being Quirky Case-marked. Both have the ability to appear as subjects of impersonal predicates.

In raising constructions, just like in the case of the Dative NPs, it is the Locative that raises; raising of the Theme argument is impossible, unless it is focalised or left-dislocated (the structure, however, is then marked) (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 108)

(57a) *Aquí parece {sobrar / faltar / ocurrir} algo.*
here seems {to-be-extra / to-miss / to-happen} something
'Something seems to be extra/missing/happening here.'

(57b) *En Barcelona parece llover mucho.*
in Barcelona seems to-rain a lot
'It seems to rain a lot in Barcelona.'

Fernández-Soriano claims that only subjects can be extracted out of both members (conjuncts) of a coordinate-construction. Subject Locatives differ here from other Locatives – internal or adjuncts – which display a different pattern, and behave just like normal subjects.

(58a) *Aquí es donde {hace frío / llueve} y faltan paraguas.*
here is where {is cold / rains} and miss umbrellas
'This is the place where it is cold / it rains and there are no umbrellas.'

(58b) *En esta ciudad es donde {nieva / sobran coches} y ocurren cosas raras.*
in this city is where {snows / are-extra cars} and happen strange things
'This is the city where it snows / there are too many cars and strange things happen.'

In a parallel fashion to the Dative subjects, the position of Locatives in interrogatives is as follows: AUX DAT V (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 110-111)

(59a) *¿Habrá aquí ocurrido lo mismo? (Cf. ¿Habrá Juan hecho lo mismo?)*
has here hapenned the same (Cf. has Juan done the same)
'Has the same happened here? (Cf. 'Has Juan done the same?')

(59b) *¿Cómo puede en un sitio así no haber aire acondicionado?*
how can in a place like-this not be air conditioning
'How can there not be air conditioning in a place like this?'

When the impersonal verbs under study are nominalized the Locative must be introduced by *de* and not by *en*, as expected if they are true subjects (Fernández-Soriano 1999a: 111):

(60a) *la nevada de / *en Sevilla*
the snowing of / *in Sevilla
'the snowing in Sevilla.'

(60b) *el suceso de / *en Barcelona*
the happening of / *in Barcelona
'the happening in Barcelona.'

3. Conclusion: Parameter setting and the definition of subject

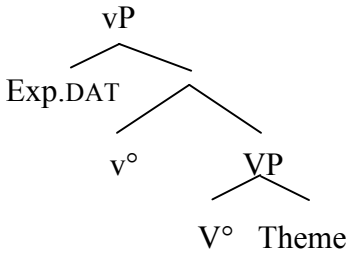
We propose a parameter setting for Polish, Icelandic and Spanish in terms of the system presented and discussed in Ura (2000). Also following Ura (2000), we propose that Polish, Icelandic and Spanis Quirky Subject Constructions exhibit GF-Split, that is: they allow checking of T's formal features to be performed by two elements, instead of just one, whenever possible (i.e. whenever there are two elments available). In Ura's analysis of Quirky Subject Constructions (QSC) there is some kind of a light verb in the VP-Shell of the psych-predicate. Polish, Icelandic and Spanish QSC also pattern with psych-predicates, hence we assume the same kind of a VP-Shell containing a light verb. This light verb has an ability to assign inherent Dative/Accusative - we assume the same here. Then, we propose that our Quirky Subjects check some kind of default agreement resulting in secondary or default 3SG.N agreement in constructions where nothing else can do that, so they may enter the [Φ] feature checking relation with T only in a last resort sort of manner and after Spell-Out. This [Φ] feature checking relation with T, naturally, allows the Quirky subject to control, which is borne out (see the examples above), nevertheless, whenever there is some Nominative element present, it will hold the exclusive right to control. We could also propose, following Ura's analysis, that T's Nominative feature may be left unchecked, since the languages in question are [+impersonal], however, when T's [+NOM] is checked, it will have to be checked together with T's [Φ], and the nominal element (other than the Quirky Subject) present in the structure will be destined for Nominative and check off both features in one fell swoop.

(61) Polish, Icelandic and Spanish parameter setting

a. T's [EPP] feature is strong;

b. T's [NOM] and [Φ] features are both weak; their checking must be executed together for economy reasons;

c. Experiencer is base-generated in the [Spec, v] (light verb) which subcategorises for a VP with Theme in its complement



d. The light verb assigns inherent Dative to the Experiencer in its Spec;

e. T's [NOM] feature may or may not undergo checking as Polish, Icelandic and Spanish are [+impersonal] languages.

f. T's [Φ] may be checked off in a default process by the Dative element after Spell-Out only if no other eligible nominal element is present in the structure; the resulting agreement is 3.SG.N. or secondary adjectival agreement.

At this point we could attempt at tentatively defining subject/subjecthood on the basis of feature checking relations. To recap, a DP functions as a fully-fledged subject, if it checks off the following three features of T: [EPP], [Φ] and [+NOM], without any feature sharing such as GF-Split. Throughout the paper, we have been faced with examples epitomizing grammatical function split phenomena, and we sported an idea that these are the phenomena at work in Polish Dative Subject Constructions and Numeral Phrase Subject Constructions, as well as in Icelandic and Spanish Quirky Subject Constructions. We assumed, following Ura (2000), that since subjecthood is no longer interpreted as derivational or structural, but

considered a result of concrete feature checking relations, then its definition calls for improvement. The wide range of constructions we have been analysing throughout the paper put a question mark over subjecthood and its properties for the simple reason that the non-Nominative DPs do not seem fully up to their job, i.e. they do not go through each and every subjecthood test unscathed, which in our terms means: they do not check off all of T's features in one fell swoop but share the job with some other DP if possible.

So, which features of T do Quirky Subjects actually check off? It seems that they all enter the [EPP] feature checking relation with T, moreover, the feature is strong and checked off before Spell-Out. This indicates that they should generally bind subject-oriented reflexives, which they do (see examples above). Quirky Subjects, by their mere nature, cannot check off T's [+NOM] feature as they are already idiosyncratically (inherently) Case-marked with some other Case; we have postulated, however, that the [+NOM] of T can be left unchecked (as suggested in Ura (2000)) in constructions where there is no candidate to do this other than the Quirky nominal. Neither do they seem to enter a [Φ] feature checking relation as the agreement is either default 3SG.N or none (infinitival constructions). In Ura's terms a [Φ] feature checking relation with T gave a DP the opportunity to control a missing subject in an adjunct-subordinate clause. As we have seen above, a non-Nominative subject is able to control as long as there is no Nominative element in the sentence; we have showed that a Nominative object takes over the right to control together with the ability to induce agreement on the finite verb. We have also made an observation that the [Φ] feature checking appears to have some special bond with the [+NOM] feature of T, i.e. it seems that Nominative is the actual agreement trigger. If, however, there is no DP to check off T's [+NOM], we have proposed that in some default operation the Quirky DP checks off T's [Φ] feature, without checking off [+NOM], and induces default 3SG.N or secondary adjectival agreement. The assumption is borne out because in constructions where the Quirky DP is the only checking

candidate it possesses the ability to control and that means entering a [Φ] feature checking relation at some point in the derivation.

From the discussion above we can conclude that if subjecthood is to be defined on the only certain process taking place in the derivation, i.e. feature checking, then the relevant feature checking relation concerning it is the strong [EPP]. We are not talking here about logical subject or even Thematic Hierarchy; what we are concerned with is a purely syntactic subject that makes it to the [Spec, TP] before Spell-Out, which seems to be all that matters. It also matters that it is the [EPP] feature that has not changed its strength over the centuries and across the languages. The following then is our tentative definition of subject:

(62) *Subject*

An NP/DP counts as subject if it checks off the [EPP] feature of T before Spell-Out, or is the only one to establish a [+Construable] feature checking relation with T.

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