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## DATIVE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS TWENTY-TWO YEARS LATER\*

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The so-called dative subject constructions, where what appears to be a subject is marked by a dative or other oblique case as in the Latin example, *Mihi est liber* 'I have a book', have been the center of focused attention for more than the last two decades, especially among the specialists of South Asian languages, Japanese, Icelandic, Quechua, and others in which a similar type of construction exists. The past analyses assume that the construction-type in question is transitive at least at some level of representation as in Relational Grammar, and that the dative-marked experiencer/possessor nominal is the subject of a simplex clause. I claim that these past efforts, including Shibatani 1977, are misguided — literally misguided by the structure of Modern English, in which the possessors/experiencers of the near-synonymous expressions are encoded as grammatical subjects in the transitive frame. In this paper I endeavor to show that the so-called dative subject constructions are similar in structure and meaning to the double subject construction, instantiated, for example, by the so-called external possessor or possessor ascension construction; e.g., Japanese [Taro ga [atama ga ookii]] (Taro NOM head NOM big) 'Taro has a big head', Nepali [ram-ko [taauko dukheko cha]] (Ram-GEN head.NOM hurt be) 'Ram has a headache'. Namely, the constructions in question have a complex structure with two subjects, 'large' subject and 'small' subject. Semantic motivations for the distributional pattern of subject properties over these two subjects are also explored.

### 1. Introduction

Among noncanonically coded constructions, the so-called dative subject constructions, as exemplified in (1-1)-(1-23) below, have received focused attention over the last quarter of a century. Relevant studies cover a wide variety of language data, ranging from Indic and Dravidian languages (e.g., the papers in Verma 1976 and those in Verma & Mohanan 1990) to Georgian (e.g., Harris 1984), and from Japanese (Kuno 1973) to Italian (e.g., Perlmutter 1984) and Quechua (e.g., Jake 1985). I also touched on the matter dealing with Japanese some twenty-two years ago (Shibatani 1977). Most of these studies, including my own, share the basic assumption that these constructions with two nominal arguments are transitive (or at least at some level of representation as in the Relational Grammar treatments). I argue in this paper that this assumption is

incorrect and that dative subject constructions are distinct from both canonical transitive constructions and straightforward intransitive constructions. I advance a novel analysis that treats dative subject constructions as variants of double subject constructions widely attested among Asian languages such as Japanese, Chinese, and Indonesian.

- (1-1) use            gussaa    aayaa.  
 he.DAT    anger    came  
 'He became angry.' (Hindi; adapted from Kachru 1990:63)
- (1-2) sudhaa-laa                    ek    moTar    paahije.  
 Sudhaa.DAT                    one    car        wants  
 'Sudhaa wants a car.' (Marathi; Pandharipande 1990:163)
- (1-3) mare            jAvuu joie.  
 I.DAT go    needed  
 'I want/need to go.' (Gujarati; Lambert 1971)
- (1-4) maTA            lamaya-wA            penAwa.  
 I.DAT            child-ACC            see.PRES  
 'I see the child.' (Sinhala; Kumara, p.c.)
- (1-5) aaja            ma-laaii    jaaDo    laag-yo.  
 today            I-DAT        cold        feel-MASC  
 'I feel it cold today.' (Nepali; Clark 1963:17)
- (1-6) avanige            jvara            bantu.  
 he.DAT            fever            came  
 'He got a fever.' (Kannada; Sridhar 1976:132)
- (1-7) avanukku muham            malarndadu.  
 he.DAT            face            bloom.PAST.it  
 'His face bloomed; he felt pleasure.' (Tamil; Lindholm 1976:175)
- (1-8) baalanA            baalikayooTA            werupuppA            wannu.  
 boy.DAT            girl.COM            hatred.NOM            come.PAST  
 'The boy felt hatred for the girl.' (Malayalam; Mohanan & Mohanan 1990:53)
- (1-9) Amake            Aiyā            ora            hiju            ketAna.  
 you.DAT            I            house            come            have to  
 'You have to come to my house.' (Mundari; Abbi 1990:259)
- (1-10) Ji-ta            dhebaa            yawa            maai.  
 I-DAT            money            much            need  
 'I need a lot of money.' (Newari; Kiryu, p.c.)
- (1-11) nga-r                            tsha=ba    'dug.  
 I-DAT/LOC/ALL            fever=exist/DISJUNCT  
 'I have a fever.' (Tibetan; DeLancey, p.c.)

- (1-12) Mihi est liber.  
I.DAT be book.NOM  
'I have a book.' (Latin)
- (1-13) Me gusta la cerveza.  
I.DAT like the beer  
'I like beer.' (Spanish)
- (1-14) Mir gefallen diese Bücher.  
I.DAT like these books  
'I like these books.' (German)
- (1-15) þam cyngre licodon peran.  
the king.DAT liked pears  
'The king liked pears.' (OE; Jespersen 1954)
- (1-16) Mne rabotaetsja.  
I.DAT work.REFL  
'I can work.' (Russian)
- (1-17) Gelas uqvars nino.  
Gela.DAT loves Nino  
'Gela loves Nino.' (Georgian; Harris 1984)
- (1-18) Tal on külm.  
she.ADE be.SG cold  
'She is cold.' (Estonian; Matsumura, p.c.)
- (1-19) Ban-a para lazım.  
I-DAT money need  
'I need money.' (Turkish)
- (1-20) Atsuv la.  
sad she.DAT  
'She is sad.' (Modern Hebrew; Hartenstein, p.c.)
- (1-21) Ken-ni(-wa) eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
-DAT(-TOP) English-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'Ken can speak English.' (Japanese)
- (1-22) ku yoca-eykye(-nun) Inho-ka silh-es-ta.  
the woman-DAT(-TOP) -NOM dislike-PAST-IND  
'That woman disliked Inho.' (Korean; Lee, p.c.)
- (1-23) Eia ia'u ka puke.  
here to me the book  
'I have the book here.' (Hawaiian; Cook, p.c.)
- (1-24) nu-na mhesiki alia-mha.  
ISG-OBJ hunger EXIST-PRES.NON.VIS  
'I am hungry.' (Tariana; Aikhenvald, p.c.)

Although a wide variety of genetically and areally unrelated languages exhibit dative subject constructions (referred to simply as 'dative constructions' hereafter), these constructions center around well-definable predicate types indicating that there is some semantic motivation calling for the specific coding pattern observed. The relevant predicate types are those expressing:

(1-25)

- (a) Possession/Existence (e.g., 1-12, 1-23)
- (b) Psychological states (e.g., 1-1, 1-20, 1-22)
- (c) Physiological states (e.g., 1-5, 1-24)
- (d) Visual/auditory perceptions, including the notion of 'appearance/seeming' (e.g., 1-4)
- (e) Modal states of necessity and wanting including the notion of obligation ('must') (e.g., 1-2, 1-3, 1-9, 1-10)
- (f) Modal states of potentiality, including ability and the notion of permission ('may') e.g., 1-16, 1-21

## 2. Case patterns

The relevant case marking patterns are shown below, where canonical (or direct) patterns are contrasted with the dative patterns to be examined in this paper.

(2-1) Canonical constructions:

- [NP-NOM PRED] (Intransitive)
- [NP-NOM NP-ACC PRED] (ACC-Object Transitive)
- [NP-NOM NP-DAT PRED] (DAT-Object Transitive)
- [NP-NOM NP-DAT NP-ACC PRED] (Ditransitive)

(2-2) Dative constructions:

- [NP-DAT PRED]
- [NP-DAT NP-NOM PRED]

Many languages allow alternate coding patterns, whereby the following kind of doublets of canonical and dative constructions are observed.

(2-3) Canonical:

- |            |       |        |           |
|------------|-------|--------|-----------|
| Boku-ga/wa | Ken-o | totome | nikum-u.  |
| I-NOM/TOP  | -ACC  | very   | hate-PRES |
- 'I hate Ken very much.' (Japanese)

(2-4) Dative:

- |              |        |        |              |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------------|
| Boku-ni(-wa) | Ken-ga | totemo | niku-i.      |
| -DAT(-TOP)   | -NOM   | very   | hateful-PRES |
- 'To me, Ken is very hateful.' (Japanese)

## 3. Dative nominals as subjects

While the alternate coding patterns shown above may be construed as a piece of evidence for considering dative constructions to be transitive, there has been more compelling evidence supporting the view that the dative nominals are like nominative subjects of canonical transitive clauses. Consider word order first. While many languages show flexible word order, it is normally possible to identify unmarked order. For example, take dative object transitive sentence (3-1) and

dative subject sentence (3-2) in Japanese. In the former, the order of NOM-DAT-PRED (3-1a) is unmarked, whereas in the latter, DAT-NOM-PRED (3-2a) is unmarked. A similar observation can be made in other languages as well. Thus, word order indicates that the dative nominal of a dative construction occurs in subject position (sentence-initially in Japanese) in contradistinction to a dative-marked object.

## (3-1) Dative-transitive

- a. Ken-ga Ai-ni at-ta (koto)  
 -NOM -DAT meet-PAST (that)  
 '(that) Ken met Ai'
- b. ?Ai-ni Ken-ga at-ta (koto)  
 -DAT -NOM meet-PAST (that)  
 '(that) Ken met Ai'

## (3-2) Dative-subject

- a. Ken-ni eigo-ga hanas-e-ru (koto)  
 -DAT English-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES (that)  
 '(that) Ken can speak English'
- b. ?eigo-ga Ken-ni hanas-e-ru (koto)  
 English-NOM -DAT speak-POTEN-PRES (that)  
 '(that) Ken can speak English'

The dative subject and the dative object show a similar contrast with regard to the so-called behavioral subject properties. Shibatani 1977 first showed this for Japanese. Take the phenomenon of subject honorification, which involves complex change in verbal morphology — replacement of a simple verb form by a verbal complex involving the predicate *naru* 'to become' together with the adverbial form of a verbal nominal marked with the honorific prefix *o-*. For example, the subject honorific form of (3-4a) is (3-4b).

- (3-4) a. Sensei-ga ik-u.  
 teacher-NOM go-PRES  
 'The teacher goes.'
- b. Sensei-ga o-iki-ni nar-u.  
 teacher-NOM HON-go-ADV become-PRES  
 'The teacher goes.' (Subject honorific)

Notice that nonsubjects do not trigger this honorification process. Dative objects, for example, fail to do so. (3-5b) is acceptable only by construing that the referent of the subject nominal *Ken* is being deferred. The other, object honorification process must be invoked in a situation where the speaker wishes to show his or her deference to the referent of a nonsubject nominal, as in (3-5c).

- (3-5) a. Ken-ga sensei-ni a-u.  
 -NOM teacher-DAT meet-PRES  
 'Ken will meet the teacher.' (DAT-object transitive)
- b. #Ken-ga sensei-ni o-ai-ni nar-u.  
 -NOM teacher-DAT HON-meet-ADV become-PRES  
 'Ken will meet the teacher.' (Subject honorific)

- c. Ken-ga sensei-ni o-ai su-ru.  
 -NOM teacher-DAT HON-meetdo-PRES  
 'Ken will meet the teacher.' (Object honorific)

Now turning to the dative construction, it is the dative nominal that triggers subject honorification (3-6b), and which fails to trigger the object honorification process (3-6c).

- (3-6) a. Sensei-ni(-wa) eigo-ga wakar-u.  
 teacher-DAT(-TOP) English-NOM understand-PRES  
 'The teacher understands English.' (Dative subject)
- b. Sensei-ni(-wa) eigo-ga o-wakari-ni naru.  
 teacher-DAT(-TOP) English-NOM HON-understand-ADV become PRES  
 'The teacher understands English.' (Subject honorific)
- c. \*Sensei-ni(-wa) eigo-ga o-wakari su-ru.  
 teacher-DAT(-TOP) English-NOM HON-understand do-PRES  
 (Object honorific)

Though languages, as well as specific constructions within a single language, differ as to the extent the dative nominals in question exhibit subject properties, the situation in Japanese is paralleled by Indic and Dravidian languages in general. Kachru et al. 1976 summarizes the behavioral subject properties of different types of subjects in selected Indic languages as below:

- (3-3) Behavioral properties of Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, and Panjabi subjects  
 (Kachru et al. 1976:94)

RULE	CONTROLLER	ACCESSIBLE
Reflexivization	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL, SP	
Equi	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL, SP	SI, ST, S DAT
Conjunction reduction	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL	SI, ST
Raising	SI, ST	SI, ST

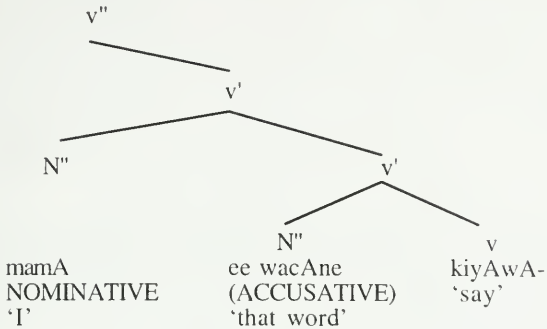
(SI=intransitive subject, ST=transitive subject, S DAT=dative subject, S OBL=oblique subjects, SP=derived subject of the passive)

#### 4. Past analyses

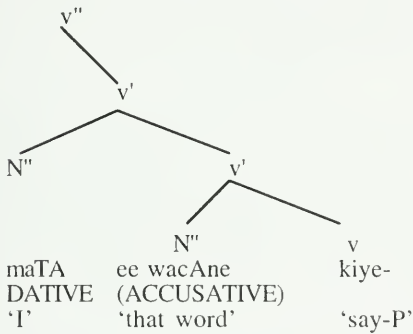
Based on the observations of the above kind, the past analyses of dative constructions have tended to assimilate them to canonical transitive constructions, whereby the dative nominal and the nominative nominal are respectively treated as subject and object. Both Gair 1990 and Masica 1991 are quite explicit in their analyses, using parallel structures for the canonical transitive construction and for the dative construction as below:

- (4-1)Gair (1990:25) on Sinhala

- a. mamA ee wacAne kiwwa.  
 I.NOM that word say.PAST.A  
 'I said that word.' (Canonical transitive construction; Gair's 6a)

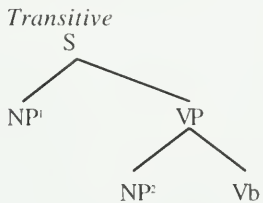


- b. maTA ee wacAne kiyAwuna.  
 I.DAT that word say.PAST.P  
 'I blurted that word out.' (Dative construction; Gair's 6b)



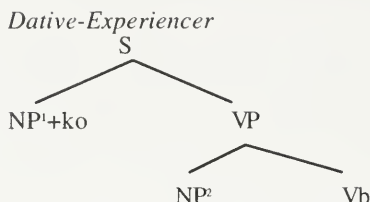
(4-2) Masica (1991:363) on Hindi

- a. raam caay piitaa hai.  
 Ram.NOM tea drink AUX  
 'Ram drinks tea.'



- b. raam-ko bhuukh lagii thii.  
 Ram-DAT hunger strike AUX  
 'Ram was hungry.'





While these studies have little to say about the status of the nominative NP's involved in these constructions — whether or not they are grammatical objects —, Kuno 1973 is explicit about it, as seen in the following quote:

(4-3) Kuno (1973:81) on Japanese (emphasis added):

...I shall show that GA IS USED not only for marking the subject but ALSO FOR MARKING THE OBJECT OF ALL TRANSITIVE ADJECTIVES AND NOMINAL ADJECTIVES ... AND OF A CERTAIN CLASS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS. I shall further show that these verbals which take GA for object marking have the common semantic characteristic that they represent, not actions, but states.

Once the relevant structure is determined, the next task is accounting for the case-marking pattern. The question is why dative constructions exhibit the DAT-NOM-PRED case pattern, not the canonical NOM-ACC-PRED pattern, if they are transitive in structure. The past analyses, except for Kuno 1973, concentrated their efforts on accounting for the dative marking, largely ignoring the nominative marking. They mostly tended to resort to the thematic relations borne by the dative subject.

A general impression based on the predicate types — see (1-24) above — leads one to associate dative marking with the thematic role of experiencer. That is, the subject of a dative construction is marked dative because it bears the experiencer role, as opposed to the agentive of the subject of a canonical transitive construction. However, there is no consistent correspondence between dative marking and the experiencer role; not all experiencers are marked dative, as, e.g., in (2-3), and not all datives are experiencers, as, e.g., in (1-10) and (1-12).

Other proposals such as Mohanan & Mohanan 1990, who analyze dative subjects as bearing the goal role, and Pandharipande 1990, who proposes the locative solution, are equally problematic, as many dative subjects are hard to construe in term of these roles, e.g., (1-4), (1-16). Whereas the marker used for the goal and the locative roles is often identical to the dative marker across languages — and while this fact calls for some explanation —, these proposals are not quite adequate in handling a large number of similar constructions with a variety of marking on what appears to correspond to the dative subject; e.g.,

(4-4) Taroo-ga Hanako-ga suki da.  
 -NOM -NOM like COP  
 'Taro likes Hanako.' (Japanese)



- (4-5) *nay-ka nuktay-ka mwusep-ta.*  
 I-NOM wolf-NOM afraid-IND  
 'I am afraid of the wolf.' (Korean; Lee, p.c.)
- (4-6) *taar ThaaNDaa laaglo.*  
 he.GEN cold affected  
 'He got chilled.' (Bengali; Klaiman 1980:279)
- (4-7) *mage oluwe kaekcumak tiyenAwa.*  
 I.GEN head.LOC ache.INDEF be-INANIMATE.PRES  
 'I have a headache.' (Sinhala; Kumara, p.c.)
- (4-8) *bacce se shiishaa TuuT gayaa.*  
 child INST mirror break went/PASS  
 'The child (inadvertently) broke the mirror.' (Hindi; Kachru 1990:60)
- (4-9) *lamAya-atin kooppe biNduna.*  
 child-INST cup break.PAST.P  
 'The child (inadvertently) broke the cup.' (Sinhala; Wijayawardhana, et al. 107)
- (4-10) *ma-baata sisaa phuT-yo.*  
 I-ABL glass break-PERF  
 'The glass broke (and inadvertently I happened to be its cause).' (Nepali; Madhav, p.c.)
- (4-11) *mara-thii jAngAl-mā ekla nAhi jAv-a-y.*  
 I-ABL jungle-in alone not go-PASS-PAST  
 'I couldn't go into the jungle alone.' (Gujarati; Lambert 1971:169)
- (4-12) *rAm-cyA-hAt-Un ukun zopDI cirD-I-I ge-i-I*  
 Ram-GEN-hand-ABL mistake hut.F crush-PERF-F go/PASS-PERF-F  
 'The hut got crushed by mistake at the hands of Ram.' (Marathi; Prashant, p.c.)
- (4-13) *asit par apne puure parivaa kii jimmevaarii hai.*  
 Asiton self whole family of responsibility be  
 'Asit is responsible for his whole family.' (Kachru 1990:60)
- (4-14) *nuca-ta-ca uma-ta nana-wa-n-mi.*  
 I-ACC-TOP head-ACC hurt-1OBJ-3-WIT  
 'My head hurts.' (WIT=witnessed) (Imbabura Quechua; Jake 1985:196)
- (4-15) *Nup snl yob alkjon ay-a-k.*  
 him boil big armpit form-3SG-PAST  
 'A large boil has formed in his armpit.' (Kalam; Pawley et al. forthcoming:12)
- (4-16) *d- agavuno-k-i-e*  
 me-pain PROG-fasten-3SG-IND  
 'Pain is gripping me; i.e. I am feeling pain.' (Yagaría; Renck 1975:145)

Relational Grammar (Perlmutter 1984; Harris 1984; Jake 1985, etc.) handles the problems of dative constructions in terms of 'inversion,' which entails the following relational network, where 1, 2, and 3 represent the subject, the object, and the indirect object relation, respectively:

- (4-17) a. Ken-ni nihongo-ga wakaru.  
 Ken-DAT Japanese-NOM understand  
 'Ken understands Japanese.' (Japanese)
- b. 1 2 P (initial stratum)  
 3 1 P (final stratum)  
 Ken nihongo wakarru

Under this analysis, the surface dative nominal is said to behave like a subject because it is subject in the initial stratum of the relational network. The surface nominative NP is so marked because it is a final subject. Since Relational Grammar allows multi-strata relational networks, it is a very powerful theory, allowing various 'explanations' for possible objections. For example, one may wonder why a surface indirect object in the dative construction occurs in initial, rather than in the normal sentence internal position. To this, an answer can be, because this indirect object is not an ordinary indirect object — it holds the subject relation in the initial stratum. Thus, it is not easy to argue against this kind of analysis, which is backed by a very powerful theory of grammar.

However, I will attempt to show that the RG analysis is problematic on an empirical ground; namely, dative constructions are not transitive in the first place. For another, those constructions given in (4-4)-(4-17), which I consider to be variants of dative constructions, require separate inversion treatments. Though different case-marking patterns can be handled by providing different kinds of inversion, what is really needed is a unified account why all these constructions exhibit the following pattern.

(4-18) [NP-NOM/DAT/OBL NP-NOM PRED]

## 5. Transitive and intransitive predications

I consider all these past analyses entirely wrongheaded in assuming dative constructions (and their variants) to be transitive. First, consider the relevant predicates. They typically consist of verbal complexes involving intransitive heads like 'come,' 'become,' 'go,' 'be/exist,' and adjectives and adjectival nominals (in Japanese), or else derived intransitives as in the case of the reflexive -*sja* forms in Russian and the so-called P-forms in Sinhala, which I assume to be later developments of the passive morphology. Indeed, many languages provide transitive and intransitive pairs such that the transitive predicates call for the canonical transitive coding pattern and the corresponding intransitive versions the dative or variant noncanonical coding pattern.

Canonical-Dative/Nominative pairs

(5-1) Japanese

VERBS (NOM-ACC) ADJECTIVES (DAT/NOM-NOM)

nikumu	nikui	'hate(ful)'
tanosimu	tanosii	'enjoy'
sitau	sitawasii	'endear'
kowa-garu	kowai	'fear'
natukasi-garu	natukasii	'long for'
ayasi-garu	ayasii	'to be suspicious'

**ADJECTIVAL**kirau  
suku**NOMINALS**kirai da  
suki da'despise'  
'like'

(5-2) Korean

**NOM-ACC**kuliw-e ha-ta  
mayw-e ha-ta  
twulyew-e ha-ta  
sil-e hata**DAT/NOM-NOM**kulip-ta  
mayp-ta  
twulyep-ta  
silh-ta'long for'  
'taste hot/spicy'  
'fear/fearful'  
'hate/hateful'

(5-3) Hindi (Kachru 1990:68)

**ACTIVE (NOM)**gussaa karnaa  
pasand karnaa  
yaad karnaa**CHANGE-OF-STATE (DAT)**gussaa aanaa  
pasand aanaa  
yaad aanaa**STATIVE (DAT)**gussaa honaa 'be angry'  
pasand honaa 'like'  
yaad honaa 'remember'

The fact that these pairs/triplets have different predication pattern is shown from the pattern of prenominal modification. In Japanese, when we convert a transitive predication into the prenominal modification pattern, we obtain the reading in which the transitive subject is modified'; e.g.,

(5-4) a. **Otoko-ga** onna-o oikakeru.  
man-NOM woman-ACC chase.PRES  
'The man chases the woman.' (Japanese)

b. oikakeru otoko  
chase.PRES man  
'a chasing man/\*a man being chased'

When an intransitive predication is so converted, naturally the only subject nominal is modified, as in;

(5-5) a. **Hanako-ga** kawaii.  
-NOM cute.PRES  
'Hanako is cute.'

b. kawaii Hanako  
cute.PRES  
'cute Hanako'

Now, pairs of canonical transitive verbs and the corresponding noncanonical predicates show the following pattern, where the noncanonical versions show the modification pattern similar to true intransitive predicates.

(5-6) a. **Hanako** ga Taroo o nikumu.  
-NOM -ACC hate/VERB  
'Hanako hates Taro.' (canonical transitive: NOM-ACC))

b. nikumu hito (transitive pattern)  
hate.PRES person  
'a hating person/\*a person to be hated/\*a person inspiring hatred'

- (5-7) a. Hanako-ga     **Taroo-ga**     nikui.  
 -NOM                -NOM                hate/ADJ  
 'Hanako hates Taro.' (noncanonical; NOM-NOM)
- b.     nikui     hito  
 hateful person  
 'a person to be hated/a hateful person/a person inspiring hatred/  
 \*a hating person' (intransitive pattern)
- (5-8) a. kowa-garu     hito  
 to be afraid(V)     person  
 'a person afraid of someone/something' (transitive pattern)
- b.     kowai     hito  
 scary(ADJ)     person  
 'a scary person/a fear inspiring person' (intransitive pattern)

The observation above and the fact that the predicates of the dative construction and its variants are essentially intransitive lead us to the analysis in which the nominative NP, rather than the dative or its variant NP, is considered to be the subject of the clause over which intransitive predication applies. That is, the canonical construction and the dative construction and its variants have the following predication relations, where the NP indicated in boldface is the subject of the clause:

- (5-9) Transitive predication (canonical transitive construction)  
 [NP-NOM     NP-ACC     PRED]  
 SUBJ
- (5-10) Intransitive predications  
 [NP-NOM     PRED] (intransitive construction)  
 SUBJ  
 [NP-DAT     NP-NOM     PRED] (dative (subject) construction)  
 SUBJ  
 [NP-NOM NP-NOM     PRED] (double nominative variant)  
 SUBJ  
 [NP-INST     NP-NOM     PRED] (oblique (subject) variant)  
 SUBJ

In addition, there are 'impersonal' dative constructions of the following form:

- (5-11) a. [NP-DAT (NP-ACC) PRED] (impersonal dative construction)
- b. Mne     rabotaetsja.  
 I.DAT     work.RELF  
 'I can work.' (Russian)
- c. maTA     lamaya-wA     penAwa.  
 I.DAT     child-ACC     see  
 'I see the child.' (Sinhala)

I claim that the canonical transitive construction and the dative construction and its variants represent two different conceptualization patterns. In a subsequent section I advance a claim that the dative and other obliquely marked nominals (as well as the initial nominative NP of the Japanese double nominative constructions) are not direct arguments of the relevant predicates. That is, they

are not in the theta-marking relation with the predicate. As I have demonstrated here, these predicates are one-place intransitives predicating over the nominative NP (see (5-10)). This is in sharp contrast to the canonical transitive coding pattern, in which both subject and object are direct arguments of the predicate.

## 6. The NP-NOM as a grammatical subject: [NP-DAT NP-NOM PRED]

There is ample evidence pointing to the subjecthood of the nominative NP in the proposed analysis of the dative construction. Indeed, it is surprising how little attention this fact has attracted among those proposing transitive analyses, in which the dative nominal is considered to be the subject. First, consider agreement. In an agreement language, it is the nominative NP with which the verb agrees, as shown in the following examples from German, Russian and Modern Hebrew.

- (6-1)a. Mir gefällt dieses Buch.  
I.DAT like.SG this book.SG.NOM  
'I like this book.' (German)
- b. Mir gefallen diese Bücher.  
I.DAT like.PL these books.PL.NOM  
'I like these books.'
- (6-2)a. Mne nravitsja kniga.  
I.DAT like.3SG REFL book.SG.NOM  
'I like the book.' (Russian)
- b. Mne nrajatsja knigi.  
I.DAT like.PRES.3PL.REFL book.PL.NOM  
'I like books.'
- (6-3)a. Le Moshe haya sefer.  
DAT be.3SG.MASC.PAST book.MASC.SG  
'Moshe has a book.' (Modern Hebrew; Anne Hartenstein, p.c.)
- b. Le Moshe hayu shlosa sfarim.  
DAT be.3PL.MASC/FEM.PAST three book.MASC.PL  
'Moshe has three books.'

Nepali is interesting in that the ergative NP of a transitive clause agrees with the verb, indicating that agreement in this language operates in the accusative fashion regardless of the morphological ergativity entailed in the so-called perfective tense.

- (6-4) **haamro choraa** aaja aa-**yo**.  
our son today come-3SG.MASC.PAST  
'Our son came today.' (Nepali; Clark 1963:17)
- (6-5) tyo paanii lyaauna dhaaraa-maa ga-**ii**.  
3SG water fetch dhaaraa-at go-3SG.FEM.PAST  
'She went to dhaaraa to fetch water.' (Clark 59)
- (6-6) **raam-le** nayōō lugaa laa-**yo?**  
Ram-ERG new clothes wear-3SG.MSC.PAST  
'Has Ram put on the new clothes?' (Clark 20)

The situation above, especially the agreement pattern in (6-6), contrasts with other major Indic languages, whose agreement systems are sensitive to case marking in some such a way that an ergatively marked transitive subject does not trigger agreement. From this it is expected that the dative NP of the dative construction in Nepali would trigger agreement if it were the subject of the clause. However, this is not the case; as seen below, agreement takes place between the nominative NP and the predicate, indicating that the nominative NP, rather than the dative nominal, is the subject of the clause.

(6-7) keTaa-laaii                      keT-i                      raamr-i                      laag-ii.  
 boy-DAT                      girl-FEM                      beautiful-FEM                      feel-FEM  
 'The boy likes the girl.' (Madhav, p.c.)

(6-8) keTi-laaii keT-o                      raamr-o                      laag-yo.  
 girl-DAT boy-MASC                      beautiful-MASC                      feel-MASC  
 'The girl likes the boy.' (Madhav, p.c.)

The existential predicates in Sinhala, like Japanese, impose an animacy selectional restriction, and it operates between the nominative NP and the predicate, not between the dative NP and the predicate, as seen below:

(6-9) maTA                      duwek                      innAwa  
 I.DAT                      daughter.INDEF                      be-ANIMATE-PRES  
 'I have a daughter.' (Sinhala; Kumara, p.c.)

(6-10) \*maTA                      duwek                      tiyenAwa  
 I.DAT                      daughter.INDEF                      be-INANIMATE-PRES  
 'I have a daughter.' (Kumara, p.c.)

(6-11) maTA                      potak                      tiyenAwa  
 I.DAT                      book.INDEF                      be-INANIMATE-PRES  
 'I have a book.' (Kumara, p.c.)

(6-12) \*maTA                      potak                      innAwa  
 I.DAT                      book.INDEF                      be-ANIMATE-PRES  
 'I have a book.' (Kumara, p.c.)

A similar selectional restriction is seen in Gujarati with respect to the verbs of pleasing or liking. When what is pleasing is food, *bhave che* is used, but when it is nonfood, *gAm-* is used;

(6-13) Ramesh-ne                      pen                      gAm-y-i.  
 Ramesh.OBJ pen. FEM like-PAST.FEM  
 'Ramesh liked the pen.' (Mistry 1976:249)

(6-14) apne                      gujAraTI khorak                      bhave                      che?  
 you.OBJ Gujarati food                      be liked                      be  
 'Do you like Gujarati food?' (Lambert 1971:53)

The nominative NP in question also shows behavioral subject properties. Thus, it may trigger subject honorification in Japanese (see earlier discussion on this phenomenon in section 3).

(6-15) Yamada-sensei-ni(-wa)                      utukusii                      okusan-ga                      iru.  
 Yamada-prof-DAT(-TOP)                      beautiful                      wife-NOM                      exist  
 'Prof. Yamada has a beautiful wife.'



- (6-16) Yamada-sensei-ni(-wa) utukusii okusan-ga oide-ni naru.  
 Yamada-prof-DAT(-TOP) beautiful wife-NOM exist-HONORIFIC  
 'Prof. Yamada has a beautiful wife.'

In the honorific version in (6-16), it is hard to tell which of the two nominals is triggering the honorification process since both are equally plausible candidates as a recipient of the speaker's deference. However, the following example, (6-18), reveals that it is the nominative NP that is responsible for the honorification process. This example is inappropriate because the speaker's deference is directed to the lice. If the dative nominal were the subject, there is no reason why this sentence should be inappropriate.

- (6-17) Yamada-sensei-ni(-wa) **sirami-ga** iru.  
 Yamada-prof-DAT(-TOP) lice-NOM exist  
 'Prof. Yamada has lice (i.e. lice-infested).'
- (6-18) #Yamada-sensei-ni(-wa) **sirami-ga** oide-ni naru.  
 Yamada-prof-DAT(-TOP) lice-NOM exist-HONORIFIC  
 'Prof. Yamada has lice.'

Thus, all in all, there is a great deal of evidence that argues for the subject status of the nominative NP. This, however, comes into direct conflict with our earlier discussion in section 3, where we saw evidence arguing for the subject status of the dative nominal. This dilemma is easily resolved in Relational Grammar, in which some subject properties are attributed to the initial subject status of the dative nominal and some to the final subject status of the nominative NP (see (4-17b)). However, I will attempt to show that the distribution of subject properties over these two kinds of nominals is not as uniform as the Relational Grammar analysis predicts. Before discussion this issue, we must deal with another problem that holds the key to all the essential problems surrounding dative constructions and their variants.

## 7. Elliptical nature of the relevant intransitive predication

Besides the syntactic dilemma noted above, there is a more serious dilemma that has not been dealt with in the past analyses of dative constructions. This has to do with the fact that while the relevant predicates are intransitive in nature, they appear to require two arguments realized as a dative and a nominative NP. Perhaps the strongest reason that the past analyses consider dative constructions to be transitive comes from the fact that these two arguments are required. (But it does not seem to have bothered the proponents of the transitive analysis that the relevant predicates are intransitive.) Thus, the following expressions without dative nominals are considered to be either elliptical or ungrammatical. They are readily accepted in those languages that freely allow omission of understood arguments (pro-drop), and in those languages where pro-drop is not a prevailing feature, their occurrence is limited to a highly specific context as in the Russian examples in (7-6) and (7-7) provided by Vera Poddlesskaya (p.c.).



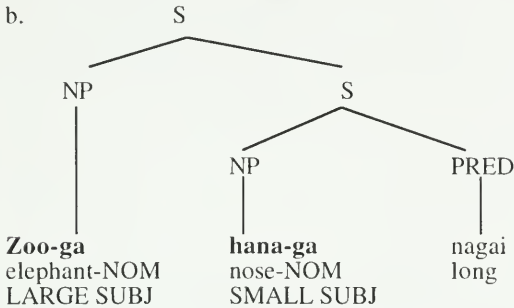
- (7-1) a. Ken-ni(-wa) nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 -DAT(-TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
 'Ken can speak Japanese.' (Japanese)
- b. Nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
 '(Someone) can speak Japanese.' (elliptical)
- (7-2) a. Ken-ga Hanako-ga suki da.  
 -NOM -NOM like COP  
 'Ken likes Hanako.' (Japanese)
- b. Hanako-ga suki da.  
 -NOM like COP  
 '(Someone; likely to be 'I') like(s) Hanako.' (elliptical)
- (7-3) a. use gussaa aayaa.  
 he.DAT anger came  
 'He became angry.' (Hindi)
- b. gussaa aayaa.  
 anger came  
 '(Someone) became angry.' (elliptical)
- (7-4) a. Mir gefallen diese Bücher.  
 I.DAT like these books  
 'I like these books.' (German)
- b. \*Gefallen diese Bücher.
- (7-5) a. Me gusta la cerveza.  
 I.DAT like the beer  
 'I like beer.' (Spanish)
- b. \*Gusta la cerveza.
- (7-6) a. Mne nravitsja kniga.  
 I.DAT like book  
 'I like the book.' (Russian)
- b. Nravitsja kniga?  
 '[Do you] like the book?'
- (7-7) a. Vase nravitsja ego novaja mashina?  
 Vasja.DAT like his new car.SG.NOM  
 'Does Vasja like his new car?'
- b. Mashina nravitsja a tsena ne ochen'.  
 car.SG.NOM like.3SG.REFL but price.SG.NOM not very  
 'The car [itself] is OK, but not the price.'

In order to understand the elliptical nature of these constructions, I now turn to double subject constructions, whose structure and semantics are better understood.

## 8. Double subject constructions

A fair number of Asian languages exhibit double subject constructions of the following type, where there are two nominative subjects, or their equivalents if the language, e.g., Chinese, does not have case marking.

- (8-1)a. Zoo-ga hana-ga nagai (koto)  
 elephant-NOM nose-NOM long (that)  
 '(that) an elephant has a long nose/trunk' (Japanese)



Here, everyone agrees that the predicate *nagai* 'long' is a one-place intransitive predicate predicating over the NP *hana-ga* 'nose-NOM'. Indeed, sentence (8-1a) says that the nose (i.e., the trunk) is long, not the elephant. Thus, the second nominative NP is the subject of the predicate *nagai* 'long'. On the other hand, *zoo-ga* 'elephant-NOM' is also a subject in the sense that the entire sentence is about an elephant. The sentence is understood to mean that an elephant is such that the state of affairs of a nose's being long is true with respect to it. In other words, the clause *hana-ga nagai* 'a nose is long' is predicating over the NP *zoo-ga* 'elephant-NOM,' giving rise to a double subject, double predication structure. For ease of reference, I shall call the internal subject 'small subject,' and the external one predicated over by the clausal predicate 'large subject,' as indicated in (8-1b).

What is interesting about double subject constructions of this type is that the internal clause cannot stand by itself. Thus, (8-2) below is decidedly odd as a statement.

- (8-2) Hana-ga/wa nagai.  
 nose-NOM/TOP long  
 'A nose is long.'

Just like the accompanying English translation, there is nothing syntactically wrong about this sentence. It is the truth-value of the sentence that is being questioned, since the sentence makes a universal claim that a nose is long, which is not in fact true. Compare this sentence with the following, which is acceptable since everyone is believed to agree that it is universally true that a flower is beautiful.

- (8-3) Hana-ga/wa                    utukusii.  
 flower-NOM/TOP            beautiful  
 'A flower is beautiful.'

There are basically three types of sentences with regard to the point being made. Some sentences describe what is not universally true, while some others describe what is generally accepted as expressing a universal truth. And there are sentences between these two, i.e., those which can be contested about their truth and therefore can specify the domain of their application. Compare the following patterns in English. Sentence (8-4a) states a universal truth, and hence it is odd to contextualize it as in (8-4b) — the sentence is perhaps only possible when uttered by a dissenter of the Flat Earth Society. (8-5a), on the other hand, can be contested and therefore can be 'personalized,' as in (8-5b).

- (8-4) a. The earth is round.  
 b. 'To me the earth is round.
- (8-5) a. Fish tastes good.  
 b. To me fish tastes good.

The internal clause of the double subject construction typically expresses those states of affairs that are not universally true; and accordingly their domain of application must be limited in one way or another. One simple way of achieving this is in terms of narrowing down the referent to a specific entity, turning a universal statement to a specific one, as in (8-6a), which is also the method employed in English and a large number of other languages.

- (8-6) a. Zoo-no                    hana-ga                    nagai.  
 elephant-of            nose-NOM            long  
 'The elephant's nose/trunk is long.'
- b. Zoo-ga                    hana-ga                    nagai.  
 elephant-NOM            nose-NOM            long  
 'An elephant has a long nose/trunk.' (= 8-1a)

Some languages have an additional means of delimiting a universal statement, and it is by means of couching the expression in the double subject construction, as in (8-6b), where the large subject provides a domain to which the truth of the predicate clause is limited<sup>2</sup>. Thus, the literal meaning of sentence (8-6b) is something like: 'An elephant is such that in this domain the truth of the proposition that a nose is long obtains.' Another way of looking at the situation is in terms of the dependency relation between the large subject and the predicate clause. That is, the truth of the state of affairs expressed in the predicate clause is dependent upon (the domain provided by) the large subject. This notion of dependency figures prominently in our understanding of the structure of the dative construction and its variants.

Before we turn to the dative construction, let us make sure that the large subject of the double subject construction behaves like a subject syntactically as well.

The Japanese subject honorification process simply attaches the prefix *o-* or *go-*, when adjectives and adjectival nominals are involved, as in (8-7) below:

- (8-7) Hata-sensei-ga wakai/o-wakai.  
 -prof-NOM young/HON-young  
 'Prof. Hata is young.'

The large subject triggers the same honorification process, as the comparison of the behaviors of the possessor nominal and the large subject nominal reveals.

- (8-8) a. Hata-sensei-no migi-me-ga warui/???o-warui.  
 -prof-GEN right-eye-NOM bad/HON-bad  
 'Prof. Hata's right eye is bad.'
- b. Hata-sensei-ga migi-me-ga warui/o-warui.  
 -prof-NOM right-eye-NOM bad/HON-bad  
 'Prof. Hata has a bad right eye.'

The large subject, just like a regular subject, raises into the main clause object position under predicates such as *omou* 'to think,' and *minasu* 'consider.'

- (8-9) a. Hata-sensei-wa [Ken-ga totemo baka da] to omotte i-ru.  
 -prof.-TOP -NOM very stupid COP that think-CONJ be-PRES  
 'Prof. Hata thinks that Ken is very stupid.'
- b. Hata-sensei-wa Ken-o [totemo baka da] to omotte i-ru.  
 -prof.-TOP- ACC very stupid COP that think-CONJ be-PRES  
 'Prof. Hata considers Ken to be very stupid.'
- (8-10) a. Hata-sensei-wa [Ken-ga totemo atama-ga warui] to omot-te  
 -prof.-TOP -NOM very head-NOM bad that think-CONJ  
 i-ru.  
 be-PRES  
 'Professor Hata thinks that Ken has a very bad brain.'
- b. Hata-sensei-wa Ken-o [totemo atama-ga warui] to  
 think-CONJ be-PRES  
 'Professor Hata considers Ken to have a very bad brain.'

Thus, there is evidence for the syntactic subject status of the large subject, providing syntactic justification for the term 'double subject construction' for the relevant structure.

## 9. Dative constructions as double subject constructions

I shall now advance a claim that dative constructions and their variants are in fact variants of double subject constructions. My claim boils down to this. The intransitive predication involved in the dative and the variant construction expresses a state of affairs that cannot be considered universally true or a cognitive state whose realization is dependent upon a particular cognizer. The dative nominal and its variants provide such a domain and a cognizer just as the large subject of the double subject construction does.

Consider a Japanese potential expression like (9-1a)<sup>1</sup>. It is not true that Japanese can be spoken anywhere or by anyone. This statement thus needs to be confined to a particular domain. This can be done either by providing a location in which Japanese can be spoken, as in (9-1b), or a person who can realize the potential state, as in (9-1c).

## (9-1) Potentials

- a. Nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'Japanese can be spoken.' (Japanese)
- b. Hawaii-de(-wa) nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
-in(-TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'In Hawai'i Japanese can be spoken.'
- c. Ken-ni(-wa) nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
-DAT(-TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'Ken can speak Japanese/Ken can be spoken Japanese to; (lit) With respect to Ken, it is true that Japanese can be spoken.' (Dative construction)

Dative constructions expressing possession are similar. Things cannot exist in the vacuum. They must be anchored to either a location or a person. Thus, the Korean existential expression (9-2a) is decidedly odd by itself. When the existence of money is localized with respect to a particular location, we obtain an existential sentence (9-2b), while if a person is to provide a domain of existence, a possessive dative subject sentence obtains, as in (9-2c).

## (9-2) Existentials/possessives

- a. Ton-i mahni iss-ta.  
money-NOM a lot exist-IND  
'A lot of money exist.' (Korean)
- b. Chaeksan-uy-ey ton-i mahni iss-ta.  
desk-top-on money-NOM a lot exist-IND  
'There is a lot money on the desk.' (Existential)
- c. Inho-eykye(-nun) ton-i mahni iss-ta.  
-DAT(-TOP) money-NOM a lot exist-IND  
'Inho has a lot of money.' (Possessive)

States of affairs involving psychological and physiological states are similar, but here only a cognizer can provide a domain. That is, realization of a psychological or physiological state is entirely dependent upon its cognizer. There is no anger, sadness, headache, or hunger unless someone recognizes it. Thus, the Hindi sentence (9-3a) is an incomplete expression unless some cognizer, such as the speaker, is understood. The same obtains for the Japanese sentence (9-3b). Though the predicate *suki da* is translated as 'likable' in (9-3b), Japanese emotive predicates, like the Spanish verb *gustar* 'like' and the German counterpart *gefallen*, are different from the English adjective *likable*, which can be used as a descriptive adjective independent of its cognizer. The sentence 'Mary is likable' is comparable to 'Mary is tall' and 'Mary is intelligent.' The emotive predicates in Japanese, Spanish, German, and Russian, are like psychological verbs such as 'happy' and 'angry' in that they must occur together with a cognizer. The difference is that the emotive predicates in question ascribe the states to another entity, who/which causes the emotions of liking, hatred, etc., in the mind of a cognizer, only by whom the emotive state is realized,

just as a mental state such as being sad and happy obtains only when someone feels so.

## (9-3) Physiological/psychological states

- a. gussaa aayaa.  
anger came  
'Anger came.' (Hindi)
- a'. use gussaa aayaa.  
he.DAT anger came  
'He became angry.'
- b. Hanako-ga suki da.  
-NOM like COP  
'Hanako is likable.' (Japanese)
- b'. Ken-ga Hanako-ga suki da.  
-NOM -NOM like COP  
'Ken likes Hanako.'
- c. Gusta la cerveza.  
like the beer  
'Beer is likable.' (Spanish)
- c'. Me gusta la cerveza.  
I.DAT like the beer  
'I like beer.'

The same explanation as the above obtains with regard to oblique subject constructions, such as the following;

## (9-4) Oblique subject constructions

- a. mage oluwe kaekkumak tiyenAwa'.  
I.GEN head.LOC ache.INDEF be-INANIMATE.PRES  
'I have a headache.' (Sinhala; Kumara, p.c.)
- b. bacce se shiishaa TuuT gayaa.  
child INST mirror break went/PASS  
'The child (inadvertently) broke the mirror.' (Hindi; Kachru 1990:60)
- c. ma-baata sisaa phuT-yo.  
I-ABL glass break-PERF  
'The glass broke (and inadvertently I happened to be its cause).'
- (Nepali; Madhav, p.c.)
- d. nuca-ta-ca uma-ta nana-wa-n-mi.  
I-ACC-TOP head-ACC hurt-1OBJ-3-WIT  
'My head hurts.' (WIT=witnessed) (Imbabura Quechua; Jake 1985:196)
- e. Nup snl yob alkjon ay-a-k.  
him boil big armpit form-3SG-PAST  
'A large boil has formed in his armpit.' (Kalam; Pawley et al. forthcoming:12)

In all these constructions, whether the initial NP is marked genitive, instrumental, ablative, or accusative, it provides a domain in which a particular



state of affairs obtains. The literal interpretation of Sinhala sentence (9-4a) is: 'That a headache exists in the head obtains with respect to me, who is involved in this state of affairs as the possessor of the head in question.' Sentences (9-4b,c) state that 'the mirror's/glass's breaking took place with respect to me, who was related to the state of affairs as its cause.' Similarly, in (9-4d,e), the accusative nominal provides a domain in which a particular physiological state obtains.

Quechua sentence (9-4d) involves an impersonal predicate clause 'it hurts the head to me.' Involvement of impersonal clauses in the expression of physiological states is seen fairly widely. I assume that older German expressions such as *Mich friert* 'I am cold,' *Mich hungert* 'I am hungry' have the same structure, namely [Mich [friert]] and [Mich [hungert]], where the accusative nominal provides a domain in which impersonal states of affairs of freezing and hungering obtain.

The proposed analysis of the dative construction and its variants as double subject constructions involves positing the following structures:

- (9-5) a. [NP-DAT                      [(NP-NOM)    PRED]]  
           LARGE SUBJ                SMALL SUBJ (Dative construction)

e.g. [use            [gussaa    aayaa]]  
       he.DAT    anger        came (Hindi)  
       'He became angry.'

[maTA        [danAgaehuna]]  
  I.DAT        kneel.PAST.P  
  'I kneeled/My knees gave way.' (Sinhala)

- b. [NP-NOM            [NP-NOM    PRED]]  
       LARGE SUBJ    SMALL SUBJ (Double nominative construction)

e.g. [Ken-ga    [atama-ga    ookii]]  
       -NOM     head-NOM     large  
       'Ken has a large head.' (Japanese)

[Ken-ga    [Hanako-ga    suki da]]  
  -NOM     -NOM            like COP  
  'Ken likes Hanako.'

- c. [NP-OBL            [(NP-NOM)    PRED]]  
       LARGE SUBJ    SMALL SUBJ (Oblique subject construction)

e.g. [bacce    se    [shiishaa    TuuT            gayaa]]  
       child    INST mirror    break        went/PASS  
       'The child (inadvertently) broke the mirror.' (Hindi)

[nup [snl    yob    alkjon    ay-a-k]]  
  him boil big    armpit    form-3SG-PAST  
  'A large boil has formed in his armpit.' (Kalam)

[nuca-ta-ca        [uma-ta    nana-wa-n-mi]]  
  I-ACC-TOP        head-ACC hurt-1OBJ-3-WIT  
  'My head hurts.' (It hurts the head with respect to me./There is hurting  
  of the head involving me.) (Imbabura Quechua)



One may wonder about our positing case-marked large subjects. That is, subjects are normally unmarked or in the nominative case, and one may question the plausibility of oblique/accusative case-marked large subjects. However, case-marked large subjects (in combination with a nominative case) do occur, as seen in Japanese below; e.g.,

- (9-6) [kono heya-**kara**-ga [huzi -san-ga yokumieru]]  
 this room-from-NOM Fuji-Mt-NOM well visible  
 'It is from this room that Mt. Fuji is very visible.'
- (9-7) [Hanako-**to**-ga [itiban benkyoo-ga si-nikui]]  
 -with-NOM most study-NOM do-difficult  
 'It is with Hanako that studying is most difficult to do.'
- (9-8) [Tookyoo-**made**-ga [kuroo-ga ooi]]  
 -up to-NOM trouble-NOM many  
 'It is up to Tokyo that there are many troubles.'

As the representations in (9-5) indicate, large subjects are not direct arguments of the lexical predicates; instead they are predicated over by a clausal predicate<sup>5</sup>. Predication of this kind requires a general constructional meaning that binds them together. The notion of dependency discussed above is a minimal meaning relationship that all the double subject constructions must satisfy. In addition, certain constructions provide a clue as to how the large subject contributes to this dependency relationship; i.e., how it is relevant to the state of affairs expressed in the predicate clause. Case markers in the large subject NP just do this. In other words, our analysis provides a framework in which the question of differential marking on the large subject can be meaningfully pursued. The answer to this question requires a better understanding of the notion of dependency, especially that of the degree of dependency. But before dealing with this problem, let us reiterate the point made earlier.

I suggested earlier that canonical transitive structure and dative constructions (and their variants) represent different conceptualization patterns. The subject in a canonical transitive construction is an argument of the verb and typically represents an agent, who is in control of the event expressed. In other words, the canonical transitive construction codes an event as a controllable situation. Whether the event is actually carried out as such is a different matter. What matters is that this coding pattern represents a situation as something controllable by the agent. Dative constructions, on the other hand, represent states of affairs that are not controllable. This is evident from the predicate types involved in this type of construction. They are an existential and a stative type, or verb forms (often in the passive or spontaneous form; see the Hindi example in (9-5)) expressing spontaneously occurring events, or else impersonal forms that express states of affairs that no one can control (see the Quechua example in (9-5)). By positing the large subject outside the domain of lexical predication, our analysis in terms of the double subject construction captures the oblique, noncontrolling involvement of the large subject in the described state of affairs. And this is why the large subject tends to be marked dative.

Earlier researchers noticed this contrast between the controllable and the noncontrollable coding pattern. Sridhar (1976), for example, illustrates the point by examining the possibility of embedding a transitive construction and a dative construction in the Kannada control construction;

- (7-9) a. ShiilaLige      aapareeshan      aayitu.  
Sheela.DAT      operation      became  
'Sheela had an operation.' (Dative)
- b. \*avaru      ShiilaLige<sub>i</sub>      [ Ø<sub>i</sub> aapareeshan      galu]      heeLidaru  
they      Sheela.DAT      operation      become      told  
'They told Sheela to have an operation.'
- (7-10) a. Shiila      aapareeshan      maaDisikonDaln  
Sheela.NOM      operation      had done.REFL  
'Sheela had an operation [done to herself].' (Reflexive-transitive)
- b. avaru      ShiilaLige<sub>i</sub>      [ Ø<sub>i</sub> aapareeshan      maaDisikoLLalu]  
they      Sheela.DAT      operation      to have done.REFL  
heeLidaru  
told  
'They told Sheela to have an operation [done to herself].'

Thus, a transitive analysis of dative constructions fails to obtain support from the lexical consideration — the relevant predicates are typically intransitive — and it also lacks both syntactic and semantic motivations.

### 10. Degree of dependency and the case marking of the large subject

I claim in this paper that the differential case marking on the large subject reflects different degrees of dependency between the large subject and the predicate clause. In the case of Japanese the large subject can be marked nominative, dative, and oblique (plus nominative). I want to claim that the large subject is marked nominative when the dependency of the predicate clause upon the large subject is high. This is seen from the fact that when the large subject represents an entity inherently related to the small subject, as in the case involving a possessor and a body-part, it is the nominative case that marks the large subject. Also, highly dependent emotive states like liking and hating (recall the earlier discussion on these emotive predicates) require nominative marking on the large subject. Dative marking is not possible in these cases, and the clauses must have a large subject or else its referent must be understood; e.g.,

- (10-1) a. Ken-ga/\*-ni      atama-ga      ookii/itai.  
-NOM/-DAT      head-NOM      large/hurting  
'Ken has a large head/a headache.' (Japanese)
- b. Ken-ga/\*-ni      Mami-ga      suki da/kirai da.  
-NOM/-DAT      -NOM      like COP/hate COP  
'Ken likes/hates Mami.'

Dative marking on the large subject, on the other hand, occurs when the dependency relationship between the large subject and the predicate clause is

lower, such that the predicate clause may even stand by itself as a possible proposition. Observe;

- (10-2) a. Boku-ni(-wa) konohon-ga omosiroi.  
 -DAT(-TOP) this book-NOM interesting  
 'To me this book is interesting.'

Kono hon-wa omosiroi.  
 this book-TOP interesting  
 'This book is interesting.'

- (10-3) a. Boku-ni(-wa) ano hito-ga kowai.  
 -DAT(-TOP) that person-NOM frightening  
 'To me that person is frightening.'

Ano hito-wa kowai.  
 that person-TOP frightening  
 'That person is frightening.'

What complicates the matter in Japanese is that sometimes a dative-marked large subject alternates with a nominative marked large subject. Interestingly enough, however, the nominative choice is possible only when there is a high degree of dependency. The relationship between the speaker and the potential of speaking a language is differently expressed from that between the location and the possibility of using a language — the former by the dative case and the latter by the locative case. Moreover, while the dative case may alternate with the nominative, the locative must not.

- (10-4) a. Ken-ni(-wa) nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 -DAT(-TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
 'Ken can speak Japanese.'

- b. Ken-ga nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 -NOM Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
 'Ken can speak Japanese/It is Ken who can speak Japanese.'

- (10-5) a. Hawaii-de(-wa) nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 -in(-TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
 'In Hawai'i Japanese can be spoken.'

- b. \*Hawaii-ga nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.  
 -NOM Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES

A similar observation can be made in other languages in which large subjects are differentially marked, though it is not easy to determine the degree of dependency in some cases. The Sinhala pattern below appears to indicate the degree of dependency is signaled according to the following order, where dative marking indicates a higher degree of dependency than genitive marking, etc.

- (10-6) Sinhala: DAT > GEN > INST

- a. maTA/<sup>??</sup>mage loku oluwak tiyenAwa.  
 I.DAT/I.GEN big head-INDEF exists  
 'I have a big head.' (Kumara, p.c.)

- b. maTA/mage loku kaekkumak tiyenAwa.  
I.DAT/I.GEN big estate exists  
'I have a big estate.' (Kumara, p.c.)
- c. maTA eyaa gaenA matak unaa.  
I.DAT he about remember.PAST.P  
'I remembered him.' (Wijayawardhana, et al. 1995:127)
- d. lamAyaTA naeTenAyva.  
child.DAT dance.PRES.P  
'The child is willy-nilly dancing (e.g. because, with the music, she cannot help it.) (Wijayawardhana, et al. 1995:123)
- e. maa-atin ballaa maeruna.  
I-INST dog kill.PAST.P  
'I accidentally killed the dog.' (Wijayawardhana, et al. 1995:116)
- f. ballaa maeruna.  
dog kill.PAST.P  
'The dog died.' (Kumara, p.c.)

Notice that (10-6e) contains a predicate clause that can stand alone expressing a complete proposition, as in (10-6f). Hindi shares this method of signaling a low degree of dependency by instrumental marking, while some other Indic languages (e.g., Nepali) use ablative marking for the same purpose. Thus, while (10-7b) is understood to be elliptical, (10-7d) is a complete sentence by itself.

#### (10-7) Hindi

- a. ramesh ko kaafi pasand nahii.  
Ramesh DAT coffee liking not  
'Ramesh doesn't like coffee.' (Kachru 1990:60)
- b. kaafi pasand nahii.  
coffee liking not  
'(I) don't like coffee.' (Kachru 60)
- c. se shiishaa TuuT gayaa.  
child INST mirror break went  
'The child (accidentally) broke the mirror.' (Kachru 60)
- d. shiishaa TuuT gayaa.  
mirror break went  
'The mirror broke.'

### 11. Distribution of subject properties and the rise of constructional meanings

The degree of dependency between the large subject and its predicate clause has two grammatical consequences. One has to do with the distribution of subject properties and the other with the semantics of double subject constructions.

As we saw earlier, both dative nominal (large subject) and nominative NP (small subject) of a double subject construction exhibit subject properties, but no precise formulation of how subject properties are distributed over these two

nominal elements has been attempted in the past. Our analysis, which posits two subjects — a small subject and a large subject — provides a basis for a possible formulation in terms of the degree of dependency discussed in the preceding section.

There seems to be a general typological consideration that must be addressed in thinking about this problem. That is, a certain group of languages assign only a very small number of subject properties to the large subject. This appears to be the case with the group of the so-called Standard Average European, including German, Dutch and French. There seems to be a high typological pressure among these languages to align the distribution of subject properties with the nominative argument so that the uniformity of morphology-syntax alignment is achieved. In these languages, large subjects, which are obliquely marked due to another typological reason, namely the presence of agreement, do not seem to exhibit very clear-cut phenomena pointing to the syntactic subjecthood of the large subject (see Haspelmath [forthcoming]).

In other languages, where there does not seem to be a strong requirement for uniform morphology-syntax alignment, case-marked large subjects exhibit a fair number of subject properties. In such a situation, the higher the dependency between the large subject and its predicate clause is, the greater the number of subject properties the larger subject exhibits. On the other hand, the small subject asserts its subject status more strongly when the dependency relation is low. Space limitation does not allow us to go into detail, but compare the following two sets of examples from Japanese.

- (11-1) a. [Hata-san-ga [okusan-ga kaisya-o keiei-site iru]]  
 -Mr-NOM wife-NOM company-ACC run-do be  
 'Mr. Hata, (his) wife runs a company.'
- b. ???Okusan-ga kaisya-o keiei-site iru.  
 wife-NOM company ACC run-do be  
 'A wife runs a company.'
- c. Yasuko-ga kaisya-o keiei-site iru.  
 -NOM company-ACC run-do be  
 'Yasuko runs a company.'
- (11-2) a. Hata-san-ga Yasuko-ga suki da.  
 -Mr-NOM -NOM like COP  
 'Mr. Hata likes Yasuko.'
- b. ???Yasuko-ga suki da.  
 -NOM like COP  
 '(Someone) likes Yasuko.'

Both (11-1b) and (11-2b) are elliptical, but for different reasons. (11-1b) is dependent upon a large subject because the relational noun *okusan* 'wife' is involved. But the event expressed by the predicate clause is quite autonomous and its realization is in no way dependent upon the large subject. This is shown by the fact that (11-1c) with a nonrelational small subject is a complete sentence. This is not the case with (11-2a), where the realization of the state of affairs



expressed in the predicate clause is highly dependent upon the cognizer functioning as a large subject. The rise of the emotion of liking Yasuko occurs only when there is someone who perceives the emotion. Thus, unlike (11-1c), (11-2b) is always elliptical, which means there exists a high degree of dependency between the large subject and the predicate clause.

This difference is reflected in the distribution of subject properties. In (11-3), which contains an autonomous predicate clause, the small subject, *okusan* 'wife', controls both reflexive binding and honorification. In (11-4), on the other hand, the large subject controls both phenomena; the small subject of the highly dependent predicate clause exhibits no subject property other than nominative marking.

(11-3) Hata-san-ga **okusan-ga** zibun-no kaisyā-o keiei-nasatte iru.  
 -Mr-NOM wife-NOM self-GEN company-ACC run-do.HON be  
 'Mr. Hata, (his) wife runs her own company.'

(11-4) **Hata-san-ga** Yasuko-ga zibun-no imooto-yori o-suki da.  
 -Mr-NOM -NOM self-GEN sister-than HON-like COP  
 'Mr. Hata, likes Hanako, (more) than self<sub>i</sub>'s sister.'

The finding above is corroborated by an earlier work on Indic languages by Kachru et al. 1976, who showed that different kinds of subjects in Hindi and some other Indic languages show a different degree of subjecthood, as summarized below:

(11-5) Degree of subjecthood among Indic languages (Kachru et al. 1976:94)  
 SI ST < S DAT < S OBL < SP  
 (SI=intransitive subject, ST=transitive subject, S DAT=dative subject,  
 S OBL=oblique subjects, SP=derived subject of the passive)

We have shown above that differential marking of the large subject reflects different degrees of dependency between the large subject and the predicate clause, dative marking indicating a higher degree of dependency than oblique marking. The hierarchy above correlates with this fact in such a way that a dative large subject exhibits more subject properties than an oblique large subject does.

The degree of dependency between the large subject and the clausal predicate of the double subject construction has a semantic ramification. That is, certain double subject expressions have a meaning component that is not derivable from the sum of the lexical meanings involved, while some others have no such 'extra' meaning. Compare, for example, the following two dative constructions in Croatian provided by Irena Zovko (p.c.):

(11-6) a. Suid-a ni se knjig-a.  
 like-3SG I.DAT REFL book-NOM.SG.FEM  
 'I like the book.'

b. Pil-o ni se piv-o.  
 drink-3SG.PAST I.DAT REFL beer-NOM.3SG.NEUT  
 'I felt like drinking beer.'

Sentence (11-6a) contains a reflexive expression with a third person subject (lit. the book likes itself) together with a dative subject. Similarly, (11-6b) consists of a reflexive expression with a third person subject (lit. the beer drinks itself) together with a dative subject. But while the former simply means 'I like the book,' the latter means something like 'I FELT LIKE drinking beer.' That is, the latter expression has an extra meaning component 'feel like,' which is lacking in the former.

I want to claim that this extra meaning arises when the degree of dependency between the large subject and the clausal predicate is low. The clausal predicate in (11-6b) can stand alone without a dative subject, where it has a passive meaning, as in a similar use of reflexive forms in some other European languages. However, the clausal predicate in (11-6a) cannot stand alone; if uttered, it does not mean anything or, at best, is elliptical in a very specific context:

- (11-7) a. \*Suid-a                    se                    knjig-a.  
          like-3SG.PRES        REFL                book-NOM.SG.FEM
- b. Pil-o                    se                    piv-o.  
          drink-3SG.PAST        REFL                beer-NOM3SG.NEUT  
          'Beer was drunk.'

A similar contrast is seen between the following Hindi examples:

- (11-8) a. use                    gussaa            aayaa.  
          he.DAT            anger             came  
          'He became angry.'
- gussaa            aayaa.  
          anger            came  
          '(Someone) became angry.' (elliptical)
- (11-9) a. bace se            shiishaa        TuuT gayaa.  
          child INST mirror        break went  
          'The child accidentally broke the mirror.'
- b. Shiishaa        TuuT            gayaa.  
          mirror        break            went/PASS  
          'The mirror broke.'

Sentence (11-8b) is elliptical indicating that the clause is highly dependent upon the large subject. And the meaning of (11-8a) is largely compositional; it does not have any implication like he accidentally became angry. Sentence (11-9b), on the other hand, is a highly autonomous clause, and as such its dependency upon the large subject in (11-9a) is low, and just in such a case, an additional meaning component 'accidentally' is found.

My claim is that additional meaning components are constructional meanings that arise in order to make a large subject and an autonomous predicate clause cohere together to the extent that bringing them under the subject-predicate relation is justified. Recall that all double subject constructions consist of a large subject and a clausal predicate. Unlike lexical predication, this type of predication requires a good reason why a nominal element and a clause are



brought together to form a predication relation. When there is a high degree of dependency between the two elements, there is a strong bond between them warranting the predication relation. When the dependency is low, on the other hand, a constructional meaning emerges in order to sanction the predication relation between the large subject and the clausal predicate. I believe that the same mechanism was at work in the development of the dative construction with a (negative) potential meaning from the spontaneous/passive construction in Japanese, Indic languages, and elsewhere (e.g., Russian (1-15), Japanese (1-21)). However, the exact mechanism by which specific constructional meanings arise remains a mystery. For example, why did the Croatian dative structure involving a passive clause give rise to the 'feel like' meaning (see (11-6b) rather than, say, the potential meaning? The problem is not easy to solve, as it may involve various culturally determined conventions. However, unless we can solve this kind of problem, we may never be able to understand how language changes through the creation of new constructions on the basis of old materials. At least our approach tells us when a new construction may emerge.

#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Because Japanese allows pro-drop (even in relative clauses), the situation is more complicated, as one can form a relative expression in which the relative head can be construed as controlling the object of a relative clause; e.g., *yomu hon (-ga nai)* '(there is no) book to read.' However, out-of-blue expressions involving transitive predicates generally follow the modification pattern discussed in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Whether a language allows a double subject construction with two nominative subjects is largely determined typologically; agreement languages in general do not seem to allow this type of double subject structure, perhaps due to the one-to-one agreement pattern imposed.

<sup>3</sup> Under specific circumstances, sentence (9-1a) can make an acceptable universal statement. Thus, *Nihongo-wa hanaseru* 'Japanese can be spoken,' can mean something like 'Japanese is a speakable language.'

<sup>4</sup> There is reason to think that in many South Asian languages a genitive NP and the following NP may not form a constituent; e.g., an adverb may intervene between these two NP's, as below:

mage	haematissema	oluwe	kaekcumak	tiyenawa.
I.GEN	always	head.LOC	ache.INDEF	exist.INANIMATE

'I always have a headache.' (Sinhala; Kumara, p.c.)

<sup>5</sup> In this respect, the double subject construction is similar to the *wa*-marked topic construction in Japanese and its analog in other languages. However, the subject function is different from the topic function. For example, the latter is limited to a definite nominal, but this is not the case for the former. The large subject posited for the double subject construction thus admits an indefinite interrogative pronoun, while such a form cannot bear the topic function; e.g.,

- (i) a. [Zoo-ga [hana-ga nagai]]  
elephant-NOM nose-NOM long  
'An elephant has a long nose/trunk.' (Double subject)
- b. [Zoo-wa [hana-ga nagai]]  
elephant-TOP nose-NOM long  
'An elephant has a long nose/trunk.' (Topic construction)
- (ii) a. [Nani-ga [hana-ga nagai]]?  
what-NOM nose-NOM long  
'What has a long nose?' (Double subject)
- b. \*[Nani-wa [hana-ga nagai]]?  
what-TOP nose-NOM long  
'What has a long nose.' (Topic construction)
- (iii) a. [Ken-ni [nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru]]  
-DAT Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'Ken can speak Japanese.' (Dative subject)
- b. [Dare-ni [nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru]]?  
who-DAT Japanese-NOM speak-POTEN-PRES  
'Who can speak Japanese?'

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