Subject: cognitive, typological and functional approaches

Book of Abstracts

Table of Contents

1

Welcome Message from the Symposium Organizers

It is a great pleasure for us to welcome you to the SKY Symposium on "Subject: cognitive, typological and functional approaches". The symposium aims to promote discussion in the cognitive, functional, typological, and interactional study of subjects and to bring together scholars working in these fields.

Our invited plenary speakers – Jóhanna Barðdal (University of Bergen), Pekka Posio (University of Helsinki) and Catherine E. Travis (Australian National University, Canberra) – represent research excellence in the thematic area of the symposium. In addition, the program contains c. 25 papers dealing with various questions concerning the study of subject in different languages. The proposed abstracts were reviewed by the 12 members of the Scientific Committee who we cordially thank for their valuable cooperation: Denis Creissels (University of Lyon), Pål K. Eriksen (National Library of Norway, Oslo), Marja-Liisa Helasvuo (University of Turku), Tuomas Huumo (University of Turku), Laura Janda (University of Tromsø), Marja Järventausta (University of Cologne), Andrej A. Kibrik (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), Seppo Kittilä (University of Helsinki), Andrej Malchukov (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig), Jae Jung Song (University of Otago), Maria Vilkuna (Institute for the Languages of Finland) and Camilla Wide (University of Turku).

We hope that you enjoy your visit in Helsinki and wish you a very interesting symposium!

Helsinki September 12, 2013,

Organizing Committee:

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Bottom-up and Top-down Approaches to Subjecthood

Most formal approaches to subjecthood are top-down while most functional approaches are bottom-up (Eythórsson & Barðdal 2005). A top-down approach entails an a priori definition of subject, with the subject properties, also functioning as subject tests, being derived from the subject definition. In contrast, a bottom-up approach entails that the definition of subject is derived from the subject properties/subject tests; that is, the analyst reaches a definition of subject through generalizing across the subject tests (cf. the discussion in Barðdal, Eythórsson & Dewey 2013). On some further approaches, no subject definition is applied, only the subject tests are used to determine whether an argument is a subject or not, irrespective of an independent subject definition.

This talk outlines the advantages and disadvantages of these different approaches, and illustrates the consequences they have for the issue of non-canonically case-marked subjects in closely related languages like Icelandic and German (cf. Barðdal 2006). I will be arguing that an awareness of these different approaches to subjecthood is essential for evaluating deviations from the canonical prototype, and imperative for reaching adequate logical conclusions on the grammatical relations of such deviating non-canonically case-marked subjects.

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Eythórsson, Thórhallur & Jóhanna Barðdal. 2005. Oblique Subjects: A Common Germanic Inheritance. *Language* 81(4): 824–881.

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Pronominal subjects and lexical retention: variable expression of first person subjects in Spanish and Portuguese

The variable expression of pronominal subjects is one of the most widely studied issues in the syntax of Romance languages. Previous studies have typically approached the phenomenon as a case of morphosyntactic variation not affecting the meaning of utterances and conditioned e.g. by sociolinguistic or information-structural factors. It has also been suggested that verb semantics plays a role in conditioning subject expression, as in Spanish psychological or mental verbs tend to co-occur more often with expressed subject pronouns than e.g. external activity verbs (e.g. Enríquez 1984). Recent studies have also highlighted the role of lexical frequency as a factor affecting subject pronoun expression (e.g. Erkel & Guy 2012). However, while frequency of use provides the mechanism that entrenches patterns of subject pronoun expression or omission, it does not explain why certain verb forms occur frequently with expressed subject pronouns while others tend to favour the omission of subject pronouns.

The aim of the present talk is to address this question through two case studies on Peninsular Spanish and European Portuguese. First, we look at the use of first person singular subject pronouns in high-frequency epistemic constructions with the verbs *creer* in Spanish and *achar* in Portuguese, both translatable as 'think' (Posio, accepted for publication). While the general rates of subject expression are higher in Portuguese than in Spanish, these two verbs constitute an exception: *creer* has an extremely high rate of expressed subjects whereas *achar* does not differ from the general tendency. I argue that this tendency is related to two factors. First, the constructions with *creer* show a high level of grammaticalization in Spanish and are used much more frequently than in Portuguese, thus allowing for the specific subject expression pattern to become entrenched. Second, while Spanish *creer* is an old mental verb deriving from Latin *credo* 'believe', Portuguese *achar* is originally an external activity verb meaning 'find'. Although it is used almost exclusively as a mental verb in the corpus, it still patterns with external activity verbs with regard to subject expression.

The second case study examines the expression of first person plural subject pronouns (Posio 2012). Here we find a striking difference between the two languages: Spanish has a very low rate of expressed first person plural subjects (5%) compared to Portuguese (32%). A qualitative analysis of the contexts of occurrence of the first person plural forms shows that in Spanish the expression of the pronoun *nosotros* is limited to hearer-exclusive contexts in the data, while in Portuguese the pronoun *nós* occurs in both inclusive and exclusive contexts. I suggest that the strong tendency of expressed *nosotros* to imply a hearer-exclusive reading is connected with the etymology of the pronoun which derives from the univerbation of the old first person plural pronoun *nos* with the emphatically used word *otros* 'others'.

The results of the two case studies show that different verb lexemes as well as different grammatical persons present very different patterns of subject expression. In all cases, several factors have to be taken into account, including the grammaticalization of highly frequent, formulaic sequences and the retention of lexical properties of verbs and pronouns acquiring new uses.

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Exploring proposed cross-linguistic tendencies: A variationist approach to subject realization

Subject expression and ellipsis is a favored linguistic topic. Typologies of null-subject languages have been offered in generative treatments (e.g., Roberts and Holmberg 2010) and cross-linguistic cognitive or discourse factors have been advanced in functionalist works (e.g., Givón 1983), but empirical studies that test proposed generalizations are few. Here, we address this through a comparison of variable subject realization across languages representing two extremes, Spanish, a so called pro-drop or null subject language, and English, a supposed non-null-subject language.

We apply the Variationist approach, and work on the basis of the premise that, in discourse, cross-linguistic equivalence is observable in parallel probabilistic effects of contextual factors operationalizing putative constraints on the selection of a given variant form (cf. Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001). Prior quantitative studies have explored such factors as structural priming, referent accessibility, and functions of contrast. We compare here the role of these, and other, factors for first person singular subject realization in spontaneous speech, focusing, for Spanish, on patterns of expression (based on approximately 1,000 tokens from the Corpus of Conversational Colombian Spanish; Travis 2005), and for English, on both patterns of expression and patterns of stress (based on 1,800 tokens from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English; Du Bois et al. 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005).

Our findings indicate that while some constraints do apply across the three variables, and are thus candidate cross-linguistic tendencies, others do not. A priming effect is found for all three variables; that is, speakers show a strong tendency to repeat the same form they have used previously. Subject continuity, as a measure of referent accessibility, however, is configured differently for each: for Spanish expression, a local coreferentiality effect is strong; for English stress, the effect is one of distance rather than coreferentiality; and for English expression, a coreferentiality effect is only apparent, as it is bound to *and*-coordinated constructions and to unexpressed-to-unexpressed priming, which tends to occur with coreferential subjects. And functions of contrast, as operationalized by negation and initial speaker-turn position, are found to be evident only for stressed *I*.

Furthermore, whereas clause-type and clause-position constraints have been put forward for Germanic languages (e.g., Walkden 2013: 9, 15 and references therein), what we observe for unexpressed *I* is a prosodic-position constraint, such that, outside of coreferential *and*-coordinated constructions, variability only exists Intonation-Unit initially. Finally, particular constructions specific to each variable are identified, including [V *and* V-of-speech] for unexpressed *I*, *I would* (NEG) VERB for stressed *I*, and COGNITION VERB$_{1SG}$ for Spanish *yo*.

Systematic quantitative analysis of variation in speech thus enables shared and language-specific patterns to be discerned. More such studies are called for to allow for the characterization of viable cross-linguistic generalizations on subject realization.

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ABSTRACTS

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Welsh impersonal verbs and their arguments

The functional similarity of the Welsh impersonal construction (1-a) and the analytic passive (1-b) frequently causes them to be identified as two different passives.

(1) a. rhybuddi-wyd   y   plant   (gan y   dyn)
         warn-PAST.IMPS ART children (by ART man)
         'the children were warned (by the man)'

    b. caf-odd   y   plant   eu   rhybudd-io (gan y   dyn)
        get-PAST.3SG ART children   POSS.3PL warn-VERB (by ART man)
        'the children were warned (by the man)' (examples from Awbery (1976))

The two constructions in (1-a) and (1-b) yield similarly interpreted outputs. The verb has one argument less and in neither example requires its agent argument. Object promotion, agent suppression or a combination of both could be interpreted in both (1-a) and (1-b); the agent argument is identically expressible as a casemarked adjunct. The first argument following the verb may be interpreted as subject but, as the postverbal position in a VSO language is problematic to the classification of passives (Sadler 1988; Fife 1985), it is necessary to identify whether the subject has been suppressed.

   The impersonal construction's greatest departure from the traditional domain of the passive voice is its use with both unergative (2) and unaccusative (3) verbs:

(2) rhed-ir   yno
run-PRES.IMPS there
'people run there / you run there' (Fife 1985)

(3) disgynnir yn aml yma
fall.PRES.IMPSADVoftenhere
'people often fall here'

Unlike the analytic passive, both unaccusative and unergative verbs can take the impersonal whether intransitive or not, taking a generic interpretation of 'people' or 'impersonal', unless an agent is retrievable from the context: interestingly, these morphological impersonals are not necessarily reference reducing, following Malchukov & Ogawa (2011).

   Given that an argument as low in agency as the experiencer of an intransitive unaccusative can impersonalize, superficially, it seems that the impersonal is almost unrestricted as to which arguments it takes. The get-passive, on the other hand, suppresses/demotes the thematic role of a demoted argument.

   Accounting for the behaviour of impersonals has been a task of linguists from Perlmutter (1978)'s Unaccusative Hypothesis, though to date no framework has satisfactorily accounted for the functional differences of these two argument reducing processes found in the Welsh data. Typological approaches (Shibatani 1985; Keenan & Dryer 2007) fail to differentiate the Welsh constructions, assuming the processes or rules of any pre-theoretically defined passive under the broad definition of 'passive'. This circular logic ignores argument structure entirely, missing the distinction between the Welsh impersonals and the analytic passive.

   It has previously been suggested that the animacy of the verb's first argument may restrict impersonal constructions, as only humans, other animates and natural forces were found to be grammatical in the impersonals of Russian, Lithuanian and Welsh transitives (Siewierska

1984). This paper presents original data on the argument types possible to supress in the Welsh impersonal. This reveals restrictions along familiar lines, with low animacy being the most important factor for blocking the arguments which may be suppressed, followed by referentiality in one-place predicates.

(4) a. ...rhan o'r   goedwig yn   ansad i   gerddwyr. Disgynnir   yma yn   aml.
    ...part GEN'ART F\forest PRED unstable DAT walkers.   fall.PRES.IMPS here ADV frequent
    '...part of the forest is unsteady/unstable for walkers. (People) often fall here'

   b. Disgynnai   coed yma'n   flynyddol
    fall.IMPF.3SG trees here'ADV annually
    'trees fall here every year'

   c. ...rhan o'r   goedwig yn   ansad i   goed. *Disgynnir   yma yn   flynyddol
    ...part GEN'ART F\forest PRED unstable DAT trees. *fall.PRES.IMPS here ADV annually
    '...part of the forest is unstable for trees. *(Trees) fall here every year'

This novel research has shown that unaccusative verbs lacking a proto-agent (3) still have a 'lower' limit with regards to the direct arguments of impersonals, although they are insensitive to thematic role. These results stem from the analysis of a large set of verbs, of which only stative readings of certain measure verbs (5) and inchoative readings of alternating verbs (6) were identified as ungrammatical with the impersonal:

(5) *costi-wyd   deg-punt (gan y   CD)
    cost-PAST.IMPS ten-pounds (by ART CD)
    *was cost(ed) ten pounds (of a CD)

(6) *torr-ir   gwydr-au ar ben   eu   hun-ain
    break-PRES.IMPS glass-PL on MUT\head POSS.3PL self-PL
    *glasses are broken by themselves

Pinning down the vague notion of an acceptable suppressible subject for the impersonal provides a lower limit to the acceptable arguments for Welsh verbs.

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Subject null arguments in creole languages

Previously it was believed that creole languages require obligatorily overt subject pronouns - notwithstanding some exceptions such as null expletive subjects - as a result of the lack of verbal inflection in these languages. Even if this holds true for the great majority of creole languages (cf. APiCS), more recent studies have shown that this is not the case of many Asian and Indian Ocean creoles, in which pronominal subjects are frequently "omitted".

This study provides an account of subject pronoun usage in creoles focusing on a number of creoles that represent different areal patterns. Our sample includes the Atlantic creoles of San Andrés, Nicaragua, Berbice Dutch and Cape Verdean, the Indian Ocean creoles of Réunion and Mauritius, Diu Indo-Portuguese, and Philippine Creole Spanish.

Given the shallow chronological depth of these contact languages - which often involve inflectional lexifier languages with variable subject marking -, the creoles under survey offer an ideal corpus for studying the processes involved in the evolution of null subjects.

As Wratil (2011) has shown, the occurrence, distribution and development of null subject pronouns is not necessarily connected with characteristics of verbal inflection or with word order. By consequence, we turn to discourse as the explanatory factor. We shall explore the discourse properties that favor the occurrence of null subjects in our sample. We will also offer insights with regard to other factors in verbal semantics that exercise an influence on the development of null subject pronouns. Nevertheless, our results confirm that substrate/adstrate influence is the main factor which affects the expression of subjects in creoles.

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Morphological variation in Old East Slavic Dative absolute constructions

Jakubinskij (1953:178) views the "intensive formation of subject-object structure of a sentence and its categories" as the main syntactic trend determining the grammatical system in the prehistory of Slavic. The proposed talk examines the variation between two alternative Dat. endings – *-ovi* and *-u* – in the Dat. absolute constructions as attested in the early medieval East Slavic chronicles. The approach relies on the Cognitive framework, in particular, the schematic system of the distribution of attention defined by the notions of Figure and Ground – "two fundamental cognitive functions", the Figure ("the concept that needs anchoring") being the centre of attention, and the Ground ("the concept that does the anchoring") – its periphery functioning as a reference point for the Figure. (Talmy 2000:113) (Compare also Langacker's *trajectory / landmark* alignment whereby "a subject is characterized as a nominal whose profile corresponds to the trajector of a profiled relationship, and an object as one whose profile corresponds to a landmark". (Langacker 2008:210))

The semantic and syntactic affinity between the Russian Dat. (stemming from its main meaning Receiver, and thus "potential subject" (Janda & Clancy's 2002:83) terminology), and Nom. (actual subject), is particularly apparent in the Dat. absolute. The noun in the Dat. case representing the Figure (and the agent of an action) corresponds to the Nom. subject of a regular clause, while the participial predicate corresponds to the verb. The Dat. subject is less prototypical than the Nom. one.

The Old East Slavic ending *-ovi* is mostly attested in masculine personal, especially proper, *o*-stem nouns of foreign origin (Vaillant 1958:124), and is overall less prevalent than its counterpart *-u*. This suggests that the morpheme is new. This idea is supported by the fact that it is extremely rare in native pre-Christian proper names, being practically unattested in compounds, such as *Volodimer*.

The ending *-ovi* originates in the Common Slavic *u-stem paradigm, already poorly represented at the time of the earliest records. The two nouns of this declension attested in the Dat. are *syn*u 'son' (*synovi*) and *dom*u 'house, home' (*domovi*). *Syn*u and *vol*u 'ox' were the only animate *u-stems, *syn*u being the only personal one. It subsequently joined the *o-stems and was perhaps the vehicle for the import of the ending *-ovi* to the *o-stem declension as a marker of personhood. Historically, *-ovi* has completely disappeared in Russian (Šaxmatov 1957:257, 260), although it remains productive in Belorussian in animate nouns, while in Ukrainian it has spread even to inanimate and neuter nouns. (Jakubinskij 1953:185, Vaillant 1958:125, Šaxmatov 1957:257)

The correlation of personhood and definiteness with the Figure status (associated in turn with the subject prototype) is well-known. The purpose of this investigation is to establish if the choice of a particular ending of the already non-prototypical subject in the Dat. absolute reflects further the varying degree of prototypicality.

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Promotional and non-promotional passives in Old Finnish

The Finnic passive is a typologically well-behaved non-promotional passive: its single argument is an object. In Old Finnish (1540-1809), however, non-promotional and promotional passives with subject arguments appear to vary freely. This kind of variation appears to be typical with constructions undergoing a diachronic process of reanalysis and extension (Harris and Campbell 1995: 59), and the Old Finnish passive appears to be undergoing such a diachronic process. The directionality of this process is uncertain, but there are strong arguments to regard the non-promotional passive as innovative (Ikola 1959: 41-44).

The question I seek to answer in this presentation is whether the two competing analyses of the passive in Old Finnish vary freely, or whether their variation is constrained by such factors such as definiteness, referentiality and negational scope. In order to do this, I will analyze case-marking patterns of passive arguments in three early religious texts: Agricola's 1548 New Testament translation, Sorolainen's two-part Postilla (1621-1625) and the New Testament portion of the first Finnish Bible translation (1642).

I will argue that the two analyses do not vary completely freely, but compete primarily at the lower end of an individuation scale: indefinite and non-referring arguments (as well as indefinite pronouns) show the most object-like behaviour. With highly individuated arguments, in contrast, it is mainly the promotional analysis which comes into question. Negational scope is a factor in that (unlike Standard Finnish) arguments are marked with the nominative, rather than the partitive, if negational scope is reduced.

Assuming that the non-promotional passive is innovative, one could say that it is first taken into use at the "weakest point", that is, with arguments which are prototypical objects, rather than subjects.

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Nothing personal: subject demotion in impersonal constructions of some Finno-Ugric languages

Impersonal constructions, which show a broad variety cross-linguistically, can be described as a result of conceptualization associated with the lack of a canonical subject (Siewierska 2008: 116). Following Keenan's (1976) study, a prototypical subject has the following properties; it is an argument that is referential, topical, agentive, definite and animate (Malchukov–Ogawa 2011: 23). In most cases, the prototypical grammatical subject bears the highest role in the semantic role hierarchy, that is, it is an agent (cf. Givón 2001).

As Tolcsvai Nagy (2012) has pointed out, the prototypical subject stands as the topic of the sentence and it is the most salient participant in the event (e.g. trajector) depicted by the verb in Hungarian. My presentation will provide a possible semantic map of some impersonals in two Permic languages (Udmurt and Permyak) and in a Volgaic one (Meadow Mari), contrasted with Hungarian. Although the question of impersonals has already been studied with a special reference to Finno-Ugric languages (Schiefer 1981), functional approaches have been neglected (as an exception, see Kalinina–Kolomatsky–Sudobina 2006). My aim is to provide a reclassification of some impersonals focusing on the semantics and pragmatics of this domain.

This presentation will focus on three constructions in particular:

A) P3l impersonals, in which personal verbal morphology is used with an impersonal reference:

(1a) Pe.	Medbẹrja	kadẹ	baitẹ-nị	bịd	jịliś.
	present	time:INE	speak-PL3	everything	about
(1b) Ud.	Berlo	dịre	olomar (no)	vera-lo	
(1c) Ma.	Küzütse	žapậšte	ala-mom-at	ojl-at.	
	present	time:INE	something-ACC (also)		
	'Nowadays they speak about everything.'				

Within this type, the grammatical subject often corresponds to the agent but it rarely bears the role of the trajector.

B) causative impersonals, in which the verb has a causative morpheme and requires an accusative-marked obligatory argument:

(2a) Pe.	Aj-ẹs	ẹsẹ-t-ẹ.
(2b) Ud.	Ataj-ez	berị-kt-e.
(2c) Ma.	Ača-m	vakận-kt-a.
	father-ACC	vomit-CAUS-3SG
	'The father is nauseous.'	

The subject of the causative construction is in the focus of attention but does not act as an agent.

C) the varied subgroup of reflexive impersonals, in which the obligatory argument is marked with an oblique or it is not overt:

(3) Pe	Menam	onmẹśśi-ś-ẹm-a.
	I.GEN	fall_asleep-REFL-PST.3SG
	'I am unable to sleep.'	

The grammatical subject of constructions like (3) displays functional properties similar to the former type but the can be considered less salient.

The data examined in this study were elicited from native speakers using two questionnaires which focused on pragmatic neutrality and acceptability factors. Examples were

provided by three informants for each language. To outline the characteristics of the use of impersonals within these languages, I will present data on textual frequency using the parallel translations of a Russian novel called the Pavlik Morozov text (Luutonen 2010), which contains 12500 words.

Preliminary results show that a certain hierarchy of these constructions can be outlined, in which the less prototypically impersonal-like construction is type A, while type C seems to be a more prominent representative of the domain in these languages. The hierarchy is as follows:

(4) Pl3 impersonal > causative impersonals > reflexive impersonals

My presentation will provide the results of my study in further detail, with a special reference to each type of impersonal construction.

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Subject features and number: perspectives from Finnish conversational interaction

In Finnish, the subject role has usually been defined in terms of several morphosyntactic criteria, namely case marking, agreement and word order. Semantic and discourse features of subjects have also been discussed, but they have not been considered criterial for subjects. According to the narrowest definition, subjects are in the nominative case, trigger agreement according to person and number in the predicate and overwhelmingly appear in the preverbal position (cf. Helasvuo & Huumo 2010). Hakulinen et al. (2004) take a broader view: while considering the above mentioned type of subject as the prototypical or "basic" subject, they identify two other types of subject, namely existential and genitive subjects. Existential subjects are either in the nominative or the partitive, do not trigger agreement and appear in the postverbal position. Genitive subjects are used with certain modal verbs and infinitives. In the broadest definition, even adessive arguments in constructions expressing possession are considered subjects (Vilkuna 1996: 157).

This paper takes the narrowest definition of subject in Finnish as its starting point and investigates it in the light of conversational Finnish. For singular subjects, this definition yields a fairly consistent characterization of subjects not only in terms of grammar but also in terms of discourse features. The picture is much more complicated if we consider plural forms. This paper focuses on plural forms and their grammatical and discourse features.

This study is based on a morphosyntactically coded database of conversational Finnish. The data show that in the plural 1st person, number and person agreement in the predicate is rare (there are only four instances in the database). Instead, passive forms are used in connection with plural 1st person subjects to convey plural 1st person reference (258 instances). Plural 2nd person verb forms can be used as polite forms together with singular subjects (7 out of 152 plural 2nd person forms). In the plural 3rd person, there is person agreement but most often no number agreement (only 2,5% of the plural 3rd person subjects appeared with a plural 3rd person verb form or 23/903). Thus, agreement does not function as a clear subject criterion in plural forms. This paper will discuss morphosyntactic and discourse features identified with subjects in the light of usage patterns for plural forms in conversational Finnish.

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Are syntactic subjects more human in translation? A case-study in two small bi-directional corpora between the language pair French-Finnish

This article presents an on-going corpus-based study on the humanization of the syntactic subject in translation, i.e. the change of subject from an inanimate one in the source text (ST) to an animate one in the target text (TT) with two typologically different languages: Finnish and French. Examples would be:

ST: <u>Ranskattaret</u> lihoivat hyvää vauhtia ja <u>heidän hipiänsä</u> alkoi loistaa. (Arto Paasilinna). [Literally: <u>French women</u> had put on weight quite fast and <u>their skin</u> began to shine.]
TT: Les Françaises engraissaient à belle allure et <u>commençaient</u> à avoir bonne mine. (Translated into French by Antoine Chalvin) [Literally: <u>French women</u> had put on weight quite fast and <u>began</u> to look well.]

Firstly, the paper discusses briefly the preponderance of the animate subject and the challenges brought by the comparison of two languages typologically as different as Finnish and French when analysing the non-prototypical constructions of both languages. It is largely accepted as Ritva Laury (2006: 153) notes that "a wide range of scholars have made the observation, robustly supported by empirical evidence, that human referents tend to manifest features prominence on the level of both discourse and grammar. Namely, human referents [i.e. animate subjects], are likely to be topical and agentive (Kuno 1976, Dixon 1979, Comrie 1978, Silverstein 1976, 1981) and they are consequently likely to appear in core grammatical roles, especially as subjects (Du Bois 1987, Asby and Bentivoglio 1993, Thompson 1997, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1994, Kärkkäinen 1996, Helasvuo 1997, 2001)". See also Bock (1986); Chafe (1976), Tomlin (1997) and Parrill (2008). However, most of these above-cited studies concentrate on spoken language. In the second part of the paper, we test this observation on written language in two distinct corpora. The first one consists of literary texts and a journalistic one. The first sub-corpus consists of excerpts of three literary texts in Finnish aligned with their French translations and three French novels aligned with their Finnish translations. The second sub-corpus consists of articles from the press from the Finnish biggest daily newspaper Helsingin Sanomat and its French translations published in the French weekly Courrier International and the French monthly Le Monde diplomatique and its Finnish translations. The paper will discuss the analysis of the animate subjects in both original texts as well as in the translated texts. It will also discuss the humanization of the subject in translation and some patterns in the translation of the syntactic subject that were found as well as the four contexts that seem to favour this humanization of the subject that has been identified: perception (auditory or visual), free indirect discourse, acting inanimate subject, and salient psychological or physical human characteristic.

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Notes on subjecthood in Amazonia

Form/Meaning: X/Theme, Y/Agent, Z/Patient; x, y, z = corresponding affixes or clitics; ABS = N-Ø, ERG = N-case; NA vs. EA = NOM-ACC vs. ERG-ABS alignment. Where applicable, basic word order will be summarized by the (somewhat misleading) labels S, A, P, in addition to V(erb).

(i) Wari':   V x (X)   VS
               V y-z (Z) (Y), with x = y   VPA
               Depending on the verb, -z may denote any semantic role 'below'
               Agent
               Consistently NA

(ii) Yagua: x-V (X), with x- = y- **or** V-x (X), with -x = -z   VS
               y-V-z (Y) (Z); e.g. y-V Y-z Z   VAP
               Split (or A/P) intransitivity, in principle; but much more NA (with x- = y-) than EA (with -x = -z)

(iii) Movima   Hierarchical (= DIR[ect] vs. INV[erse]) system based on empathy hierarchy, with PROX(imate) = more salient vs. OBV(iate) = less salient:
               V OBV = V X
               V PROX OBV = either [V-DIR Y] Z or [V-INV Z] Y
               Either EA (with OBV = X/Z) or NA (with OBV = X/Y)

(iv) Panare   Eight distinct clause types: multiply split alignment (with a strong EA bias, to be sure); the typologically unusual NOM-ABS alignment is singled out here:
               x-V AUX-x X   VS
               z-V AUX-y Y   PVA
               NOM because (in addition to the word order) X/Y is coreferenced on AUX (with -x = -y), and ABS because X/Z is coreferenced on V (with x- = z-); hence NOM-ABS. Just Ø-V with an overt preverbal Z-noun.

(v) Katukina   V X = V ABS   V S
               [Y V] Z = [ERG V] ABS; ERG = GEN   A V P
               also [Z V] Y   P V A
               Overwhelmingly EA, but also NA

(vi) Macushi   X V or x-V   ABS V   S V
               Z V Y or z-V-y, with x- = z-   ABS V ERG   P V A
               also Y Z V   ERG ABS V   A P V
               Independent (pro)nouns and pronominal affixes on the verb are in complementary distribution. Almost consistently EA.

(vii) Trumai   X V =   ABS V   S V
               Y Z V =   ERG [ABS V]   A [P V]
               Almost consistent EA (even "deep" [= behavior-and-control] ergativity)

(viii) Cavineña Sentence = [α-pro β], i.e. *pro* occupies the second position, otherwise free word order; if X, Y, Z are (pro)nouns, then:

{V,X} = [ABS-3SG/PL V] or [V-3SG/PL ABS]

{Y,Z,V} = six alternatives:

[ERG-3SG/PL ABS V]

[ABS-3SG/PL ERG V]

[V-3SG/PL ERG ABS] etc.

EA because *pro* agrees with X/Z

The degree of NA alignment correlates with the degree of Subjecthood. (v) epitomizes the tension between EA and Subject. If it is assumed a priori that there are two basic grammatical roles (**not** "relations"), of which Subject is the dominating one, then it follows that X/Z = ABS is Subject and Y = ERG is Object; but this is not very convincing. In connection with (vii) Subject is not mentioned at all; and in connection with (vi) it is explicitly repudiated: the argument types ERG, ABS (and DAT) are enough.

Tentative conclusion: "In practice A and P/O are identifiable as whatever would **translate** as the transitive subject and object in English" (added emphasis). Notice the following analogy. By virtue of the translational equivalence, languages with few or no formally definable subordinate constructions are claimed to possess exactly the same subordinate constructions as English.

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Subject from a Northeast African perspective:
The case of Uduk

In most nominative-accusative languages, the nominative is typically the most unmarked form morphologically and functionally, and is the form used in citation. For ergative-absolutive languages, the absolutive is typically the most unmarked form both morphologically and functionally, and is the form used in citation.

There is an areal tendency in Northeast Africa, however, towards marking the grammatical relation of subject, against and over the grammatical relation of object. In ergative-absolutive languages of the area, this typically results in somewhat of a canonical ergative system with (S = O ≠ A), but they often occur in the typologically unusual word order of OVA. In nominative-accusative systems however, this results in a particular type of nominative-accusative, variously called extended ergative, marked nominative, or nominative-absolutive, in which the subject carries the overt case marking and the object is functionally more unmarked. Often, the non-subject form has a much more general use, and is found in extrasyntactic environments (e.g. the citation form) as well as peripheral roles (e.g. in applicative verbal derivations) and other extended uses. The 'accusative' form of the noun in Toposa for example, includes uses such as O, nominal predicates, subject (S&A) before the verb, patient (S) of passive constructions, and experiencer constructions. The nominative is used for subjects (S&A) occurring after the verb, or for subjects in copular clauses (König 2008).

There is a second areal tendency in Northeast Africa, seen already in the Toposa example, in which multiple strategies exist for marking grammatical relations, including both word order and case marking. A core participant is identified both by its relative position in the word order as well as by the presence or absence of morphological case marking, and word order/case marking variations are extremely common.

The combination of these two areal tendencies combine to form a case-marking continuum which can appear unusual from a typological perspective, but fit comfortably within a specific range of word order and case marking variations. In this talk, some general features of case marking and word order in Northeast Africa will be first introduced, with a focus on Nilo-Saharan languages. I then present more specific data on Uduk, a Nilo-Saharan language of eastern Sudan, showing how this fits the general trends of the area, despite some typological unusual features from a global perspective.

Uduk is a V2 topic-initial language in which (ergative) case marking applies only to post-verbal A (5, 6, 8, 10). All preverbal arguments, as well as postverbal O, do not have any overt case marking (1-3, 7, 9). Uduk also alternates between head-marking and dependent-marking at the clausal level, depending on the constituent order. Postverbal A receives case marking in OVA word order, and there is no agreement with either A or O (5, 6, 8, 10). In SV/AVO, however, there is verbal agreement with S/A (S cannot occur postverbally) (1-4, 7, 9), and transitive verbs additionally have two conjugation types depending on the gender of O (2 vs. 3).

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Examples

1. SV, verbal agreement with S
à-'tí'k   wù-'d   mɔ̀
ACA[1]-mouse die   \PFV-3SG   RSLT
"The mouse died"

2. AVO, ACI object, verbal agreement with A
á'dī   pī́   yì'déʔ
s/he   drink\IPFV water
"S/he's drinking water"

3. AVO, ACA object, verbal agreement with A
á'dī   pí-'d-ā   sū
s/he   drink\IPFV-3SG-ACA.OBJ beer
"S/he's drinking beer"

4. AVO, verbal agreement with A
áhā   dhìth-kí-nā   é   gù'b
I   sweep\PFV-APPL-1SG 2SG   house
"I swept the house for you." (topic = I)

5. OVA, ergative suffix on the verb, no agreement
gú'b   dhìth-kí-gā   é
house   sweep\PFV-APPL-1SG.ERG 2SG
"I swept the house for you." (topic = house)

6. OBLVAO, ergative suffix on the verb, no agreement
é   dhìth-kí-gā   gù'b
2SG   sweep\PFV-APPL-1SG.ERG   house
"I swept the house for you." (topic = you)

7. AVO, ACI object, ACI agent
wàthíʔ dhìth-kí-gā   gù'b   mò
man   sweep\PFV-PAST house RSLT
"The man has (already) swept the house." (agent-topicalized)

8. OVA, ACI object, ACI agent
gù'b   dhìth-kín-ā   wàthí   mò
house sweep\PFV-PAST-ERG.ACI man   RSLT
"The man has (already) swept the house." (object-topicalized)

9. AVO, ACI object, ACA agent
à-'bóm   dhìth-kí   gù'b   mò
ACA-woman sweep\PFV-PAST house   RSLT
"The woman has (already) swept the house." (agent-topicalized)

10. OVA, ACI object, ACA agent
gù'b   dhìth-kín-mā   'bóm   mò
house sweep\PFV-PAST-ERG.ACA woman RSLT
"The woman has (already) swept the house." (object-topicalized)

1Glosses used are as follows: ACA = Agreement Class A (One of two semantically arbitrary genders in Uduk),
ACI = Agreement Class I, APPL = Applicative, ERG = Ergative, IPFV = Imperfective, OBL = Oblique, PFV =
Perfective, PAST = Past, RSLT = Resultative

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Demoted in syntax but strong in force agents

[Goals] Since Babby's seminal work (1994), the Russian adversity impersonal construction (henceforth, AI) has drawn much attention in Slavic syntax. Previous studies have been mainly concerned with how to account for "un-Burzio-like" properties, i.e., accusative assignment in the apparent lack of nominative subject. In this work, I will address how the AI arose in the history of the language. The identified diachronic facts will be capitalized upon to the effect that the instrumental case assignment on the causer will be fully motivated, and the mechanism of agent demotion will be outlined. Finally, AI will be accordingly identified as an event-passive, which is similar to *get*-passive in English.

[Proposals]

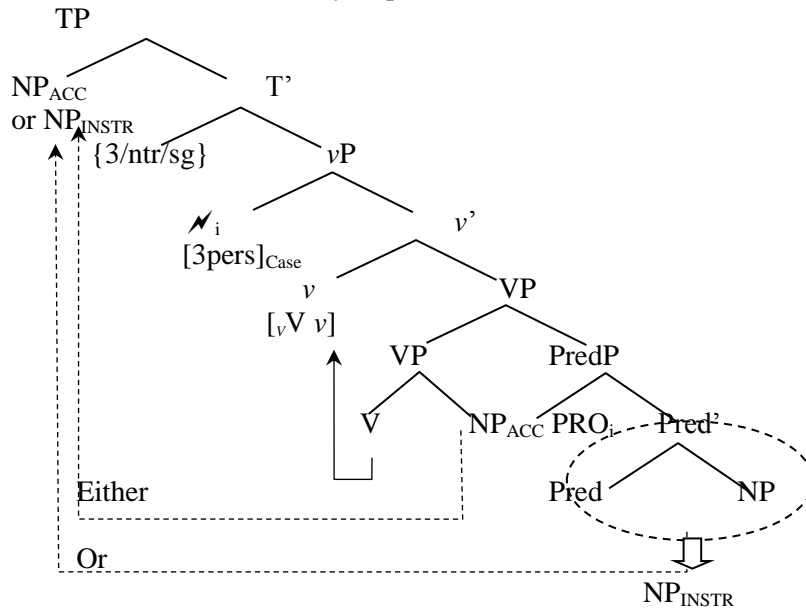*1. Null subject hypothesis: Agent demotion from Nom to Instr.*

Kwon (to appear) recently adduces diachronic evidence for such proposal, suggesting that the thematic subject (most often, nature force) was demoted from nominative (*gromъ* in (1)) to instrumental (*molnieju* in (2)) in case marking, (1). The agent demotion strategy in the AI case is conditioned by the 'out-of-control' semantics. However, it is also crucial to note that AI involves a null subject, which controls another null element, PRO, as shown in (3). The instrumental case is defined/checked in PredP structure, as is standardly assumed for the small clause (=secondary predication) (to name a few, Bowers 1993; Bailyn and Rubin 1991; Bailyn and Citko 1999). In addition, it has been noted that the instrumental case assignment, e.g., secondary predicate as in *They elected him* **president**$_{INSTR}$, is related to eventuality (cf. AspP in Richardson 2007, [pred, event] for instrumental case checking features in Matushansky, to appear). The EVENT here is assumed to be composed of two parts, the CAUSE (*v*P introduced with an expletive ↗) and its RESULT. Thus the contrast in (4) is accounted for in the following manner: (4a) has a CAUSE in the structure and the instrumental case assignment is motivated, whereas the anticausative version (4b) is out with an NP in instrumental case, since it lacks a CAUSE (Soschen 2002:33).

2. AI as an event passive

Though AI is active in voice, I propose that it be classified as an event passive when considering its semantics. It should be noted that the Russian AI converge with English *get*-passive in some crucial respects. First, *get*-passive is not permitted with stative verbs and verbs that do not allow for the subject of the construction to be interpreted as *affected*, as illustrated by (5) (Haegeman 1985; Alexiadou 2005). Another important correlation concerns agents, namely, defocused agent. Note that focus on the event amounts to the removal of focus on the agent, (6b). Likewise, with AIs, (7); (i) agent PP (i.e., instrumental case) cannot modify as PP in (7a), (ii) an agent-oriented adverb cannot modify a verb, (7b), and (iii) control into purpose clause is generally impossible, (7c). German exhibits a typologically distinct representation of event-type passives, namely, with or without an expletive, i.e., (8a) and (8b), respectively. The second option is employed by Icelandic, (9). A brief typology of event passive is presented in (10).

(1)	Zažže	gromъ	cerkovь	'The church caught fire by lightning'	
	caught fire$_{3SG}$	thunder$_{NOM}$	church$_{ACC}$	(12th C)	
(2) a.	Děisus	molnieju	popalilo	'The Deësis got burned from lightning'	
	Deisis$_{ACC}$	lightning$_{INSTR}$	burned$_{NTR\,SG}$	(15th C)	
(3) on next page					
(4) a.	Lodku	razbilo	volnoj	'The boat got broken by the tide'	
	boat$_{ACC}$	broke$_{NTR\,SG}$	tide$_{INSTR}$		
b.	Lodka	razbila-s'	(*volnoj)	'The boat broke (*by the tide)'	
	boat$_{NOM}$	broke$_{FEM\,SG}$-refl	tide:instr	(Soschen 2002: 32, (40))	

(3) Derivation of the Adversity Impersonal Construction

```
                    TP
           ╱─────────────╲
      NP_ACC              T'
   or NP_INSTR      ╱──────────╲
        ↑      {3/ntr/sg}        vP
        ⋮              ╱──────────╲
        ⋮            ↗_i            v'
        ⋮        [3pers]_Case   ╱──────────╲
        ⋮              v             VP
        ⋮          [_vV v]      ╱──────────╲
        ⋮               VP             PredP
        ⋮           ╱──────╲      ╱──────────╲
        ⋮          V    NP_ACC PRO_i   Pred²
        ⋮                           ╱──────╲
      Either                    (  Pred      NP  )
        ⋮                        ╲──────────╱
        Or ───────────────────────────── ⇓
                                      NP_INSTR
```

(5)   a. *The truth got known.   b. *Mary got feared.
       c. *Mary got seen.   (Alexiadou 2005: 17, (14))

(6) a   John got killed.   b.   *The book got torn on purpose.
     c.   i.   The ship was sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].
          ii.   *The ship got sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].
          iii.   The ship got sunk [for John to collect insurance money].
                                              (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998: (26b), (22))

(7) a. Lodku   sožglo   *Dimoj / molniej   'The boat got incinerated by …'
       boat_ACC   burne_NTR SG   Dima_INSTR / lightning_INSTR
    b. *Berezu   svalilo   special'no   'The birch got fallen down on purpose'
       birch_ACC fell_NTR SG   purposefully
    c. *Lodku   sožglo   čtob   polučit'   straxovku
       boat_ACC   burned_NTR SG in order to collect_INF insurance_ACC
        'The boat got incinerated to collect the insurance'   (Markman 2007: (10), 2004: (5))

(8) a. Trieb *es* den Kahn   an den Strand?
       drove it the boat:acc   to the beach
    b. Trieb   der Kahn   an den Strand?
       drove   the boat:nom   to the   beach (German, Haider 2001, (10))

(9)   Bátinn   fyllti   á   augabragði.
        boat.the.:acc   filled   in   flash (filled = 'got-filled')
         'The boat swamped immediately.'   (Icelandic, Sigurðsson 2006, (18a,b))

(10)   Crosslinguistic variations of event-passive

```
                         Event-type passive
              ╱──────────────────────────────╲
          Personal                          Impersonal
       ╱──────────╲                      Accusative subject
  Passive voice   Active voice              ICELANDIC
    ENGLISH         ╱──────╲
              GERMAN expletive es │ RUSSIAN expletive ↗ in AI │
```

26

Lazard, Gilbert
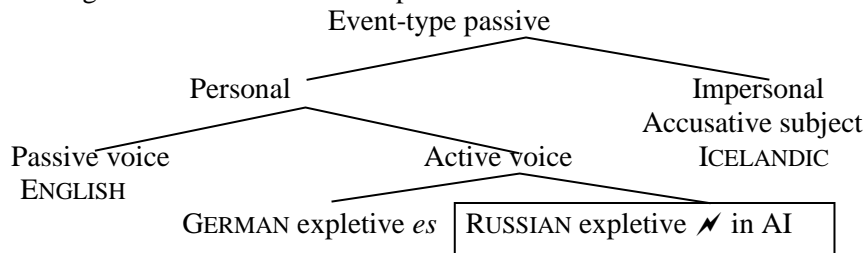
The Notion of Subject

The best approach to the question of the notion of subject is, after Keenan (1976), to take into account the set of « subject properties». The content and the extent of that set are highly variable across languages. However, it seems to be acknowledged that it may be divided into two subsets that can be dissociated in certain languages and certain constructions, so that the traditional notion of subject turns out to cover two different functions.

Here is a small indicative (not exhaustive) list of properties belonging to those two subsets :

- A-properties : obligatoriness, — nominative case, — preferred verb agreement, — accessibility to relative clause construction ;

- B-properties : initial position, —control of reflexives and reciprocals, —equi omission, — switch reference.

The two subsets are dissociated in two circumstances :

1) In ergative languages : A-properties belong to the actant mapping the patient (or patient-like), B-properties belong to the actant mapping the agent (or agent-like). A more or less similar partition obtains also in Philippine-type languages (Tagalog, etc.).

2) In the so-called affective or experiential construction, well-known in many languages, even in Europe, of the type < to X is / happens Y > : A-properties belong to the term denoting the sensation or experience, B-properties belong to the NP mapping the experiencer.

So, the same bipartition (more often than not)[1] obtains a) in *ergative constructions*, whatever the semantic content, and b) in clauses with a certain *semantic content*, namely the description of an experience, whatever the language type. This coincidence is highly significant. There seems to be nothing in common between those two environments, and subject properties are nevertheless dissociated in the same way. It must therefrom be concluded that the partition is determined by intrinsic characteristics of the properties, i. e. the very content of the notion of subject.

A-properties are part of the mechanism of predication, B-properties are connected with reference along the sentence. They characterize the main functions of the subject as it js traditionally understood, contribution to predication and primary reference. The terms bearing those two functions may thus be called « Predication Subject » and « Reference Subject » respectively ; they are conflated in the traditional subject of our familiar languages, dissociated in other circumstances. It may be thought that indepth investigation of the two functions might provide important insights (beyond the limits of pure linguistics) into the likely roots of the function of subject in the laws of logic and the requirements of communication.

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[1] For there are exceptions, as it often happens in linguistics : « invariants » are rather dominant trends than laws.

La meilleure façon d'aborder la question du sujet est, à la suite de Keenan (1976), de considérer l'ensemble des propriétés « subjectales ». Cet ensemble est, d'une langue à l'autre d'étendue et de contenu très variables. Cependant, il semble acquis qu'il se divise en deux sous-ensembles qui se trouvent dissociés dans certaines langues et dans certaines constructions, de sorte que la fonction traditionnelle de sujet recouvre en réalité deux fonctions différentes.

Voici une petite liste indicative (non exhaustive) de propriétés appartenant à l'un et à l'autre des deux sous-ensembles :

- Propriétés A : présence obligatoire, — cas nominatif, —accord verbal prioritaire, — accessibilité à la construction des relatives.

- Propriétés B : position initiale — commande des réfléchis et réciproques, — omission possible en cas de coréférence, — switch reference.

Ces deux sous-ensembles sont dissociés dans deux cas :

1) Dans les langues ergatives : les propriétés A appartiennent à l'actant représentant le patient (ou assimilé), les propriétés B à l'actant représentant l'agent (ou assimilé). C'est le cas aussi dans les langues de type philippin (tagalog, etc.).

2) Dans la construction dite affective ou expérientielle, banale dans de nombreuses langues, y compris en Europe, du type < à X est / arrive Y > : les propriétés A appartiennent au terme désignant la sensation/l'expérience, les propriétés B au terme désignant l'expérient.

Ainsi, la même bipartition se produit (généralement)[2], a) dans des phrases de *construction ergative*, quel que soit le contenu sémantique, et b) dans des phrases ayant un certain *contenu sémantique*, à savoir l'expression d'une expérience, quel que soit le type de langue. Cette coïncidence est extrêmement significative. En effet, ces deux sortes de conditionnement semblent n'avoir rien de commun et, cependant, la partition des propriétés subjectales se fait de la même façon. On en conclut qu'elle est en rapport avec le caractère intrinsèque des propriétés en question, c'est-à-dire avec le contenu même de la notion de sujet.

Les propriétés A font partie du mécanisme de la prédication. Les propriétés B sont en rapport avec la référence, qui reste la même tout au long de la phrase. Elle caractérisent les deux fonctions du sujet traditionnel, la contribution à la prédication et la référence première. Les termes qui les portent peuvent être nommés « sujet de prédication » et « sujet de référence » : ils se trouvent confondus dans le sujet traditionnel et dissociés dans d'autres conditions. On peut penser que l'exploration en finesse des deux fonctions est susceptible de jeter de vives lumières (au-delà des limites de la linguistique pure) sur les racines probables de la fonction de sujet dans les lois de la logique et les exigences de la communication.

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[2] Car il y a des exceptions, comme souvent en linguistique : les « invariants » sont plutôt des tendances dominantes que des lois.

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The fate of subjects in causativization: Uralic counterexamples to the Case Hierarchy

Causative constructions are valency-increasing constructions (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000) that introduce a verbal argument absent from the corresponding noncausative sentence (Dixon 2000). This argument, the causer, is marked as the subject of a causative sentence, making the original subject to be marked as another type of verbal argument (causee). In the following example, the original subject, *kala*, of (1a) receives object marking (partitive *kalaa*) by becoming the causee argument in the causative construction (1b).

(1)   a.   kala   kuivuu   parvekkeella
            fish   dry:3SG   balcony:ADE
            'The fish is drying on the balcony.'

       b.   mies   kuiva-ttaa   kala-a   parvekkeella
            man   dry-CAUS:3SG   fish-PART   balcony:ADE
            'The man is drying the fish on the balcony.' (Finnish)

The example conforms to the widely present characteristic of the subject of the noncausative sentence becoming the direct object of the causative sentence. In fact, Comrie (1975, 1976) argues that there is a Case Hierarchy (closely following the accessibility hierarchy that Keenan and Comrie, 1977, 1979, found to direct the formation of relative clauses) that states that the demoted subjects attain the first free position of the verbal argument structure starting from the left of the hierarchy (cf. Comrie 1976):

> subject < direct object < indirect object < oblique

However, the hierarchy is only representative of the paradigm case, from which there are many departures. In particular, as Comrie (1976) notes for Finnish and Hungarian, in many Uralic languages the subject of a transitive noncausative sentence is marked with an oblique argument, even though the position of the indirect object would be available, as illustrated by the following examples. The asterisked forms illustrate the disallowed possibility of using the marking of indirect objects for causee arguments, instead marked as oblique arguments in the grammatical sentences.

(2)   rakennusyhtiö   rakenn-utti   talon   ulkomais-illa   työmieh-illä
      construction_company build-CAUS:PST.3SG house:GEN foreign-PL:ADE workman-PL:ADE
      (*ulkomais-ille   työmieh-ille)
      foreign-PL:ALL   workman-PL:ALL (Finnish)

(3)   ehitusettevõte   lasi   välismaa töömees-tel   maja valmis   ehitada
      construction_company let:PST.3SG foreign   workman-PL.ADE house COMPL   build:INF
      (*välismaa   töömees-tele)
      foreign   workman-PL.ALL (Estonian, K.H.)

(4)   az   építési   vállalat külföldi munkás-okkal   épít-tette   fel
      DEF   construction company foreign   worker-PL:INSTR build-CAUS:PST:3SG PFV
      a   háza-t   (*külföldi   munkás-oknak)
      DEF   house-ACC   foreign   worker-PL:DAT (Hungarian, N.F.G.)

      'The construction company had foreign workmen build the house.'
      For instance, in (2) the use of the asterisked alternative with allative marking would change the meaning to 'The construction company had the house built for the foreign

workmen.' This contrasts with Comrie's (1975, 1976) paradigm case, where the demoted causee receives indirect object marking when the noncausative sentence is (mono)transitive. However, Song (1996) argues that Comrie's paradigm case is actually marginal, and the Case Hierarchy is not the best model to explain the marking of verbal arguments in causative constructions.

The study presented here explores factors having an effect on the variation of verbal argument structure marking in causative constructions in languages of different genealogical and areal spheres within the Uralic language family. One of the focal areas of the study is language contact. Areal influence in cases such as the Circum-Baltic language area (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001) and the Volga-Kama region (Saarinen 1997, Bereczki 1998), which contain some of the central regions of languages studied here, is seen to be a salient conduit for convergence in morphosyntactic structures like the causative constructions. The study is based on sentences translated by native speakers or researchers of the studied languages and available text corpora widely representing the Uralic languages. Patterns of the argument marking in causative constructions are seen to be formed more by shared inheritance and history of contact instead of universal principles like the Case Hierarchy.

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The modal subject in Estonian necessive constructions

This paper investigates the expression of the Experiencer in necessive constructions with the modal predicates *vaja/tarvis olema* 'need' in Estonian. Necessive constructions with clausal complements are a typical context for non-canonical subjects (Onishi 2001: 31). Non-canonical subject marking in modal constructions is not widespread in Europe, but it is typical to East Slavonic, Baltic and Balto-Finnic languages (Hansen, to appear). Thus, the use of non-canonically marked 'modal subjects' seems to be an areal phenomenon.

In Estonian grammars (EKG II, Erelt, to appear) the modal predicates *tarvis* and *vaja olema* are listed as synonymous predicates expressing the same meanings and functions. *Tarvis/vaja olema* can each form two related constructions in Estonian: with a nominal (1) or an infinitival complement (2).

(1) *Mu-l   on   vaja   uut   arvuti-t.*
     I-ADE   be.3SG need   new.PRT   computer-PRT
     'I need a new computer'
(2) *Mu-l   on   vaja   koju   minna.*
     I-ADE   be.3SG need   home.ILL   go.INF
     'I need to go to home'

As shown in (1) and (2), the Experiencer is typically marked with the adessive case, but in dialects and occasionally in standard Estonian it can appear in the allative as well. Experiencer arguments behave as non-canonical subjects in Estonian: they are typically pronominal; they may control reflexivisation; and they occur in clause-initial position, typical of subjects. The Experiencer can also be easily omitted in Estonian. This is a very common feature of Estonian speech-act participants (especially first person), and is often done implicitly, without any overt marking (Lindström 2010).

The aim of this paper is to clarify 1) how the Experiencer is case-marked (what constrains the choice between adessive and allative case), and 2) typical contexts where the Experiencer is omitted. Our data comes from the corpora of Estonian (Corpus of Estonian Dialects, Corpus of Spoken Estonian, Corpus of Written Estonian).

Our results suggest that Experiencers with clausal complements are always marked with the adessive, while allative Experiencers occur only in constructions with nominal complements and gain the additional meaning of Beneficiary. Thus, adessive Experiencers are closer to the notion of non-canonical subject.

We also propose that the omission of the Experiencer is correlated with „participant-external" rather than „participant-internal" necessity (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). In contexts where participant-internal necessity is expressed, the Experiencer is more likely to be explicitly expressed, probably because the it is more salient and relevant in this context. This hypothesis will be tested by detailed analysis, testing the role of different contextual factors (person, participant-internal or participant-external necessity, negation) on expression of the Experiencer argument.

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Deriving the Notions of Subject and Topic from Semantic Roles: A Role and Reference Grammar Perspective

This paper gives an overview of a **Role and Reference Grammar** [**RRG**] (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) account of grammatical relations and recasts the classical distinction between **subject-prominent** and **topic-prominent languages** (Li and Thompson 1976) in terms of the nature of voice alternations. RRG uses the term **privileged syntactic argument** [**PSA**] (a cover term for **syntactic pivot/controller**) as an alternative to the traditional notion of subject as a syntactic primitive and defines it as follows:

(1) A **PSA** arises as a consequence of **restricted neutralization** (to be illustrated below) of semantic roles for syntactic purposes.

Three empirical consequences follow from (1). First, PSAs are construction-specific; they emerge inductively in particular syntactic constructions. Second, **mixed-pivot languages** (Dixon 1979) are the norm rather than an exception. Third, languages may have no PSA. For example, Acehnese has no syntactic construction that requires us to posit any PSA (Durie 1987). The notion of restricted neutralization is illustrated below:

(2)   a. <u>John</u> [Actor] was pushing Tom [Undergoer].
         b. <u>Tom</u> [Undergoer] was pushed by John [Actor].
         c. <u>The students</u> [Actor] were swimming in the river.
         d. <u>John</u> [Undergoer] was dying of cancer.

The English verb agreement resists a semantic account, since either an actor or undergoer may serve as the controller of the agreement. English is an **asymmetrical voice language** (in the sense of Himmelmann (2005)) that restricts those arguments of a multiple-argument verb that function as the pivot/controller to an actor argument in the "default" active voice and realizes an actor as an oblique element in the marked passive voice. Restricting the selection of the pivot/controller to a single core argument (together with neutralization of semantic roles) is the defining characteristic of a PSA.

      The neutralization-based definition of PSAs helps clarify the relation between PSAs and what Li and Thompson (1976) term "**topics**". Specifically, I propose to define "topics" as definite pivots/controllers that involve **unrestricted neutralization** of semantic roles in particular constructions. For illustration, let us examine the behavior of nominative-marked NPs in Tagalog, a **symmetrical voice language**, which exhibits no marked preference as to which argument of a multiple-argument verb becomes the pivot/controller. Tagalog verbs carry voice morphology in all voices (actor, patient, locative, benefactive, instrumental) and all the voice constructions retain their syntactic transitivity (Kroeger 1993):

(3)   a. B-um-ili   ang-lalake ng-isda   sa-tindahan.
            PERF-AV-buy NOM-man GEN-fish DAT-store
         "<u>The man</u> bought fish at the store." (Actor Voice)
         b. B-in-ili-Ø   ng-lalake ang-isda   sa-tindahan.
            PERF-buy-PV GEN-man NOM-fish DAT-store
         "The man bought <u>the fish</u> at the store." (Patient Voice)
         c. B-in-ilh-an   ng-lalake ng-isda   ang-tindahan.
            PERF-buy-LV GEN-man GEN-fish NOM-store
         "The man bought fish <u>at the store</u>." (Locative Voice)

Nominative-marked NPs are definite and govern syntactic constructions including number

agreement, quantifier floating, relativization, raising, and conjunction reduction. For example, (4) shows that any of the agent, recipient, and theme argument of a ditransitive verb may host quantifier floating when they are nominative-marked (Kroeger 1993):

(4) Quantifier Floating Constructions in Tagalog
a.   Nagbigay   <u>lahat</u> ang-mga-guro   ng-pera   sa-mga-bata.
        PERF.AV.give all   NOM-PL-teacher GEN-money DAT-PL-child
        "<u>All the teachers</u> gave money to (the) children" (Actor Voice)
b.   Binigyan   <u>lahat</u> ng-mga-guro   sa-mga-bata   ang-pera.
        PERF.PV.give all   GEN-PL-teacher DAT-PL-child NOM-money
        "(The) teachers gave <u>all the money</u> to (the) children." (Patient Voice)
c.   Binigyan   <u>lahat</u> ng-mga-guro   ng-pera   ang-mga-bata.
        PERF.LV.give all   GEN-PL-teacher GEN-money NOM-PL-child
        "(The) teachers gave money <u>to all the children</u>." (Locative Voice)

These nominative-marked NPs are not PSAs, since they involve neutralization of semantic roles, but, crucially, with no restriction on the selection of the pivot/controller.

       An analogous, unrestricted neutralization is also found in relativization in English, a prototypical subject-prominent language. The fact that even English has a topic-prominent construction underscores the construction-specific nature of (syntactic) pivots/controllers:

(5) Relativization Constructions in English
a.   the woman who gave the book to the man (head noun=agent)
b.   the book which the woman gave to the man (head noun=theme)
c.   the man to which the woman gave the book (head noun=recipient)

Finally, I will argue that the neutralization-based definitions of PSAs and "topics" not only enable us to objectively quantify the degree of **subject**/**topic-prominence** of a wide range of languages, but also contribute to an inventory of **comparative concepts** used for typological comparison (Haspelmath 2010; cf. Brown et al. 2013), since they presuppose neither language-particular categories nor theory-dependent notions.

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Subjects in Evenki constructions with weather verbs
(in comparison with other Tungusic languages)

Subjects in Evenki can be defined as (pro)nominal sentence constituents in the nominative case which trigger agreement on the verbal predicate. It is well known that in the majority of active sentences subjects express either Agents or Experiencers, whereas in passive constructions subjects express Patients or Themes. The situation becomes more complicated if Evenki construction involves weather verbs which do not allow any subjects at all (neither cognate nor dummy), e.g. iŋin- 'become cold', haktyra- 'become dark', ŋe:ri- 'become light', 'dawn', n'amal- 'become warm', tyrga- 'begin (of morning, day)', hosi- 'flash (of lightning)', luŋur- 'begin getting dark', 'begin (of twilight)', e.g.

> a. Luŋuri-l-le-n.
>   get.dark-inch-nfut-3sg
>   'It began to get dark'/'Twilight began.'
> b. Amakan n'amal-d'aŋa-n.
>   soon   become.warm-fut-3sg
>   'It will become warm soon.'

The paper discusses active and passive constructions with weather verbs in Evenki in comparison with other Tungusic languages (TLs).

1. Active constructions with weather verbs. These are attested in all TLs.

The majority of Evenki weather verbs (e.g. tygde- 'rain', edyn- 'blow (of wind)', imanna- 'snow') can be used both with and without cognate subjects which coincide with the corresponding verb stems, e.g.:

(2) (Tygde) tygde-d'ere-n 'It is raining';
(3) (Edyn) edyn-d'ere-n 'The wind is blowing.'

With some weather verbs such subjects as buga 'world', 'universe', du:nne 'earth', 'world', or n'aŋn'a 'heaven' are possible, cf.:

(4) a. Tuhsu-l tuhsu-d'ere-Ø.
       cloud-pl cloud-prs-3pl
       'Clouds are coming.'
   b. Tuhsu-l eme-d'ere-Ø.
       cloud-pl come-prs-3pl
       'Clouds are coming.'
   c. N'aŋn'a tuhsu-d'ere-n.
       heaven cloud-prs-3sg
       'Heaven becomes cloudy'/'Clouds come over the sky.'

2. Passive constructions with weather verbs. These are attested only in Evenki, Even and Nanai and are not registered in specialist literature in other TLs.

Seven Evenki verbs (out of more than thirty weather verbs checked with informants) derive personal passive constructions taking the passive suffix -v/-mu(v). While the base verbs do not contain any animate entities in their predicate frames, passive constructions obligatorily include an animate patient, i.e. the person who is subject to a certain atmospheric phenomenon considered as adversative. The group of passivized weather verbs includes the following bases and derived passive forms:

(5) a. udun- 'rain' --> udun-mu- 'be caught by the rain',

    b. tygde- 'rain' --> tygde-v-/tygden-mu 'be caught by the rain',

    c. imanna- 'snow' --> imanna-v- 'be caught by the snow-storm',

    d. edyn- 'blow (of wind)' --> edyn-mu- 'be caught by the wind',

    e. dolbo- 'become dark', 'come (about night)' --> dolbo-v- 'be caught by darkness', 'be caught by night', 'come home late at night',

    f. tyrga- 'become light', 'come (of morning)' --> tyrga-v- 'be caught by sun-rise',

    g. iŋin- 'come (of frost)' --> iŋin-mu- 'be caught by frost', e.g.

(6) a. (Udun) udun-d'ere-n 'It's raining'

    b. Bi udun-mu-Ø-m.

      I   rain-pass-nfut-1sg

      lit. 'I was rained', i.e. 'I got soaked in the rain.'

Cf. also

(7) Even.

    a. Udan ud-na-n 'It was raining'

    b. Bi uda-m-ri-v

      I rain-pass-past-1sg

      'I (and my belongings) got wet under the rain';

(8) Even.

    a. Emanna-n 'It was snowing'

    b. Bi emanna-v-ri-v

      I   snow-pass-past-1sg

      'I was caught by the snow-storm.'

In Nanai Patient is always expressed by the Accusative NP:

(8) Nanai.

Boatongo-vo (ACC) duente-du (DAT-LOC) tugde-vu-hen (impersonal passive)

'The hunter was caught by the rain in the taiga';

(9) Boatongo-vo (ACC) giria-du (DAT-LOC) simana-vo-han (impersonal passive)

'The hunter was caught by the snow-storm in the forest.'

Patients in Nanai are lacking Subject properties (they are Accusatively marked and have no agreement with the predicate) and are in fact expressed by Direct Objects. In Evenki the Subject in passive constructions can also denote body parts, cf.

(10) a. Bi (edyn-du-v)   edyn-mu-d'eche-v.

      I (wind-dat-1sg.poss) blow.wind-pass-impf-1sg

      lit. 'I was blown upon by my wind.'

    b. Nurikte-l-in   amaski   edyn-du-n   edyn-muv-d'ere-Ø.

      hair-pl-3sg.poss backwards wind-dat-3sg.poss blow.wind-pass-pres-3pl

      lit. 'His hair are blown backwards by his wind.'

    c. Minngi dyl-iv   edyn-mup-cho   bi-si-n.

      my   head-1sg.poss blow.wind-pass-part be-pres-3sg

      lit. 'My head is blown upon by the wind', i.e. 'My head aches because of wind.'

    d. Se:-m   edyn-mup-cho   bi-si-n.

      ear-1sg.poss blow.wind-pass-part be-prs-3sg

      'My ear aches because of wind.' (Cf. Russian 'Mne uho (vetrom) nadulo')

Cf. (11) Even

    Bi edyme-v-ri-v.

    I   blow.wind-pass-past-1SG

    'I was caught by the (strong) wind.'

     Passive constructions with weather verbs in Evenki, Even and Nanai are most probably of recent origin and are due to language contacts.

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Preverbal subjects in Italian and Spanish unaccusative constructions: a discourse perspective

The purpose of this paper is to discuss a number of discourse functions associated with preverbal subjects in Italian and Spanish unaccusative constructions, using data drawn from on-line corpora. It is widely assumed that the canonical subject position of Italian and Spanish unaccusatives is postverbal (Contreras 1976, Baker 1983; Gutiérrez-Bravo 2002, 2007; Casielles-Suárez 2004; *inter alia*), and sentences with postverbal subjects are associated with sentence focus or subject focus (Lambrecht 1994, 2001), as shown in (1) and (2), respectively.

Previous syntactic studies have attributed two discourse functions to preverbal subjects of unaccusatives: (a) topic and (b) (contrastive) focus. The first function is illustrated in (3), where the subject is a topic because it designates "the ENTITY which the proposition is about, i.e. the discourse referent itself about which information is being conveyed" Lambrecht (1994: 127, original emphasis). Such an entity is generally identifiable/recoverable from the previous discourse. The second function is illustrated in (4), although it is rarely found in attested data.

In this paper, we identify two instances of preverbal subjects that have been largely unrecognized in previous studies despite their frequent use in naturally occurring data. First, *una buona barbera* 'a good barbera' in (5) is not topic since its discourse referent has not been established previously. Nor can it be construed as a focus, for there is no context to support such a characterization. We analyze it as an instances of *left dislocation* (LD hereafter), following Prince (1998), who argues that LD is different from topicalization and associates it with two discourse processing functions, one of which is "to trigger a po(wer)set inference, i.e., an inference on the part of the hearer that the entity represented by the initial NP stands in a salient partially-ordered set relation to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse-model." (1998: 8). Example (5) illustrates this function: the LD subject *una buona barbera* 'a good barbera' holds a partially-ordered set relation (of the kind *is-asubtype-of*) to the entity previously evoked, i.e., *un vitigno autoctono che merita grande considerazione* 'An autochthonous vine deserving great consideration', along the different types of wines being introduced.

Equally, the bare plural preverbal subject *preocupaciones* 'worries' in (6) cannot be construed as a topic, since the unaccusative verb *faltar* 'to lack' is an existential verb, that is, it is not predicative and therefore cannot serve as a comment. Nor can it be analyzed as a focus or a LD'ed element as seen above. In sentences of this kind, the subject is generally a bare plural or mass noun (non quantized, as defined by Krifka 1992) and sentences are negated. We propose that this type of sentences differ from equivalent sentences with postverbal subjects, as in (7), in that they carry a special pragmatic meaning, that is to stress the abundance of the referent denoted by the subject.

In sum, unaccusative constructions offer a fertile ground to study the rich array of discourse functions associated with the subject in Romance.

DATA

(1) a. *Cosa succede? – chiese. – **È arrivata una brutta notizia** – rispose il segretario.* (*CODIS, NARRAT_3*)
'What's happening? – he asked. A bad news is arrived – the secretary answered.'
  b. *… y yo venía y me dijeron: "Ya **llegó tu mamá**", y entonces mi mamá está ahí.*
(La vida según..., 24/09/95, TVE 1, ORAL, Spain, *CREA*)
'…and I was coming in and they told me: "Your mom just arrived", then my mom is (was) here.

(2) a. *Chi è arrivato? – **È arrivato Carlo***. 'Who has arrived? – Carlo has arrived.'

    b. *¿Quién llegó? – **Llegó Carlos***. 'Who arrived?' – Carlos arrived.'

(3) a. *Non è possibile evitare il dolore, non mi posso opporre, in qualche modo devo assecondarlo. **Il dolore arriva** a ondate, e lo affronterò come se fosse una grande   inevitabile onda. (CODIS, EPHEM_1c)*

'It is not possible to avoid the pain, I cannot oppose to it, I have to put up with it somehow. **The pain comes** in waves, and I will face it as if it was a big inevitable wave.'

    b. *El embarazo, que duró treinta y ocho semanas, no fue fácil, [...]. A Clara le pasó -son sus palabras-"todo lo malo que aparece en los libros, las listas enteras de molestias y dificultades". Además debía ocuparse de Marcelito, que contaba en ese momento con tres años y la afortunada dicha de dos hermanos por llegar. Tuvo que dejar de trabajar, y limitar toda actividad a la meramente necesaria. **Los bebés llegaron** por cesárea, todo fue mejor que lo esperado [sic].*

(Penerini, Adriana. 1999. *La Aventura de ser mamá*. Argentina. *CREA*)

'The pregnancy, which lasted 38 weeks, was not easy, ….[…]. Clara, had, in her own words, "all the bad things […] happened to her." Besides she had to worry about Marcelito, who at that moment could count on being three years old and all the lucky fortune of the two brothers who were to arrive. **The babies arrived** by cesarean, everything was better than what was expected.'

(4) a. *È arrivato Carlo? – **MARIO è arrivato**, non Carlo.*

'Has Carlo arrived? – MARIO has arrived, not Carlo.'

    b. *Dijiste que llegó Carlos? – Dije que **MARIO** llegó, no Carlos.*

'Did you say that Carlos arrived?' – I said that MARIO arrived.

(5) *Un vitigno autoctono che merita grande considerazione è il Montepulciano d'Abruzzo. Ecco un paio di bottiglie da provare: Il Dama di Marramiero, e il Riparosso di Illuminati. In Molise un ottima bottiglia è quella di Di Majo (Molise Montepulciano). **Una buona barbera** [sic] arriva dall'Oltrepò pavese: è la Campo di Bruno Verdi. (CODIS, EPHEM_1c)*

'An autochthonous vine deserving great consideration is Montepulciano D'Abruzzo. Here are a couple of bottles worth trying: Dama di marramiero, and Ripasso di Illuminati. In Molise, an excellent bottle is Di Majo (Molise Montepulciano). **A good barbera comes** from Oltrepò pavese: it is Campo di Bruno Verdi.'

(6) *Te encuentro muy desmejorado. ¿Has estado enfermo? Preocupaciones. Sí, tienes razón, repercuten en el hígado o en el sistema nervioso. Lo comprendo, **preocupaciones no faltan**, no me hables, …. No te pagan, claro. Los alquileres, no me digas más.*

(Vázquez, Ángel. 1976. *La vida perra de Juanita Narboni*. Spain. *CREA*)

'I find you not looking good. Have you been ill? Worries. Yes, you're right, they affect the liver or nervous system. I understand it, **worries are not in shortage**, don't tell me, […]. They don't pay (you), of course. [sic]'

(7) *Se ha trabajado intensamente, y ya hay paso en todas las carreteras. **No faltan algunos caminos rurales**, y ya hemos iniciado esta semana la reconstrucción de las carreteras a fin de que, en un plazo breve, podamos volver a contar con esa infraestructura.*

(Sesión pública ordinaria de la Honorable Cámara de Senadores, celebrada el martes 6 de octubre de 19 ..., ORAl, Mexico, *CREA*)

'they have worked intensely, and there is passage in all the highways. **There are no rural roads missing**, and we have initiated the reconstruction of the highways this week so that in a short period we can count on that infrastructure.'

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Ergativity, Pronominal Arguments and the Polysynthetic Nature of Inuktitut (Eskimo)

Subject is inextricably linked to the representation of Indo-European languages in Latin based grammar writing. The limitations of this approach have repeatedly been pointed out, as have been its ramifications in terms of descriptive inadequacy. During the last decades of the 20th century it seemed as if these insights might instigate a revision in terminology and, at the same time, open up fresh perspectives on the diversity of language structure. Typology seemed to prepare the ground for creating adequate representations of languages very different from Indo-European ones.

In my paper I will touch upon approaches revolving around the idea of grammatical *subject*, all of which were based on 'exotic' languages, all of which highlighted the inadequacy of the traditional notion *subject*. Keenan and Comrie's Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (1977) paved the way for disentangling the many grammatical facets of the notion and their specific arrangement. Shortly after, the notion's crucial role in the hierarchical organization of syntax, and, more generally, the primacy of syntax with respect to linguistic productivity and grammatical configurationality, was questioned. Hale's 1983 paper on Warlpiri was the first in a not altogether powerful, but at that time widely discussed lineage of approaches, all of which distanced themselves one way or the other, from the supposed primacy of syntax or discussed non-hierarchical syntactic structures.(Hale 1983; Jelinek 1984; Baker 1988, 1996.) Keywords are: syntactic non-configurationality and pronominal arguments. These discussions were predominantly based on the investigation of North American and Australian languages – marginal languages of no importance in the linguistic world. In the following, these approaches became as marginalized as the languages they dealt with. In contrast, the debate on ergativity made a lasting impression. In typologically oriented approaches (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1979; 1994) *subject* plays a central role. A differentiation between *subject of intransitive sentences* and *subject of transitive sentences* is widely accepted. It allows for the demonstration of the different alignment of case and syntactic function in ergative vs. nom-acc-languages. Sadly enough, this approach exhibits serious gaps in explanatory force and plausibility. Most important, syntactically ergative languages seem to be a dramatically underrepresented, if not empty class worldwide. At the same time, a proposal focusing on the relation of grammatical roles and information management (DuBois 1987, 2003), passed largely unnoticed.

I will discuss all these issues with respect to a single language, Inuktitut (Eskimo), and support my claims by data. As a candidate for being syntactically ergative, this language played some role in the discussion of ergativity. Yet beyond manufactured examples (Marantz 1984 and many others), Inuktitut reveals a serious lack in syntax at large, in syntactic configurationality in particular, a fact which has been noticed by some scholars (Johns 1987, Bok-Bennema 1991, Nowak1996). Inuktitut exhibits pronominal arguments and, above all, it is a polysynthetic language (Nowak 2002, 2009). The notion *subject* has neither place nor function in the representation of this language.

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Subjecthood and the nominative case in Lithuanian

In this paper I will discuss the correlation between the nominative case and the category *subject* in Lithuanian. I adhere to the functionalist approach.

At the first glance, only the nominative arguments exhibit the canonical subject coding properties as well as syntactically behave as subjects in Lithuanian. This can be illustrated by applying the well-known syntactic tests for subjecthood such as reference control of the embedded-clause subjects like the combination with the converbs (the so-called PRO tests) or by embedding the predicates under investigation themselves under a control verb. These tests fail altogether with the non-nominative subject-like arguments of any kind in Lithuanian, providing evidence that only nominative arguments may behave syntactically as subjects in this language, in contrast to, say, their well-known Icelandic counterparts. Other tests such as the ability to bind the reflexive anaphora do not show uncontroversial results, since also highly prominent objects may sometimes be endowed with this property as well.

Given these facts, the role of the nominative case-marking becomes crucial for defining subjecthood in Lithuanian. Since Keenan's seminal paper (1976) we know, however, that the coding properties need not be coupled with the syntactic/behavior properties. In the recent research, this idea has been even interpreted so far that the coding properties became quite often regarded as rather epiphenomenal, functionally empty units of grammar, while the syntactic considerations have been given the absolute priority (henceforth: *the recent view*). This is motivated, of course, by the reaction to the traditional view that axiomatically assume the primacy of the case-marking, regarding the syntactic behavior as a consequence of the case-marking (henceforth: *the traditional view*).

Data from Lithuanian forces one, I believe, to take an intermediate stand. The claim that every nominative is also the subject in Lithuanian would deprive the category of *subject* of its sense, because, on this approach, one could just do with nominatives and without subjects when describing the grammar. Under a closer look, however, Lithuanian does not allow such a claim, since there are other nominatives that are arguably not subjects. These are mainly objects in some impersonal constructions and nominative time adjuncts. Obviously none of these two constituents has the ability to trigger verbal agreement. Furthermore, their non-subject status is also supported by syntax: neither nominative objects nor the nominative time adjuncts show any of the syntactic/behavioral subject properties. Hence, the *recent view* shows to advantage here.

However, there is also some support for the *traditional view,* coming from Lithuanian. The nominative time adjuncts and nominative objects are not just marked nominative by some default rule. The nominative case expresses here the semantics that it probably expresses also when it marks the subject; it is by no means meaningless here. Thus, durational time adjuncts are typically marked by the accusative case that is also the unmarked option here. However, if one wishes to emphasize the time duration phrase then the nominative case (instead of the default accusative) can be used in addition to the optional change in word order (moving the time phrase further towards the beginning of the sentence). This allows us to discover the functional load of the nominative case independently from the subjecthood here, which is – similar to the function of the first position in the sentence – to signal discourse prominence of its NP. Thus, the nominative case – when it marks subjects – serves to signal their high discourse prominence and is not just a default, functionally empty case (structural case) in Lithuanian. Conversely, an argument that lacks the nominative case marking is not committed to be endowed with high discourse prominence and, hence, is functionally less of a subject. To be functionally less of a subject implies consequently that the respective NP will not be endowed with most of the behavior/syntactic properties. The nominative case is thus an important

component of subject definition in Lithuanian (*the traditional view*), while it is not an exclusive property thereof (*the recent view*).

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On the Subject Status of Dative Nominals in *To*-infinitival Clauses in Earlier English

It is generally assumed that in Old English (OE) the subject of *to*-infinitival clauses was not lexically expressed. This paper, however, argues that dative nominals can be regarded as subjects of *to*-infinitives, on the basis of the following criteria for subjecthood: (i) clauses introduced by *as* and *than*; (ii) predicates without argument structure; (iii) coordination of nominative and dative nominals; and (iv) floating quantifiers.

First of all, according to a criterion by Stoffel (1984)/Fischer (1990), in (1) *for a husband and wife* can receive no theta-role from the matrix predicate, and then it is regarded as the subject of the *to*-infinitive. Fischer (1990) provides some corresponding Middle English examples. In (2), *thou*, which follows *than*, cannot be assigned any theta-role from the matrix predicate. Therefore it can be regarded as the subject of the *to*-infinitive. *For*-less constructions like (2) were observed in OE as well. In (3) the dative pronoun *him* preceding *sy* 'is' can be considered to be an argument of the adjective *eaðelicor* 'easier'. In contrast, the dative pronoun *him* following *þonne* 'than' cannot be an argument of the same adjective since *þonne* introduces a new clause. The second dative pronoun can be regarded as the subject of the *to*-infinitive.

Another criterion Fischer (1990) employs is subcategorization of the matrix predicate. She argues that since the predicate *time* in (4) cannot take a benefactive argument, *for you* can be regarded as the subject of the *to*-infinitive. The same construction was observed in ME, though the preposition *for* was not accompanied, as in (5). Since the noun *tyme* has no argument structure, *a lady*, like *for you* in (4), cannot be assigned any theta-role from the noun; it can be assumed to be the subject of *to gon*. I found the same kind of example in OE. In (6), the predicate *tima* cannot assign a theta-role, and then the dative pronoun *us* can be regarded as the subject of the *to*-infinitive.

Let us next consider a coordination as in (7). The clause with the dative pronoun and the clause with the nominative pronoun are coordinated and share the same *þæt* clause. Assuming that the nominative *we* in the second conjunct and the dative *eow* in the first conjunct are contrasted, it could be concluded that *eow* has the same subject status as *we* and can be taken as the subject of the first conjunct.

We finally consider the so-called 'floating quantifier'. It is well-known that in present-day English the quantifier *all* can be floated from the subject, as in (8), but it cannot from an object, as in (9). Yanagi (2008) statistically shows that the quantifier *eall* 'all' is floated from a nominative subject much more frequently than from an accusative object. In (10) the dative quantifier *eallum* 'all' is floated from the dative pronoun *us* 'us', and the dative pronoun exhibits the same behavior as the nominative subject. It can be concluded that the dative pronoun in the OE *to*-infinitival construction is a subject.

Data

(1)   I know well that nothing is so unfashionable **as** *for a husband and wife* *to be often together*. (Stoffel 1894, cited in Fischer 1990: 35)

(2)   A wyse man ones sayde: Better is it thy kinne to ben by thee gentyled **than** *thou* t*o glorifye* of thy kinnes gentilesse. (Usk, Test, of Love 76.100/Fischer 1990: 36)

(3)   Nu   is geðuht þæt him sy sumera ðinga eaðelicor to aræenne
        now is seems that him is some   thing easier   to raise
        ðone deadan of   ðam duste, **þonne** *him* wære *to wyrcenne*
        the   dead   from the dust   than   him was to make
        ealle gesceafta of   nahte:
        all   creatures from naught
        'Now it seems that it is somewhat easier to him to raise the dead from the dust, than it was to him to make all creatures from naught:' (ÆCHom I 16.236.11)

(4) It is time ***for you*** *to go*. (Fischer 1990: 20)

(5) Now were it tyme ***a lady*** *to gon* henne! (Chaucer, T&C 522.630/Fischer 1990: 24)

(6) Mine gebroðra, wite ge þæt nu is tima ***us*** of   slæpe *to arisenne*:
    my   brothers know you that now is time us from sleep to arise
    'My brothers, know ye that it is now time for us to arise from sleep:'
    (ÆCHom I 600.32)

(7) ***Eow*** is nu   eac *to witenne*, and ***we*** wyllað eow sæcgan,
    you is now also to know   and we will   you say
    þæt ure leofa   Hælend her on life wunode æfter his agenum
    that our beloved Lord   in this life dwelled after his own
    deaðe, syððan he of   deaðe aras, mid his halgum apostolum,
    death since he from death arose with his holy   apostles
    'Now you also should know, and we will tell you, that our beloved Lord dwelled in
    this life after his own death, since he arose from the death with his holy apostles.'
    (ÆHom VII.127)

(8) a. All the students have finished the assignment.
    b. The students have all finished the assignment. (Bobaljik 2003:107)

(9) a. *Mary hates the students all.
    b. *I like the men all.

(10) Þeo deaþ-berende uncyst ***us*** is ***eallum*** to onscunienne, þe læs hi
    this deadly   vice us is all   to shun   lest it
    us besencean on helle grund.
    us sink   in hell's abyss
    'This deadly vice is to be shunned by us all, lest it sink us into hell's abyss.'
    (HomS 17 (BlHom 5) 65.13)

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Analysis of the annotation of syntactic subjects in the Spanish corpus sensem

The Spanish corpus SenSem has been developed as part of a research project in which we have created an annotated a corpus and a verb lexicon. The sentences in the corpus have been annotated at syntactico-semantic level and, thus, we have defined the constructions at sentence level for this language. Regarding the lexicon, we provide information about subcategorization frames and semantic information about the participants. In this paper, we focalize on the annotation referring to argument structure, more specifically the semantic information relative to participants acting as syntactic subjects. We will present four different aspects related to the treatment and behavior of subjects in the corpus.

The first two issues are related to practical matters in the annotation process of subjects and the proposals put forward in our project. We believe they represent an innovative perspective. The first issue refers to the semantic annotation of the participant. First, we have created a typology of complex roles for the traditionally role of *agent*. In this typology, we have combined the role *agent* with the roles of *experiencer*, *source* and *origin*. Second, we account for the ambivalence of some roles such as *agent* versus *cause* in verbs such as *arreglar* (fix) or *contribuir* (contribute). Finally, we have used the role called *initiator* in those cases in which subjects do not exert control over the action, such as *encontrar* (find), *ganar* (win), *nacer* (be born) o *necesitar* (need).

The second issue presented is the treatment proposed for plural subjects. We distinguish two different cases: (i) those plural subjects required by the verb, *negociar* or *coincidir* (negotiate or coincide), from (ii) those plural subjects that do not depend on the lexical item. In both cases we are interested in the sentences in which the subject is expressed by means of two separate constituents, an NP and a PP. Our proposal is to syntactically mark the PP with the label *additional subject*. From a semantic point of view, we label both constituents with the same semantic role. This way we make explicit the relationship between both constituents even though they are expressed discontinuously. The difference between (i) and (ii) is shown in the fact that we use a subtype of the role that we have called plural and is codified in the lexicon.

The last two issues presented refer to the frequency of subjects in Spanish. On the one hand, we present a comparison between the type of element that occupies this position, that is, if the construction has the logical subject or the logical object as the syntactic subject. We have called topicalized and detopicalized constructions, respectively. Detopicalized constructions include passive, anticausative and impersonal constructions.

On the other hand, we analyze the presence or the elision of the subject depending on the register the sentence has been extracted from. A tendency is clearly evident since the number of elided subjects in the literary corpus represents a bit more than a 50% whereas in the journalistic corpus it represents around a 25%. This fact is clearly related to the different resources and needs of the type of discourse.

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Postverbal nominal subjects in Bohairic Coptic: information structure, accessibility, synchrony and diachrony

Coptic (Afro-Asiatic) is the last stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (attested ca. AD 300-1200). The grammar of Coptic is still poorly described. Of the two main literary varieties of Coptic, Sahidic and Bohairic, only Sahidic has a reference grammar that meets contemporary linguistic standards (Reintges 2004). This contribution is devoted to the other variety, Bohairic. It is based on my original research of a single corpus of narrative texts, the *Martyrs Acts*, edited by H. Hyvernat (1886/1977), and is part of my larger research project on the linguistics of Bohairic narrative.

Coptic has three positions for nominal subjects:

1. The intraverbal position between the TAM-morpheme and the verbal stem, in complementary distribution with a third person clitic.
2. The preverbal position: the subject appears in front of the verbal cluster in which it is resumed by means of a clitic.
3. The postverbal position: the subject, introduced by a dedicated marker *nče*, appears usually at the rightmost edge of the clause and resumes a clitic within the verbal cluster.

In my earlier publications I discussed extensively the intraverbal and preverbal subjects. The purpose of the present contribution is to finalize this discussion with an analysis of the uses of the postverbal subjects. The aim is to arrive at a better understanding of an important subset of Coptic language facts, still largely unexplored and to situate these facts within a broader range of typologically comparable phenomena.

Within the Coptological linguistic tradition, the intraverbal subject position is usually considered the unmarked one, while the other two positions are characterised as extrapositions used for special purposes. I agree with this characterisation only with respect to the preverbal subjects. Intraverbal subjects occur relatively infrequently in narrative discourse (at least in my material) and they typically refer to non-topical entities in all-focus (thetic) sentences. By contrast, postverbal subjects typically refer to topical entities and they are the most frequent type of nominal subjects.

Constructions with systematically postpositioned nominal subjects have been reported in other languages as well. My initial hypothesis is that the postverbal subjects in Bohairic Coptic could be best analysed as anti-topics in the sense of Lambrecht (1981, 1994: 202-5), being typically used for highly accessible referents marked as "not-yet-active".

This contribution will consist of two parts.

In the first part, activation scores will be calculated for the referents of postverbal subjects according to the method developed by Kibrik (2011), inasmuch applicable for texts written in a dead language. The above-mentioned 'anti-topic' hypothesis will be evaluated on the basis of these scores.

The second part will be devoted to a discussion of the heavy marking of postverbal subjects which seems not to fit the model known from East African languages with marked nominatives (König 2008: 138-203). The marking of postverbal subjects will be discussed in connection with marking strategies for other arguments of the verb, especially with regard to a shift from predominantly head-marking towards dependent-marking strategies.

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Oblique subjects in Slavic and Germanic languages

Problem: syntactic derivation of constructions with a subject-like element in an oblique case (= oblique subject) in languages with nominative case marking on the grammatical subject (= nominative sentence pattern), grammaticalization of zero subjects.

Data: Two Slavic languages – Ukrainian and Russian and two Scandinavian languages – Modern Icelandic and Faroese which have constructions with dative case marking on the subject (Rus. *mne xolodno* 'I am cold', Icel. *mér er flökurt* 'I am nauseated', transitive impersonals interpretable in terms of zero subjects (Rus. *lodku prignalo k beregu* 'the boat drifted to the shore', Icel. *bátinn rak að landi* 'the same' and other constructions interpretable either in terms of dative/accusative subjects, cf. Icel. *bátninum hvolfdi* 'the boat capsized' or in terms of zero subjects.

Subjecthood criteria: formal and functional. Grammatical subject is recognized as a priority NP/ pronoun/other syntactic category that lies VP-external and has some diagnostic features (agreement control, control of embedded phrases etc) not characteristic to other NPs/pronouns/same type categories. There is only one grammatical subject in a clause.

Previous approaches: Babby (2002) analyzes all Russian and Ukrainian impersonals with a dative/accusative NP as subjectless and argues against postulating zero subjects. Mel'čuk (1995) postulates non-referential zero subjects for Russian transitive impersonals. Svenonius (2002) and Sigurðsson (2011) offer phrase-structural accounts of Burzio's generalization for Icelandic transitive impersonals and claim that they have a defective *v*P. Woolford (2003) gives up Burzio's generalization and explains Nominative/Accusative case marking on subject and object NPs in Icelandic and Faroese in terms of markedness constraints. Zimmerling (2009) adopts Mel'čuk's analysis and argues that zero subjects of the 3rd p. are agreement controllers in Russian transitive impersonals and are specified as {+ Agent, - Referential; + Nominative}. Moore and Perlmutter (2000) compare Russian and Icelandic data and argue that both languages have dative subjects. Zimmerling (2012) argues that Russian has two different dative patterns – with an infinitive and with a nominal non-agreeing predicative as core elements.

Proposal: I argue that the oblique subject hypothesis is appropriate if the dative/accusative NP is specified as {+ Animate} and/or the predicate does not have a valency grid {Agent, Patient}. I'll show that contrary to the previously raised claims Russian and Ukrainian lack transitive impersonals where the accusative NP cannot be analyzed as Patient. Therefore, Russian and Ukrainian transitive impersonals, cf. (2), must be analyzed as constructions with a covert zero Agent in the subject position. Active (1) and passive (3) impersonal constructions with an accusative NP with the role of Patient must be treated differently, since the covert Agent subjects are specified as {- Animate} and {+ Animate} respectively. The same holds for active dative impersonals (4) and dative passives (5). The distribution of constructions with a zero subject specified as {+ Animate} is due to parametric variation. Russian uses zero generic subjects in 3rd Pl in active sentences, cf. (7), Icelandic favors dative passives while Ukrainian has both active (9) and (8) passive structures with a generic zero Agent.

Glossed examples

(1) Icel. ***Bát-inn***ACC.SG.M.DET *rak*PRT.3SG *að landi*DAT.SG 'The boat drifted ashore.'

(2) Russ. ***Lodk-u***ACC.SG.F *prigna-l-o*PRT.3SG.N *obratno k beregu*DAT.SG.
'The boat drifted back ashore'.

(3) Ukr. ***Statt'u***ACC.SG.F. *bulo*PRT.3SG.N. *vidhyleno*PRT.3SG.N.
'The paper has been declined'

(4) Icel. *Bátu-num*Dat.Pl.Det *hvolf-di*PRT.3.SG ****viljandi***PartI.
'The boats capsized ***on purpose**'.

(5) Icel. *Bátu-num*Dat.Pl.Det *var*Prt3Sg *hvolf-t*PartII.Sg.N ***viljandi***PartI.
'The boats have been turned down <by some people> **on purpose**'.

(6) Colloq. Icel. *Var*Prt.3Sg *skamma-ð*Part.II.Sg.N *þig*2Acc.Sg?
'Were you scolded?'

(7) Russ. *Lodk-u*ACC.SG.F Ø3Pl *prignal-i*PRT.3PL *obratno k beregu*DAT.SG.
'One drove the boat back ashore'.

(8) Ukr. ***Oficeriv***Acc.Pl Ø3Sg *zalyaka-n-o*Part.3Sg.N Ø3Sg *zaturka-n-o*Part.3Sg.N, Ø3Sg *zaklьova-n-o*Part.3Sg.N.
'The officers are bullied, scared and cowed'.

(9) Ukr. ***Oficeriv***Acc.Pl Ø3Pl *zalyaka-l-i*Prt.3Pl Ø3Pl *zaturka-l-i*Prt.3Pl, Ø3Sg *zaklьova-l-i*Part.3Sg.N.
'The officers are bullied, scared and cowed'.

Abbreviations: Ø 3Sg – non-referential zero subject pronoun in 3rd person, Singular.

Ø 3Pl – non-referential zero subject pronoun in 3rd person, Plural.

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