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Non-canonical Constructions

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A Functional Typological Study of Non-canonical Constructions

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Abstract

This dissertation is a functional typological approach to non-canonical constructions, which are constructions that take non-canonical case frames, as shown in (1) (cf. a canonical transitive case frame is shown in (2a) and a canonical intransitive case frame in (2b)).

(1) Japanese
    a. watasi-ga   Ken-ga   sukina   (koto)   (NOM-NOM)
      1.SG-NOM   Ken-NOM   like   thing
      '(that) I like Ken.'
    b. Ken-ni   eigo-ga   deki-ru   (koto)   (DAT-NOM)
      Ken-DAT English-NOM be.able.to-PRES   thing
      '(that) Ken can speak English.'
(2) a. Ken-ga   Mari-o   mi-ta   (koto)   (NOM-ACC)
      Ken-NOM   Mari-ACC   see-PAST   thing
      '(that) Ken saw Mari'
    b. Ken-ga   arui-ta   (koto)   (NOM)
      Ken-NOM   walk-PAST   thing
      '(that) Ken walked'

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a framework which can explain the varieties of non-canonical constructions within and across languages, because previous studies done in order to demonstrate syntactic structures of the non-canonical constructions have some limitations. We believe that these constructions will shed a new light on the structures of languages, since they allow us to test our conceptualizations of events from a broad perspective in that they often express non-prototypical stative events. Linguists have often paid more attention to sentences that describe prototypical non-stative events than stative ones. However, this idea is insufficient and methodologically debatable because it forms an incomplete overall picture of events.

We take a cognitive functional approach to these non-canonical constructions, assuming that each construction has the function of expressing the conceptualization of how it is cognized and described. The non-canonical constructions share a semantic structure, DOMAIN-THEME, mainly describing the relationship between the two. Our hypotheses , which will be examined through this dissertation, are shown in (3).

(3) Hypotheses for non-canonical constructions
    1. The semantic structure taken by non-canonical constructions is DOMAIN-THEME, and the specific thematic roles are determined by the states the sentences describe.
    2. The thematic hierarchy in Figure 1 shows the likelihood to appear as AGENT or DOMAIN. The lower the thematic role, the more likely to appear as a DOMAIN. (Case marking might

change in parallel with the change of the semantic structure.)
3. The grammatical relation is related to the thematic hierarchy. The higher the thematic role of the domain is, the more likely it behaves as the subject of the sentence, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Thematic hierarchy with other parameters

Thematic role:	AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]	
Grammatical relation:	Subject?	
Case marking:	NOM?	? LOC
Semantic structure:	AGENT?	? DOMAIN

These hypotheses allow us to capture the different scopes and types of non-canonical constructions within and across languages, and they lead to the following predictions in (4), which show their falsifiability.

(4) Predictions arising from the hypotheses:
1. If a participant with a higher thematic role can be captured as DOMAIN, one with a lower role should also be captured as DOMAIN. For example, if an experiencer is taken as DOMAIN in the language, a possessor should be taken as DOMAIN, but not vice-versa.
2. If a participant with a lower thematic role behaves as subject, one with a higher thematic role also does.

These hypotheses are examined throughout this dissertation. Chapter 3 through Chapter 5 examines them with regard to Japanese non-canonical constructions, and Chapter 6 examines them for non-canonical constructions in some other languages.

We will also propose a conceptual space consisting of the number of arguments and the temporal stability in order to capture the relation between canonical and non-canonical constructions, as in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The conceptual space for canonical and non-canonical constructions

Temporal stability / No. of arguments	LOW? Temporal Stability ? HIGH (Event) (State)
2	transitive event transitive state (AGENT-PATIENT) (DOMAIN-THEME)
1	intransitive event intransitive state (AGENT) (THEME)

The "conceptual space" shows the scope, diversity, and relations of constructions, as Croft (2001), in his Radical Construction Grammar, suggests; it is considered to be universal, and the scopes of constructions are mapped on it. We will map the scopes of non-canonical constructions within and across languages on the one shown in Figure 2.

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction of this dissertation, where we will show our basic idea and proposal. Then in Chapter 2, we will summarize semantic and syntactic properties and tendencies of non-canonical constructions observed in various languages and show some hypotheses concerning these constructions and their limitations. The non-canonical constructions tend to express stative events, such as psychological and physiological states, possessions, necessities, and abilities, which are non-volitional and uncontrollable events. Some non-canonical constructions require two arguments, and most importantly the non-canonically marked nominal behaves as the subject of the sentence in these constructions. There are at least three views on the non-canonical constructions with regard to their transitivity: transitive analysis, intransitive analysis, and continuum analysis. Each of these analyses has some limitations when examined typologically. Our view is, on the one hand, a transitive analysis, since we assume Japanese non-canonical constructions have two arguments. However, we will acknowledge that some non-canonical constructions having only one argument exist in other languages. Therefore, we propose that they should be explained by a cognitive functional framework by proposing a conceptual space which can show the varieties of forms and scopes of the construction.

Chapter 3 will demonstrate that our hypotheses can exhibit the scopes and syntactic behaviors of non-canonical constructions with non-derived predicates observed in Japanese without contradiction. There are mainly two types of non-canonical constructions in Japanese: a dative subject construction (whose case frame is DAT/NOM-NOM) shown in (1b) and a double nominative construction (NOM-NOM) shown in (1a), both of which have two arguments and describe psychological and physiological states, possession, and evaluation. It should be noted that the various non-canonical constructions do not always show the same syntactic behaviors; in other words, they show a range of syntactic behaviors. We examine their differences thoroughly and suggest the domain of each parameter on the thematic hierarchy, as in Figure 3. This supports our hypotheses and identifies the scope of the non-canonical constructions, i.e., in Japanese, thematic roles up to the experiencer can be cognized as the DOMAIN, and the non-canonical constructions are observed in the boxed domain in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The thematic hierarchy, conceptualizations, and realizations of each thematic role
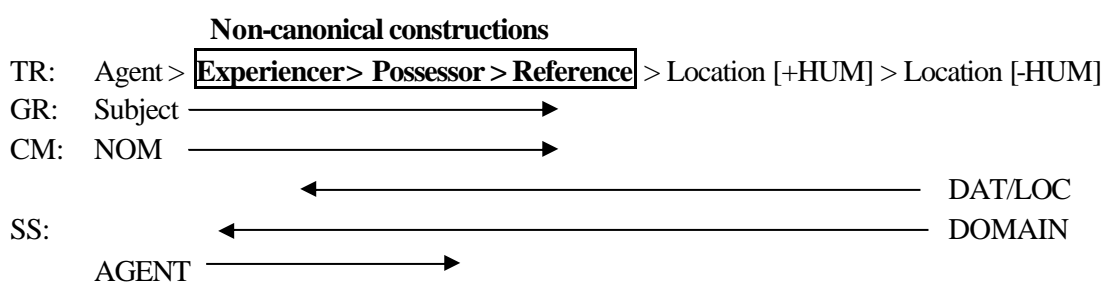
One question at hand is the number of the arguments that the non-canonical predicate requires; Shibatani (1999, 2001a) suggests that the non-canonical predicate takes only one argument by showing that it allows the intransitive use shown in (5b), while other previous studies such as Kuno (1973) insist that it takes two, as in (5a).

(5) a. watasi-ni-wa   kurayami-ga   kowai
     1.SG-DAT-TOP   darkness-NOM scary
     'I am scared of the darkness.'
   b. kurayami-wa   kowai.
     darkness-TOP   scary
     'Darkness is scary.'

We claim that the non-canonical predicates require two arguments, because the intransitive use like (5b) is limited to sentences that describe some property. Our idea is that the semantic shift of the sentence to the property description motivates the valency change, as Kageyama (to appear) suggests that a semantic shift decreases the valency of the predicate concerning voice phenomena. Note that the non-canonical counterpart does not have such a limitation on what the sentence describes.

Chapter 4 focuses on non-canonical constructions with derived predicates that take verbal clauses as their complements, which we call "derived non-canonical constructions." Two issues will be mainly discussed: one is the distribution and properties of two variants observed in the derived non-canonical constructions—nominative variant and accusative variant, as shown in (6)—and the other concerns their modal meanings, such as the desiderative meaning.

(6) a. Ken-ga   huransugo-ga hanas-itai   (koto)   (nominative variant)
     Ken-NOM   French-NOM   speak-DES   thing
     '(that) Ken wants to speak French.'
   b. Ken-ga   huransugo-o   hanas-itai   (koto)   (accusative variant)
     Ken-NOM   French-ACC   speak-DES   thing
     '(that) Ken wants to speak French.'

Regarding the first issues, we will assume syntactically and semantically different structures for these two variants (cf. Sugioka 1984); the sentence with the nominative-marked second nominal results from a syntactic and semantic reanalysis. Given this, various case marking tendencies pointed out in previous studies can be explained. The scopes of derived non-canonical constructions occupy the same regions on the conceptual space as the non-derived non-canonical constructions shown in Chapter 3.

With regard to the reason why Event modality expressions take non-canonical case frames, we will

demonstrate that the modal meanings change the thematic structures and the meanings of the complement clauses into the same ones that the non-derived non-canonical constructions have. The derived constructions result in a semantic structure, DOMAIN and THEME, expressing non-volitional and uncontrollable states. The derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions can be conceived as stative transitive constructions in Japanese, which differ from both non-stative transitive constructions and stative intransitive constructions.

Chapter 5 examines one problematic case of Japanese non-canonical constructions, which is the non-canonical constructions that express physiological states. These seem to take two varieties of case frame: NOM-NOM (double nominative) and DAT/NOM-NOM (dative subject), as shown in (7) and (8), while other non-canonical predicates choose only one type.

(7) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   me-ga   kayui   (koto)   (NOM-NOM)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT   eyes-NOM   itchy   thing
     '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'
   b. Ken-ga/*-ni   atama-ga   itai   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT   head-NOM   painful   thing
     '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'
(8) a. Ken-ga/-ni   keito-no   seetaa-ga   kayui   (koto)   (DAT/NOM-NOM)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT   wool-GEN   sweater-NOM itchy   thing
     '(that) woolen sweater is itchy for Ken'
   b. Ken-ga/-ni   kono   toge-ga   itai   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT   this   thorn-NOM   painful   thing
     '(that) this thorn is painful for Ken'

We will claim that these predicates basically take a DAT-NOM case frame, but they must take a NOM-NOM case frame when they occur in the external possessor construction. The double nominative constructions in (7)—but not the dative subject constructions in (8)—can be interpreted as external possessor constructions, since the first nominals in (7) are interpreted as possessors of the second nominals and they appear external to the possessum noun phrase. We will propose that there is one restriction imposed on the external possessor constructions shown in (9), which causes their peculiar behavior.

(9) When the effect is directly experienced by the possessor through the possessum, the possessor is considered to be an experiencer and appears as the subject external to the possessum noun phrase.

We demonstrate this restriction by verifying syntactic behaviors of other external possessor constructions observed in Japanese.

Chapter 6 will examine non-canonical constructions in other languages and demonstrate the cross-linguistic applicability of our hypotheses. It should be noted that the scopes and the properties of

non-canonical constructions differ from language to language, but we will clarify that they reflect the same conceptualization and that their varieties can be explained with our hypotheses. To be more precise, we will examine non-canonical constructions observed in Korean and Hebrew, and some problems that remain concerning such constructions in South Asian languages.

This dissertation proposes a framework which is applicable to a variety of languages and which is useful for showing the variety of constructions within one language. Our approach is applicable to the constructions whose syntactic structures are highly language-specific. Since the non-canonical constructions have some properties different from canonical ones that describe non-stative events, a framework that can capture both of them is necessary.

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List of abbreviations

A = adjective

ABS = absolutive

ACC = accusative

AGT = agent

AN = adjectival nominal

CM = case marking

COM = comitative

COP = copula

DAT = dative

DEC = declarative

DF = definite

DIR = directional

ERG = ergative

EXP = experiencer

F = feminine

GEN = genitive

GR = grammatical relation

HON = honorific

HUM = human

IMP = imperative

INDF = indefinite

IND = indicative

INST = instrumental

JDG = judge

LOC = locative

M = masculine

NML = nominalizer

NOM = nominative

O = object

PASS = passive

POT = potential

PAST = past tense

PL = plural

POSS = possessor

PRED = predicate

PRES = present tense

PROG = progressive

REF = reference

REFL = reflexive

REL = relative

S = subject

SS = semantic structure

SG = singular

TOP = topic

THM = theme

TR = thematic role

V = verb

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. The purpose of this study

This thesis is a functional typological study of non-canonical constructions. Non-canonical constructions have "non-canonical case frames" and often describe states, including dative subject constructions observed in various languages, such as some Indo-European languages (especially South Asian languages), Japanese, Korean, and many other languages (cf. Verma 1976, Klaiman 1981, Verma and Mohanan 1990, Aikhenvald et al. 2001, Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001). For example, Marathi, a South Asian language, has some types of non-canonical constructions; one of them is a genitive subject construction that takes a GEN-NOM case frame, as shown in (1a), in which the genitive-marked nominal behaves as the subject. This case frame is different from both an ABS-ERG case frame and a NOM-ACC case frame, the canonical case frames in this language. Another is a dative subject construction that takes a DAT-NOM case frame as in (1b), which is again different from the canonical case frames.

(1) Marathi   (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001:313)
    a. mAza   nehamI   Doka   dukh-t-a.
       I-GEN.N always   head.N   ache-IMPERF-N
       'I always have a headache.'
    b. ma-lA   sardI   zA-l-I   Ahe.
       I-DAT   cold.F   become-PERF-F   be
       'I have a cold.'

Japanese, which is the main target of this study, also has some non-canonical constructions: one of them is a double nominative construction, as shown in (2a), which takes a NOM-NOM case frame. Another is a dative subject construction that takes a DAT-NOM case frame, as in (2b). In both non-canonical constructions, the first nominals behave as the subjects of the sentences, which will be shown in Chapter 2.

(2) Japanese
    a. watasi-ga   Ken-ga   sukina   (koto) [1]
       1.SG-NOM   Ken-NOM   like   thing
       '(that) I like Ken.'
    b. Ken-ni   eigo-ga   deki-ru   (koto)
       Ken-DAT English-NOM be.able.to-PRES   thing
       '(that) Ken can speak English.'

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[1] We will use examples embedded in *koto* clauses with regard to Japanese in order to show the case marking clearly, since the first noun phrase in each one is usually expressed as the topic of the sentence in stative matrix sentences in Japanese.

Both of these differ from both a canonical transitive construction that has a NOM-ACC case frame and a canonical intransitive sentence that has a NOM case frame, as shown in (3a) and (3b), respectively.

(3) a. Ken-ga   Mari-o   mi-ta.
        Ken-NOM   Mari-ACC   see-PAST
        'Ken saw Mari.'
     b. Ken-ga   arui-ta.
        Ken-NOM   walk-PAST
        'Ken walked.'

Non-canonical constructions address important issues of syntax in two ways. First, they constitute one type of "construction," a much-debated topic in syntax in recent years. A "construction" is thought to have its own structure, function, and meaning, though it has constituents that also have their own structures and meanings. In fact, Goldberg (1995) claims that the basic unit of language is a "construction" and that there is no strict division between grammar and lexicon. Construction Grammar[2], such as the model suggested by Goldberg (1995), is non-transformational grammar, which holds that grammar consists of a network of interrelated constructions, and that it is impossible to get the meaning of the construction just from the sum of the meanings of its parts. The constructions have their own forms and meanings; to be more precise, they have their own syntax and semantics[3]. It is true that treatments of a construction could vary depending on theories, but Construction Grammar (cf. Goldberg 1995, Croft 2001) considers constructions to be primitive entities that are language-specific, while Generative Grammar considers them non-primitive. I will take the former view on constructions, i.e., one in which constructions are taken to be primitive, assuming that their structures are language-specific and that their functions are language-universal following Croft (2001). This is because the structures of constructions vary widely across languages; namely constructions cannot be structurally language-universal. In fact, our target, syntactically non-canonical constructions, appears with various structures.

Second, non-canonical constructions allow us to test our conceptualizations of events from a broad perspective, because they often express non-prototypical stative events. Linguists have often paid more attention to sentences that describe prototypical non-stative events, such as *running* or *hitting*, than stative ones. However, this idea is insufficient and debatable because it forms an incomplete overall picture of events. Even conceptualizations of prototypical non-stative events seem to differ from language to

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[2] Please refer, for example, to Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor (1988), Fillmore (1985), and Lakoff (1987), about Construction Grammar.
[3] See Goldberg (1995), Croft (2001), and Croft and Cruse (2004) for more explanations of the Construction Grammar.

language[4]. For example, Ikegami (1981) presents a typology of languages where he categorizes Japanese as a BECOME-language partly because it places emphasis on the result of an event, and English as a DO-language that focuses more on what or who brings about the event. This shows that there can be different ways of conceptualizations of events cross-linguistically. In addition, a considerable number of studies have been done on canonical transitive and intransitive constructions that describe non-stative events, but very few studies have been carried out on stative ones. Although we will define the notion of canonical and non-canonical in a more precise way in Chapter 2, we informally say that a canonical construction has a transitive case frame, NOM-ACC, or an intransitive case frame, NOM, in nominative-accusative languages. Canonical constructions seem to be highly formalized and extended in English and some other Indo-European languages but not necessarily in other languages, including Korean, Japanese, and Hebrew. This study aims to present a framework that can capture a variety of non-canonical constructions, which appear in various forms and in various scopes across languages. Non-canonical constructions are, in fact, a key to understanding how the speaker of a language conceptualizes events as a whole. Stative events tend to have fewer varieties of expressions compared with non-stative events, but they can be certainly expressed in more than one way. The same situation can be conceptualized differently and expressed by different structures; we can also say that their structural differences reflect their different conceptualizations, perspectives, or functions of the event; for example, the passive and active sentences in (4a) and (4b) describe the same event but from different perspectives[5].

(4)   a. John invited Mary to the party.
         b. Mary was invited to the party by John.

Therefore, it is important to clarify the meanings or functions of each construction, especially those of the non-canonical constructions, which is the purpose of this study.

1.2. Syntactic notions and non-canonical constructions

Non-canonical constructions have received much attention, mainly because they question some important notions of syntax such as "subject," which any syntactic theory has to deal with.

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[4] Kageyama (1996) also points out that different viewpoints of languages are reflected differently in linguistic expressions.
[5] Shibatani (1985, 2000b) claims that they have different functions: the passivization functions to background the agent.

1.2.1. Grammatical relations

First, non-canonical constructions raise the question of how to define grammatical relations, especially "subject," which is one of the most important notions in syntax and taken as a very general and universal notion. The fact that non-canonically marked nominals seem to behave as subjects in non-canonical constructions and that the distributions of subject properties are not consistent in these constructions—which are often dispersed over more than one nominal there—raises questions about the definition of "subject"[6].

Keenan (1976) presents one important study of subject, which discusses some of its properties, including pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic ones. Moreover, he claims that there are degrees of subjecthood, where, for instance, the case marking is just one of such properties. He categorizes subject properties into three types: coding properties, behavior and control properties, and semantic properties, and proposes the promotion-to-subject hierarchy (PSH)[7]. We do not examine the PSH, because our target is not derived subjects. PSH is quoted in (5) to show what properties are classified in each type.

(5) The Promotion to Subject Hierarchy   Keenan (1976: 324)

Coding Properties	>	Behavior and Control Properties	>	Semantic Properties
position >		deletion, movement, case		Agency, autonomous
case marking >		changing properties, control of		existence, selectional
verb agreement		cross-reference properties, etc.		restrictions, etc.

One nominal does not always share all of these subject properties, so the grammatical relations of arguments cannot be determined only by a sole property such as case marking or syntactic position[8], i.e., the nominative marked argument is not always the subject of the sentence.

Verma (1976), in one of the very early studies of these non-canonical constructions, show varieties of these constructions in South Asian languages. In the thirty years thereafter, a lot of studies have shown

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[6] It should be noted that the definition of subject also depends on the framework. A subject in Cognitive Grammar is a nominal whose profile corresponds to the trajectory of a relation (prototypically, of a verb), generally elaborating this trajectory. (Langacker 1987a). Alternatively, it can be defined structurally as in Generative Grammar.

[7] Keenan's claim made by the PSH is as follows:

The claim made by the PSH is that if an NP in a derived sentence is assigned any of the three categories of subject properties then it is assigned all the higher categories. And within the category of coding properties, if an NP acquires the verb agreements characteristic of subjects then it must also acquire the case marking and position; and if it acquires the case marking then it must acquire the position. So the characteristic position of subjects is the easiest property to assign to a derived subject (Keenan (1976: 324))

However, we mainly focus on his classification of the subject properties, because we are not concerned with derived subjects in this dissertation.

[8] Shibatani (1977) first points out that we should distinguish between case marking and grammatical relations because of their different syntactic behaviors, and now most theories assign different levels or layers.

that the non-canonically marked nominals in these constructions behave as subjects in various languages (cf. Verma 1976, Klaiman 1981, Verma and Mohanan 1990, Aikhenvald et al. 2001), which is the most prominent difference between canonical transitive and intransitive constructions where nominative marked nominals behave as subjects. Kachru et al. (1976) examined some Indic languages, Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi, which have some non-canonical constructions in which non-canonically marked nominals behave as subjects. They propose the hierarchy of subjecthood shown in (6), according to the distribution of the behavioral subject properties of different types of subject involving reflexive binding and conjunction reduction summarized in (7). Intransitive subjects (SI) and transitive subjects (ST) are the most subject-like, because they control and are accessible to, i.e. undergo, the four syntactic rules.

(6) SI ST ≥ S DAT ≥ S OBL ≥ SP   Kachru et al. (1976:94)
       (SI: intransitive subject, ST: transitive subject, S DAT: dative subject, S OBL: oblique subject,
       SP: derived subject of the passive sentence)

(7)
Rule	Controller	Accessible
Reflexivization	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL, SP	---
Equi	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL, SP	SI, ST, S DAT
Conjunction Reduction	SI, ST, S DAT, S OBL	SI, ST
Raising	SI, ST	SI, ST

The oblique and dative subjects as well as canonical transitive and intransitive subjects can control reflexivization, equi-subject deletion, and conjunction reduction, though not all of them can be accessible to (or undergo) these four syntactic rules.

Other theoretical attempts to capture the relationships have also been carried out. Since non-canonical constructions take non-canonical case frames different from the canonical ones, any theory has to explain their case frames. For instance, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), discuss case assignments in German and Icelandic, which also have non-canonically marked subjects; they suggest the case assignment rules shown in (8), in which the dative case is obtained as default case marking and assigned to the non-macrorole arguments.

(8) Case assignment rules for German and Icelandic   (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
       a. Assign nominative to the highest-ranking macrorole[9] argument
       b. Assign accusative to the other macrorole arguments
       c. Assign dative to the non-macrorole arguments (default)

However, it is debatable whether the dative marking really has no semantic motivation, and how we can

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[9] They assume two semantic macroroles: one is ACTOR, and another is UNDERGOER. The former is agent type and the latter is patient type. Please refer to the reference for detailed arguments.

treat other non-canonical constructions observed in some South Asian languages which have more varieties of non-canonical constructions, such as the genitive subject construction as shown in (1a).

In this way, the non-canonical constructions pose challenges to the notion of grammatical relations, which we will examine in Chapter 2.

1.2.2. Semantic properties

The second issue raised by non-canonical constructions concerns semantic properties such as controllability, volitionality, and stativity, all of which are argued for canonical constructions. Non-canonical constructions are analyzed to describe uncontrollable and non-volitional stative events in previous studies, and they are often observed in limited semantic types.

Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) show the following semantic types that typologically tend to appear in the non-canonical constructions in (9).

(9) a. Possession, existence   (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001:313-314)
    b. Psychological states
    c. Physiological states
    d. Visual / auditory perceptions, including the notion of appearance / seeming
    e. Modal states of necessity and wanting, including the notion of obligation ('must')
    f. Modal state of potentiality, including ability and the notion of permission ('may')

Onishi (2001a:25) also defines some semantic classes, shown here in (10), which are similar to the ones suggested by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) except that Onishi mentions the valence of the predicate.

(10) Class I: One- or two-place (Primary-A) verbs with affected S (or A), e.g. 'be chilled,' 'have a headache,' 'be sad,' 'be surprised'
    Class II: Two-place (Primary-A/B) verbs with less agentive A (or S)/ less affected O (or E), e.g. 'see,' 'know,' 'like,' 'look for,' 'follow,' 'help,' 'speak to,' 'resemble'
    Class III: Two-place Secondary verbs with modal meaning, e.g. 'want,' 'need,' 'can,' 'try,' 'seem'
    Class VI: Intransitive/transitive verbs expressing 'happening'. (Usually have canonically marked counterparts with agentive meanings.)
    Class V: Verbs of possession, existence and lacking.

However, they do not predict the scope of the non-canonical constructions, since these classifications show only their tendencies and some of these meanings can be also expressed by canonical constructions, as shown in (11b), which takes a canonical transitive case frame in Japanese.

(11) a. watasi-ga   sono zukan-ga   hosii (koto)   (non-canonical: NOM-NOM)
    1.SG-NOM   the picture.book-NOM want thing
    '(that) I want the picture book'

b. watasi-ga   sono   zukan-o   hosigat-teiru (koto)   (transitive: NOM-ACC)
   1.SG-NOM   the   picture.book-ACC want-PROG   thing
   '(that) I want the picture book'

In order to distinguish them from canonical constructions, some semantic properties of the non-canonical constructions are pointed out in previous studies: their "stativity" (Mikami 1953/1972, Kuno 1973), "non-volitionality" (Klaiman 1981, Tsunoda 1990), and "uncontrollability" (Shibatani 2000a, 2001). It is problematic, however, that these semantic properties are often shared by canonical constructions such as intransitive stative constructions, as they are not predictable either. (12) describes a stative, non-volitional, and uncontrollable event, but it is a canonical intransitive construction taking a nominative argument as the subject.

(12) kono   tora-wa   kyoobooda.
     this   tiger-TOP ferocious
     'This tiger is ferocious.'

Although a large number of studies have been done on non-canonical constructions, little is known about them definitively, and a framework that can capture them within and across languages is still lacking.

1.3. Framework and Hypotheses

In this section, we will demonstrate our framework and suggest cognitive functional hypotheses that capture the conceptualizations and syntactic structures of non-canonical constructions, which will be examined in Chapter 2 and 3.

1.3.1. Functional typology

We will take a functional approach to constructions, in which each construction is considered to have a certain function to express one's cognitive conceptualization of the event and the construction has a certain structure which reflects its conceptualization. This approach to syntax admits the structural variation of the construction across languages. Even though one construction that has the same function appears in different forms cross-linguistically because of the different syntactic structures of languages, we can compare them by examining their functions.

Our aim is to suggest a framework that can be applied cross-linguistically, so this approach will fit the purpose. Constructions have specific forms and meanings; especially non-canonical constructions take different syntactic structure from canonical constructions, expressing stative meanings. By comparing them

to the canonical constructions, we will make clear their syntactic and semantic structures.

1.3.2. Conceptual structure for non-canonical constructions

We will suggest a particular conceptual structure for non-canonical constructions, i.e. what conceptualization motivates its syntactic structure, in order to present our idea on the function of the construction.

Before that, a "canonical event model" with regard to dynamic (non-stative) events—proposed by Langacker (1987, 1991) in his Cognitive Grammar—should be reviewed as a reference, since the non-canonical constructions usually describe non-canonical events, i.e. stative events. This model is shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Canonical event model (Langacker 1991:285)[10]

AG   PAT

setting

V
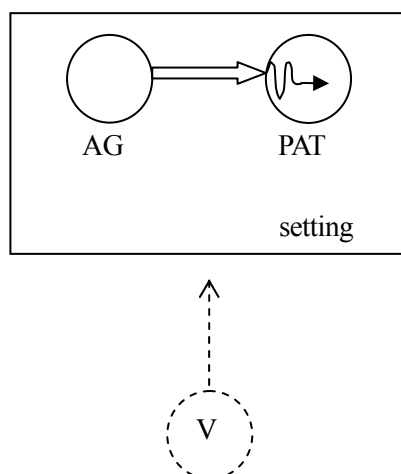
In the canonical event model, an event occurs within a setting, and a viewer (V) observes it from an external vantage point. The action chain is observed when one discrete object, which is usually an agent, transmits energy to another, which is taken as a patient, through forceful physical contact.

However, it is easy to conceive that the conceptual structures of stative events, which are described by non-canonical constructions, are different. In fact, though there is neither an energy flow nor a development of the event in the stative events, they can invoke several conceptualizations, among which we will focus on two schemas[11]. One schema involves a target only and describes its state, and another places a

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[10] His abbreviations are: AG: Agent, PAT: Patient, and V: Viewer.
[11] Other patterns of conceptualization can also be distinguished. See Langacker (1987, 1991) for more types. Since we limit our discussion to non-canonical constructions, we only need the two types presented here.

theme in a background domain. The former takes a theme as the sole participant, as shown in (a) in Figure 1.2[12], and the latter takes a theme and a domain, as shown in (b). Both of them are thought to be fundamental conceptualizations of stative events.

Figure 1.2. Two conceptualizations of stative events
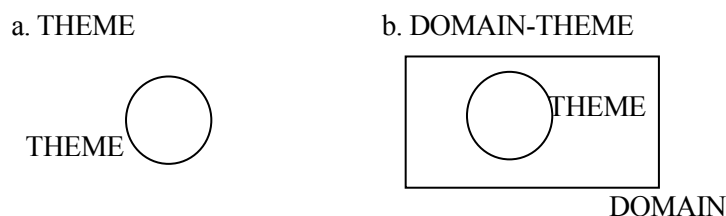
Our claim is that all of the non-canonical constructions share the conceptualization approach shown in (b) in Figure 1.2, which takes two participants: a theme and a domain. That is to say, the non-canonical constructions take a theme and describe its state in a certain domain, in line with Shibatani's (2000a, 2001) and Onoe, Kimura, and Nishimura's (1998)[13] proposals that in the non-canonical construction, the first argument is semantically interpreted as the domain. We will express this type of conceptualization in Figure 1.2 (b) as a semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME (we will use capital letters for the semantic structure of constructions to distinguish semantic structure from thematic roles such as an experiencer and a theme[14]), and suggest that non-canonical constructions express this type of conceptualization. On the other hand, the semantic structure of the canonical non-stative event is AGENT-PATIENT.

The semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME can be expressed by several syntactic structures, and one representative example of the DOMAIN-THEME semantic structure is an existential construction that describes the existence of an entity in a certain location as a DOMAIN. Cross-linguistically, a possessive construction generally has a similar conceptualization describing the existence of a possessum in the domain of a possessor. Both of them seem to be expressed by similar structures, as shown in (13), sharing the same case frame and predicate, but they are structurally different in Japanese, as pointed out in Kuno (1973a) and Shibatani (1978); only the possessor argument—and not the locative argument—behaves as the subject of the sentence.

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[12] Note that this representation is simplified one and that it does not show a line which expresses the relationship between the objects.

[13] Onoe, Kimura, and Nishimura (1998) claim that all of them share the meaning of ba 'space', though they have different thematic roles. Shibatani (2000a, 2001) suggests that they are all "domains", but their proposals are similar.

[14] The semantic structures may have some properties in common with Dowty's (1991) "thematic proto-roles", but differ from his, in that our semantic structure is linked to the construction but not to the predicate.

(13) a. daigaku-ni takusan-no hito-ga   i-ta.   (Existential construction)
   university-LOC many-GEN people-NOM be-PAST
   'There were many people in the university.'
  b. Mami-ni   kodomo-ga i-ta.   (Possessive construction)
   Mami-DAT child-NOM be-PAST
   'Mami had a child.'

The sentences with the semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME are not always expressed using the same constructions. The DOMAIN is typically a location expressed by a locative noun phrase, but it can be also an experiencer if it is taken as a domain in which psychological states exist. The THEME is generally a theme that exists in the domain and does not get affected in the event, and it is generally expressed by a nominative-marked nominal. Therefore, the case frame typically observed in the sentences with this semantic structure is a LOC-NOM, which is the "–*ni* (the same as dative case in Japanese) –*ga*" pattern in Japanese (see Nakau and Nishimura 1998), but it can be NOM-NOM or DAT-NOM (see Chapter 2).

   The semantic structures, such as DOMAIN-THEME, are more abstract concepts than the thematic structures, and the specific thematic role is determined by the situation that the sentence describes. We will suggest that the non-canonical constructions share this semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME regardless of their different case frames.

1.3.3. Thematic hierarchy and hypotheses

   The semantic structure discussed above is obviously insufficient, however, to explain structural differences among constructions such as existential constructions and possessive constructions, or several case frames observed in non-canonical constructions. We will, therefore, propose a thematic hierarchy shown in Figure 1.3 in addition to the semantic structure.

   Figure 1.3. Thematic hierarchy

    Agent > Experiencer > Possessor > Reference > Location [+HUM] > Location [-HUM]

   The thematic roles and their prominence have been examined in various studies, in which the thematic roles such as agent, patient, experiencer, instrument, and location are distinguished and ranked in thematic hierarchies. Andrews (1985) provides the following characterization of thematic roles:

(14) a. Agent—a participant which the meaning of the verb specifies as doing or causing something, possibly intentionally.

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b. Patient—a participant which the verb characterizes as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it.

　　c. Experiencer—a participant who is characterized as aware of something.

　　d. Theme—a participant which is characterized as changing its position or condition, or as being in a state or position.

As Croft (1998) points out, however, there is no consensus on the number of thematic roles and the hierarchy that governs the linking of thematic roles to arguments. The following hierarchies in (15) to (17) illustrate the point.

(15) Agent > Dative/Benefactive > Patient > Location > Instrumental/Associative > Manner

(Givón 1984:139)

(16) Actor > Patient/Beneficiary > Theme > Location/Source/Goal　　　(Jackendoff 1990:258[15])

(17) Agent > Effector > Experiencer > Locative/Recipient > Theme > Patient　(Van Valin 1993:75)

It seems plausible that there are differences in meanings of the arguments, though their link to grammatical functions remains problematic.

　　In this study, we suggest a thematic hierarchy shown in Figure 1.3 to capture the scope of the non-canonical constructions within and across languages. It is a more segmented hierarchy than the ones in the previous studies shown in (15) to (17), in capturing cross-linguistic differences of non-canonical constructions and also in understanding the network relationships between non-canonical constructions and other constructions. We assume two thematic roles that are not generally distinguished: possessor and reference (point of evaluation), and their characterizations are shown in (18).

(18) a. Possessor: a participant which the meaning of the predicate characterizes as possessing something

　　b. Reference (point in evaluation): a participant which the meaning of the predicate characterizes as evaluating something or as being a reference point of the evaluation

　　It is important that the thematic roles are not determined only by the predicates but in the events described by the whole sentences; for example, one predicate *iru* "be" in (13) might take a possessor or a location depending on what the sentence describes. Most stative predicates take just one participant, which is generally a theme, and describe its properties, but other stative sentences can take other participants in addition to the theme.

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[15]　He shows the thematic hierarchy as in (i), but I quoted the one in Croft's (1998:28) in (15) for uniformity.

　(i) a. [AFF (X*, <Y>)]　　　　　　(Actor)

　　b. [AFF (<X>, Y*)]　　　　　　(Patient (AFF-) or Beneficiary (AFF+))

　　c. [Event/State F (X*, <Y>)]　　(Theme)

　　d. [Path/Place F (X*)]　　　　(Location, Source, Goal)

Given the thematic hierarchy in Figure 1.3 that shows the prominence of the argument, we can now show our hypotheses for non-canonical constructions. As we stated above, the non-canonical constructions are assumed to have the semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME, but not all of the sentences that have this semantic structure appear as non-canonical constructions; for example, the existential construction is an intransitive construction in Japanese, in which the locative argument does not behave as the subject. The grammatical relations of arguments are controversial here, and so we will hypothesize a thematic hierarchy. Our hypotheses are summarized in (19).

(19) Hypotheses for non-canonical constructions
 1. The semantic structure taken by non-canonical constructions is DOMAIN-THEME, and the specific thematic roles for the participants are determined by the states the sentences describe.
 2. The thematic hierarchy in Figure 1.4 shows the likelihood to appear as AGENT or DOMAIN. The lower the thematic role, the more likely to appear as a DOMAIN. (Case marking might change in parallel with the change of the semantic structure.)
 3. The grammatical relation is related to the thematic hierarchy. The higher the thematic role of the domain is, the more likely it behaves as the subject of the sentence, as shown in Figure 1.4.

 Figure 1.4. Thematic hierarchy with other parameters

Thematic role:	AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]	
Grammatical relation:	Subject→	
Case marking:	NOM→	←LOC
Semantic structure:	AGENT→	←DOMAIN

These hypotheses allow capturing the different scopes and types of non-canonical constructions within and across languages. Some languages may only consider the locative argument as a DOMAIN, and some languages may consider even the agent as a DOMAIN. In addition, these hypotheses lead to the following predictions in (20), which shows the falsifiability of our hypotheses.

(20) Predictions arinsing from the hypotheses
 1. If a participant with a higher thematic role can be captured as DOMAIN, one with a lower role should also be captured as DOMAIN. For example, if an experiencer is taken as DOMAIN in the language, a possessor should be taken as DOMAIN, but not vice-versa.
 2. If a participant with a lower thematic role behaves as subject, one with a higher thematic role also does.

How likely to be interpreted as a DOMAIN corresponds to how less likely to be interpreted as an AGENT that controls events; in other words, a DOMAIN is low in agentivity compared to an AGENT. Givón's

(1984)[16] argument on "agentivity" will help us to understand the agentivity. He claims that agentivity is scaled along the same line in all languages as a *cluster* of properties (rather than a discrete feature) shown in (21), and each property is itself scalar.

(21) a. Humanity: human > Animate > inanimate > abstract
b. *Causation*: direct cause > indirect cause > non-cause
c. *Volition*: strong intent > weak intent > non-voluntary
d. *Control*: clear control > weak control > no control
e. *Saliency*: very obvious/salient > less obvious/salient > unobvious/nonsalient

It should be noted that our discussion is limited to stative constructions with the semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME, and we will not deny the possibility that similar states can be also conceptualized as events with the semantic structure AGENT-PATIENT (see Chapter 3). For example, an experiencer can be captured as an AGENT and not as a DOMAIN and therefore be expressed by a transitive construction.

Our claim differs from Shibatani's (2000a, 2001), which considers the predicates that take non-canonical constructions (we will call these predicates "non-canonical predicates") as intransitive taking one argument, because we assume that they take the semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME, which requires two arguments. We will claim that non-canonical predicates require two participants by showing that their intransitive counterparts are allowed only in sentences with a particular semantic type, a property description, while the non-canonical constructions with two arguments do not have such a restriction. This claim will be examined further in Chapter 3.

1.3.3. Conceptual space

In addition to the hypotheses shown in Section 1.3.2, in order to capture non-canonical constructions as well as canonical constructions within and across languages, we propose a conceptual space consisting of the number of arguments and the temporal stability. The conceptual space shows the scope, diversity, and relations of constructions, as Croft (2001), in his Radical Construction Grammar, suggests. The conceptual space is considered to be universal, and constructions are mapped on it. This idea of conceptual spaces indicates that there are some possible distributions of constructions across languages: some languages may have a construction that covers a different scope from the one in other languages; for example, some languages may use one construction to describe both stative and non-stative events, but some languages may distinguish them and employ different constructions.

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[16] He suggests the hierarchy in (i), but it is different from ours. It might be because of the differences of the target.
(i) AGT > DAT/BEN > PAT > LOC > INSTR/ASSOC > MANN.

In this framework, first we must identify the relevant region of the conceptual space for the construction. The region of non-canonical constructions in the conceptual space, which will be suggested in Chapter 3, is shown in Figure 1.5: the number of arguments is in the vertical dimension, and the temporal stability is in the horizontal dimension.

Figure 1.5. The conceptual space for canonical and non-canonical constructions

Temporal stability / No. of arguments	LOW← Temporal Stability →HIGH
	(Event) (State)
2	transitive event transitive state (AGENT-PATIENT) (DOMAIN-THEME)
1	intransitive event intransitive state (AGENT) (THEME)

The non-canonical constructions are mapped around the upper right corner, taking two arguments and expressing temporally stative events. Previous studies seem to focus on constructions that express non-stative events, which are placed on the left side of the conceptual space above, but stative events are also important in order to capture relationships between the forms and the meanings. We believe that they will shed light on issues diverging from non-stative events. The relevancy of the conceptual space concerning Japanese will be discussed later in Chapter 3, and Chapter 6 will examine this in other languages.

One parameter that defines the conceptual structure is the number of arguments. Canonical transitive constructions such as *tataku* 'hit' require two arguments, in which the agent nominal appears as the subject and the patient as the object, while intransitive constructions such as *aruku* 'walk' require only one argument, which behaves as the subject. Stative events can be expressed by both non-canonical constructions and intransitive constructions, and we will show that the former takes two arguments and the latter takes one.

Another parameter on the horizontal dimension of the conceptual space is temporal stability. As we mentioned, there is a significant difference between non-stative and stative events. They differ in the development of the event: the latter lacks it entirely. The aspectual interpretation of a sentence has often been examined since the work of Vendler (1967) (Kindaichi (1950) is about Japanese), who divides lexical aspects of predicates into four types: activity, accomplishment, achievement, and state. Stative predicates do

not always have uniform properties, however. With regard to the temporality of the state, especially that of adjectival sentences, Carlson (1980) suggests an important distinction between stage-level and individual-level. In addition, there is a well-known distinction between adjectival predicates in Japanese linguistics: psychological adjectives and property adjectives (Nishio 1976, and also Kudo 2004). The lexical meaning of the adjectives and their functions in the sentences should be distinguished. Croft (to appear) divided them into three categories as in (22). The most important part is a point state, which has not been argued much in previous studies. The hierarchy of the temporal stability of states is shown in (23).

(22) a. point state   e.g. be 5 o'clock, be on time
     b. transitory state   e.g. *be ill*
     c. inherent state   e.g. *be tall, be Persian*
(23) Hierarchy of temporal stability of states: inherent state > transitory state > point state

With regard to the mapping of the non-canonical constructions on the conceptual space, we will discuss their temporal stabilities that deeply relates to their conceptualizations. The more highly stable event the sentence describes, the less likely that it would be interpreted as a dynamic event.

1.4. Organization

We will examine our hypotheses based on our framework and show how they capture the non-canonical constructions. This dissertation consists of seven chapters, in which Chapters 3 through 5 focus on non-canonical constructions in Japanese.

Chapter 2 illustrates the basic notions that are necessary to examine non-canonical constructions, including grammatical relations, semantic properties, and syntactic structures of non-canonical constructions. The non-canonical constructions are syntactically divided into double nominative constructions and dative subject constructions, and the latter is further decided into two types, depending on whether they allow intransitive use or not (Type 1 and Type 2). We will review previous studies in this chapter and show their limitations. Then we will show our alternative approach.

Chapter 3 examines non-canonical constructions that take non-derived predicates in Japanese. We examine the thematic hierarchy and our hypotheses, and show how they can be captured. We will show that the non-canonical constructions differ from intransitive stative constructions in their argument structures, and that they differ from transitive constructions in their semantic properties. It will be shown that the non-canonical predicates take two arguments which can be interpreted as a DOMAIN and a THEME, and their intransitive counterparts are allowed in a limited semantic type. Examinations of the syntactic

behaviors of canonical and non-canonical constructions will show their mapping onto the conceptual space.

Chapter 4 discusses derived non-canonical constructions. It will be shown that non-canonical constructions with derived predicates share the semantic structure with non-derived non-canonical constructions, and they can be mapped onto the same region in the conceptual space as the non-derived ones. Since they must take propositional clauses as their complements, the possibility of restructuring the predicates arises. This is one of the biggest differences between derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions. Focusing on the desiderative constructions, we will show how the modal meanings are expressed in non-canonical constructions.

Chapter 5 focuses on external possessor constructions including double nominative constructions, double subject constructions, and possessor passive constructions. They are considered to be the external possessor constructions in which there are possessive relationships between the nominals. We will propose that the possessor argument should be external to the possessum argument when the possessor is interpreted as an experiencer that is affected by the event. It also supports our thematic hierarchy.

Chapter 6 presents case studies of non-canonical constructions in other languages. We will examine some non-canonical constructions observed in Korean, Hebrew, and Hindi, examining our hypotheses in light of these languages. The scopes of the non-canonical constructions in these languages differ from one another, but out hypotheses will capture their different scopes, and they can be mapped onto the conceptual space. Chapter 7 is a conclusion.

Chapter 2. Properties of Non-canonical Constructions

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will outline our basic proposal to account for the syntactic and semantic properties of non-canonical constructions as an initial step to defining our hypotheses suggested in Chapter 1. Though many studies have been done on non-canonical constructions, there are still remaining problems. The purpose of this chapter is to make clear the characteristics of non-canonical constructions in order to show the limitations of the previous studies and examine our hypotheses.

When we compare constructions cross-linguistically, it is always hard to determine which construction in one language corresponds to which one in another, because languages differ in various ways. As we reviewed in Chapter 1, Croft (2001) claims in his Radical Construction Grammar that it is almost impossible to define constructions structurally across languages, so they should be defined by their functions. We agree with this claim and our major goal is to figure out the functions and conceptual structures of non-canonical constructions and to characterize them typologically. But as a first step, we will examine them structurally, because we need to use their structures as a clue to defining them. We believe that a careful examination of the constructions will also reveal their functions, which will enable us to examine their properties, distributions, and classifications cross-linguistically and to capture their scopes. We will start with the discussion of the properties of the constructions that have non-canonically marked subjects, including those with more than one canonically marked nominal which we call non-canonical constructions[1], and then clarify what non-canonical constructions are.

Now let's look at some examples from Japanese. Canonical transitive constructions in Japanese have a nominative nominal in sentence-initial position and an accusative object, as in (1a), and canonical intransitive constructions have one nominative nominal as their argument.

(1) a. Ken-ga   Ziroo-o   nagut-ta.   (NOM-ACC)
        Ken-NOM   Jiro-ACC hit-PAST
        'Ken hit Jiro.'
      b. Ken-ga   taore-ta.   (NOM)
        Ken-NOM   fall.down-PAST
        'Ken fell down.'

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[1] We should note that even our limited targets cover so-called dative subject constructions and double nominative constructions in Japanese, but this definition of non-canonical constructions may be problematic when we examine other languages. We will come back to this problem in Chapter 6, and we will extend the range of the non-canonical constructions.

There are some sentences with other non-canonical case frames, however, as shown in (2).

(2)　a. Ken-ni　　　kodomo-ga　iru　(koto)　　　　　　　　(DAT-NOM)
　　　　Ken-DAT　　child-NOM　be　thing
　　　　'(that) Ken has a child'
　　b. Ken-ga　　　Mari-ga　　sukina　(koto)　　　　　　　(NOM-NOM)
　　　　Ken-NOM　　Mari-NOM　like　　thing
　　　　'(that) Ken likes Mari'

(2a) takes a DAT-NOM case frame, and (2b) takes two nominative nominals. These case frames are obviously different from those of the canonical transitive and intransitive sentences in (1). It will be shown later in this chapter that the first dative nominal in the so-called dative subject construction (2a) and the first nominative nominal in the so-called double nominative construction (2b) behave as the subjects in these constructions.

Non-canonical constructions show some interesting phenomena. First, they tend to have canonical counterparts cross-linguistically, as pointed out by Kachru et al. (1976) and Klaiman (1981)[2], which leads to the conclusion that the non-canonical constructions and their canonical counterparts have different functions. The sentences in (3) are examples in Japanese: (3a) is a double nominative construction with an adjectival predicate, and (3b) is its canonical transitive counterpart with a verbal predicate that shares the stem with the adjectival predicate in (3a).

(3)　a. Ken-ga　　　otona-ga　　kiraina　(koto)　　　(Non-canonical construction)
　　　　Ken-NOM　　adult-NOM　dislike　thing
　　　　'(that) Ken dislikes adults'
　　b. Ken-ga　　　otona-o　　kirate-iru　(koto)　　(Canonical transitive construction)
　　　　Ken-NOM　　adult-ACC　dislike-STAT　thing
　　　　'(that) Ken dislikes adults'

Second, the predicates that appear in the non-canonical constructions (which we will call "non-canonical predicates" from now on) are limited to certain semantic types. As we reviewed in Chapter 1, some cross-linguistic studies, such as Tsunoda (1991), Onishi (2001a), and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001), have pointed out that non-canonical constructions tend to be affected by semantic or pragmatic factors more than the canonical ones. The non-canonical predicates tend to include predicates expressing psychological and physiological states, possessions, and evaluations, which are low in transitivity and tend to express non-volitional and uncontrollable stative events. This chapter will show their syntactic structures and the semantic properties, in comparison with canonical transitive or intransitive constructions.

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[2] See also Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) and Onishi (2001a).

Because of their non-canonical case frames, previous studies have argued about what the syntactic structures of non-canonical constructions actually are. There are at least three analyses: a transitive analysis, an intransitive analysis, and a continuum analysis. Our analysis is similar to the transitive analysis that considers them to be transitive as far as valency is concerned; we assume that they have two arguments required by the predicates. However, at the same time, we suggest that non-canonical constructions, which express stative events, are different from transitive constructions that describe non-stative events in their conceptualizations. We will review each analysis and show their limitations and problems in this chapter.

This chapter consists of six sections. In Section 2.2. we will show the definition of non-canonical constructions and examine the syntactic and semantic properties of non-canonical constructions, focusing on how they differ from canonical constructions. Section 2.3 will clarify the domain of non-canonical constructions in Japanese and classify them syntactically. We will discuss related constructions in Section 2.4. Previous proposals and their limitations will be reviewed in Section 2.5, and it will be made clear how our hypotheses differ from them. Finally Section 2.6 is a summary of this chapter.

2.2. Properties of non-canonical constructions

Non-canonical constructions are defined as constructions in which the predicates require non-canonically marked subjects, including constructions in which the predicates require more than one canonically marked nominal, and we will start discussing what can be classified as non-canonical constructions, mainly focusing on modern Japanese, and examine their syntactic and semantic properties. They will be compared with canonical transitive and intransitive constructions, and their differences and scopes will be made clear.

2.2.1. Non-canonical constructions

Non-canonical constructions have been called by various terms.

(4) a. Ken-ni   kodomo-ga   iru   (koto)   (DAT-NOM)   (=(2))
        Ken-DAT   child-NOM   be   thing
        '(that) Ken has a child'
     b. Ken-ga   Mari-ga   sukina   (koto)   (NOM-NOM)
        Ken-NOM   Mari-NOM   like   thing
        '(that) Ken likes Mari'

The non-canonical construction in (4a) is called by several terms such as a "dative subject construction," an "experiencer subject construction" (Verma and Mohanan 1990), an "indirect subject construction" (Klaiman

1981), and an "ergative construction" (Kuroda 1978, Kishimoto 2004), and these definitions also differ among scholars[3]. The sentence in (4b) is also called by several terms—a "double nominative construction," a "double subject construction" (Onoe, Kimura, and Nishimura 1998), and a "large subject construction." Shibatani's (2000a, 2001) term "non-canonical construction" seems to be a term broad enough to cover the all constructions we focus on here including (4a) and (4b), because their subjects are not always marked by a dative case as in (4b); instead two nominative nominals appear there, as shown in (4a), and the theta role of the subject is not always an experiencer. For example, it is a possessor in (4a). Hence, we will use the term "non-canonical construction" to refer to all of these constructions, though we will also use terms such as a "dative subject construction" and a "double nominative construction" when they merit separate discussion.

With the exception of double nominative constructions in (4b), one of the most significant differences distinguishing canonical constructions from non-canonical constructions is that the subject is marked with non-canonical cases, for example, a dative case in (4a). We will show that the non-canonically case-marked nominals behave as the subjects of these non-canonical constructions.

2.2.2. Subjects of non-canonical constructions

It is often argued that the dative nominal in the dative subject constructions and the first nominative nominal in the double nominative constructions show subject properties. We will examine subject properties of each nominal in non-canonical constructions and show that the first nominals behave as subjects. We should also look at the status of the second nominal, which Shibatani (2000a, 2001), Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001), and Kishimoto (2004, 2005) examine in their studies. The second nominative nominal shows object properties according to Kishimoto (2004, 2005), while Shibatani (2000a, 2001) claims that it shows subject properties[4].

As shown in Chapter 1, Keenan (1976)[5] shows various subject properties and divides them into three types: coding properties, behavioral and control properties, and semantic properties. The dative nominal in the dative subject construction and the first nominative nominal in the double nominative construction show the behavioral and control properties of subject, in other words, they behave as syntactic pivots. In contrast, the second nominative nominals in both constructions tend to show the coding properties

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[3] For example, Verma and Mohanan (1990:2) say, "In the so called experiencer subject construction in South Asian languages, the thematically prominent argument, which we expect to be a grammatical subject, is quite often an experiencer, and is marked with the case otherwise associated with indirect objects."
[4] See Shibatani (2000a, 2001) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) and also Section 2.5. in this chapter.
[5] See Chapter 1 for the subject properties that Keenan (1976) shows.

of subject but not all the behavioral and control properties. We take the position that the determination of the subject of the sentence should depend on its behavioral and control properties and not on its coding properties, since the coding properties are often affected by other factors such as thematic roles.

Now we examine the behavioral and control properties, which pick out nominals that behave as "syntactic pivot," i.e., a subject. We will examine reflexive binding, honorification, gap control, and pro control[6], which correspond to the behavioral and control properties pointed out by Keenan (1976): deletion and control of cross-reference properties. The dative nominal in the dative subject constructions and the first nominative nominal in the double nominative constructions show more subject properties than other nominals in these non-canonical constructions.

First we examine reflexive binding, one of the control of cross-reference properties that the subject tends to have. The first arguments in the non-canonical constructions can bind reflexives, but the second arguments cannot, as shown in (5) and (6), where the reflexive pronouns have cross-reference only to the first arguments but not to the second theme argument. This means that the first one shows subjecthood.

(5) Ken_i-ga $Ziroo_j$-ga $zibun_{i/*j}$-no   otooto-yori   sukina (koto)   (double nominative)
    Ken-TOP   Jiro-NOM   self-GEN   brother-than   like   thing
    '(that) Ken likes Jiro better than his brother.'

(6) Ken_i-ni-wa $Ziroo_j$-ga $zibun_{i/*j}$-no   otooto-yori   hituyoona (koto) (dative subject)
    Ken-DAT-TOP   Jiro-NOM   self-GEN   brother-than   necessary   thing
    '(that) Ken needs Jiro more than he needs his brother.'

The result is the same, even in a scrambled word order, as shown in (7), where the preposed theme argument, *Ken*, cannot be the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun.

(7) Ken_i-ga $Kaori_j$-wa $zibun_{*i/j}$-no   ani-yori-mo   sukina   (koto)
    Ken-NOM   Kaori-TOP   self-GEN   brother-than   like   thing
    '(that) Kaori likes Ken better than her brother.'

More or less, the situation seems to be the same in other languages. See, for example, Korean in (8), in which only the first arguments can bind the reflexive pronouns regardless of their case markings.

(8) a. $Myoungsook_i$-eykey-nun $chashin_i$-ui   chayk-i   piryoha-ta.
        Myoungsook-DAT-TOP   REFL-GEN   book-NOM   necessary-DEC
        'Myoungsook needs her book.'
     b. $Myoungsook_i$-nun ai_j-ka $chagiw_{i/*j}$-ui   yodonsen-boda   manh-ta.
        Myoungsook-TOP   child-NOM   REFL-GEN   sister-than   many-DEC
        'Myoungsook has more children than her sister.'

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[6] Ura (1999) argues *–nagara* clause, and Kishimoto (2005) discusses arbitrary PRO, for example.

Hebrew non-canonical constructions show a similar phenomenon because the dative arguments can bind the reflexive pronouns in both of DAT type constructions, and DAT-ACC type, as shown in (9) and (10) respectively. This shows that the dative argument shows the behavioral and control property of subject.

(9) kashe   la$_i$ lilmod   be   atsma$_i$.   (DAT-NOM)
     difficult   3.SG.F.DAT   study.INFN by   REFL.F
     'It is difficult for her to study by herself.'

(10) le -John$_i$ hayu   tmunot   shel-atsmo$_i$.   (DAT-ACC)
     DAT-John   have.PAST   picture.PL   GEN-REFL.M
     'John had pictures of himself.'

Secondly, we will examine honorification, which is often taken as a subjecthood test in Japanese (see Shibatani 1978). Shibatani (2000a, 2001) points out that only the large subjects—namely the first arguments in these constructions—can be the target of honorification in non-canonical constructions except for the "*iru* possessive construction" in Japanese[7]. In other words, only the first argument shows the subject property in honorification, as shown in (11a) and (12), where the first argument is the target of honorification. The honorification is not possible if the second argument is the target of honorification, as shown in (11b).

(11) a. Yamada-sensei-wa   Kaori-ga   o-sukida.
        Yamada-teacher-TOP   Kaori-NOM   HON-like
        'Teacher Yamada likes Kaori.'
     b. *Kaori-wa   Yamada-sensei-ga   o-sukida.
        Kaori-TOP   Yamada-teacher-NOM   HON-like
        'Kaori likes teacher Yamada.'
(12) a. Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   rippana   kuruma-ga   o-ari-ninaru.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   nice   car-NOM   HON-be-HON
        'Teacher Yamada has a nice car.'
     b. Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   hebi-ga   kowaku-te   irassyaru.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   snake-NOM   scary-CONJ   be.HON
        'Teacher Yamada is scared of snakes.'

The same phenomenon is reported by Yeon (1999, 2004) for Korean, in which the first nominal in the non-canonical construction (13b) becomes the target of honorification, while the honorification is not possible if the second argument is the target of honorification, as shown in (13a, c).

(13) a. na-eykey/-ka   halapeci-ka   musep(*-si)-ta.   (Yeon 1999:156)
        1.SG-DAT/-NOM   grandfather-NOM   fear(*-HON)-DEC

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[7] Kishimoto (2001, 2004, 2005) demonstrates that the first nominal in iru possession also shows subjecthood. We also agree with his treatment of possessive constructions.

'I am afraid of grandfather.'
b. halapeci-eykey/-ka   ton-i   philyoha-si-ta.
   grandfather-DAT/-NOM   money-NOM   need-HON-DEC
   'Grandfather needs money.'
c. na-eykey/-ka   halapeci-ka   philyoha(*-si)-ta.
   I-DAT/-NOM   grandfather-NOM   need(*-HON)-DEC
   'I need a grandfather.'

This shows that the first argument shows the subject property in Korean non-canonical constructions.

     The third behavioral and coding property is gap control, and only subjects can control gaps in canonical constructions, for example, in a transitive sentence shown in (14). In the non-canonical constructions (15)-(17), the non-canonically marked first nominals control the gaps, while the second nominals cannot.

(14) Ken$_i$-ga   Ziroo$_j$-o   nagut-te,   ($\emptyset_{i/*j}$)   nige-ta   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Jiro-ACC   hit-CONJ   run.away-PAST   thing
     '(that) Ken hit Jiro and went away.'
(15) Ken$_i$-ga   Kaori$_j$-ga   suki-de,   ($\emptyset_{i/*j}$)   kokuhakusi-ta   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Kaori-NOM   like-CONJ   tell.one's.feeling-PAST   thing
     '(that) Ken liked Kaori, and he confessed his feeling.'
(16) Ken$_i$-{ga/ni}   Kaori$_j$-ga   hituyoo-de,   ($\emptyset_{i/*j}$)   denwasi-ta   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT(-TOP)   Kaori-NOM   necessary-CONJ   phone-PAST   thing
     '(that) Ken needs Kaori, and he called her on the phone.'
(17) Ken$_i$-{ga/-ni}   Kaori$_j$-ga   i-te,   ($\emptyset_{i/??*j}$)   siawasena   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT(-TOP)   Kaori-NOM   be-CONJ   happy   thing
     '(lit.) (that) Ken has Kaori, and he is happy.'

As in Japanese, the first nominals of the Korean non-canonical constructions (18) and (19) also control the gap, but not the second nominals.

(18) Young-suk$_i$-nun   ai$_j$-ka   manh-ase,   ($\emptyset_{i/*j}$)   hayngpokha-yess-ta.
     Young-suk-TOP   child-NOM   many-CONJ   happy-PAST-DEC
     'Young-suk$_i$ had many children, so she was happy.'
(19) Young-suk$_i$-nun   Ken$_j$-ka   philyoha-yese,   ($\emptyset_{i/*j}$)   cenhwaha-yess-ta.
     Young-suk-TOP   Ken-NOM   long.for-be.CONJ   call on the phone-PAST-DEC
     'Young-suk needed Ken, and she called him on the phone.'

     We showed that the first (non-canonically marked) nominals in non-canonical constructions showed behavioral and control properties of the subject, in other words, they behaved as syntactic pivots in these constructions. Therefore, they are taken as the subjects of the sentences.

     We will also examine coding properties suggested by Keenan (1976), by which we do not determine the subject of the sentence but show some properties of non-canonical constructions, however. The coding

properties include word order, case marking, and verb agreement: the subject tends to appear in sentence-initial position with nominative case, and the predicate tends to agree with it. It will be shown that while these properties are not limited to the first nominal in non-canonical constructions, it should be noted that the second nominal tend to show the coding properties.

First, with regard to word order, the dative nominal in the dative subject construction and the first nominative nominal in the double nominative construction (which tend to be an experiencer) appear in a sentence-initial position preceding other nominals. The unmarked word orders are DAT-NOM for the dative subject construction and NOM-NOM for the double nominative construction, as shown in (20a) and (21a)[8].

(20) a. Ken-ni   sono hon-ga   hituyoona   (koto)
        Ken-DAT the book-NOM   necessary   thing
        '(that) Ken needs the book' or '(that) the book is necessary for Ken'
     b. sono hon-ga   Ken-ni   hituyoona   (koto)
        the book-NOM   Ken-DAT   necessary   thing
        '(that) the book is necessary for Ken'

(21) a. Ken-ga   Kaori-ga   sukina   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   Kaori-NOM   like   thing
        '(that) Ken likes Kaori'
     b. Kaori-ga   Ken-ga   sukina   (koto)
        Kaori-NOM   Ken-NOM   like   thing
        '(that) Kaori likes Ken' and '#(that) Ken likes Kaori'

Even though Japanese has relatively free word order, there are marked ones, as in (20b) and (21b). It is hard to get the interpretation "Ken likes Kaori" in (21b) without some context or stress on *Kaori*. However, if we change the proper noun *Kaori* to an inanimate noun, such as *okasi* 'sweets,' which is lower on Silverstein's hierarchy[9] than the proper human noun, as in (22), the inversion becomes easier with a stress on *okasi* because of the semantic relationship between the two participants.

(22) ?okasi-ga   Kaori-ga   suki-na   (koto)
      sweets-NOM   Kaori-NOM   like-COP thing
      '(that) Kaori likes sweets' or '(that) sweets like Kaori'

Let's take some examples from another language. Hebrew, which is a Semitic language, can have relatively free word order like Japanese; the unmarked word order is NOM-(PRED)-ACC (SVO) in

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[8] In a context in which the theme argument is emphasized, it can appear in sentence-initial position, as in (20b) and (21b). In addition to it, inversion becomes more natural if we stress the first argument in (20b) and (21b).

[9] Silverstein (1976) proposes the following hierarchy:

First/second person > third-person pronoun > proper name > human common noun > animate common noun > inanimate common noun, where "A>B" means that A is more dominant.

The proper name *Kaori* is higher than the inanimate common noun *okasi* 'sweet' in the hierarchy.

canonical transitive constructions, as in (23), with the nominative subject preceding the accusative object.

(23) John   ratzax   et   Mary.
     John.NOM   kill   ACC   Mary
     'John kills Mary.'

Hebrew also has some non-canonical constructions such as (24) and (25), and their unmarked word orders are DAT-NOM and DAT-ACC, respectively.

(24) a. li   ha sefer   exrexi.
        1.SG.DAT   DF book   necessary
        'The book is necessary for me.'
     b. le   Mary   ba   tapuax.
        DAT Mary   want   apple
        'Mary wants an apple.'
(25) a. yesh   li   et   ha sefer   haze.
        be   1.SG.DAT   ACC   DF book   this
        'I have this book.'
     b. le   John   yesh   et   ha sefer   haze.
        DAT John   be   ACC   DF book   this
        'John has this book.'

Though the dative nominal generally precedes the nominative or accusative nominals, the word order between the dative nominal and the predicate is affected by the phonological weight of the nominal: if the dative nominal is one syllable, it follows the predicate as in (25a), and if it has two or more syllables, it precedes the predicate[10], as in (25b). ACC-DAT order, as in (26), adds an emphatic meaning to the accusative marked nominal, while DAT-ACC order does not have such a meaning. This entails that the former is a marked option.

(26) #et   ha sefer   haze   yesh   le   John.   (ACC-DAT)
     ACC DF book   this   be   DAT   John
     'John has this book.' (Emphasis on an accusative nominal 'this book')

It follows that the dative nominal in these non-canonical constructions shows subjecthood with respect to word order in Hebrew.

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[10] Not only phonological factors but also semantic factors affect the word order. Although the first person plural pronoun lanu 'to us (DAT)' has two syllables, it is easy for them to appear after the predicate.
    (i) a. atsuv   lanu.
           sad   1.PL.DAT
           'We are sad.'
       b. lanu   atsuv.
           1.PL.DAT sad
           'We are sad.'

In other languages, non-canonically marked nominals tend to appear also in sentence-initial position or at least precede other nominals in non-canonical constructions. For instance, Icelandic is an accusative language with SVO word order and has quirky subject constructions with various non-canonical case frames, whose examples are shown below.

(27) Strákana   vantar   mat.   (Andrews 2001:88)
     lads:ACC   lack   food
     'The lads lack food.'
(28) Henner   var aknað.   (Zaenen et al. 1990:99)
     her.GEN   was missed
     'She was missed.'
(29) Mér   er   kalt.   (Zaenen et al. 1990:117)
     me (DAT)   is   cold
     'I am cold.'

An accusative nominal appears in sentential initial position in (27), a genitive nominal in (28), and a dative nominal in (29), which show that these nominals show the subject property in word order.

These word orders distinguish non-canonical constructions from other canonical intransitive sentences with an oblique argument, such as the one in (30). *Mari* in (30) is a goal argument marked by dative, which does not usually appear in sentence-initial position.

(30) Ken-ga   Mari-ni   yasasii   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Mari-DAT   be.affectionate.to   thing
     '(that) Ken is affectionate to Mari'

However, in an existential construction, a locative argument appears in sentence-initial position, as in (31), as claimed by Kuno (1973b)[11]. This means that the locative argument is a subject in terms of word order in (31). Moreover, existential constructions in other languages tend to share the same word order, as is often pointed out (Clark 1978, Lizotto 1983).

(31) tukue-no   ue-ni   hon-ga   at-ta.   (Kuno 1973b: 265)
     desk-GEN   top-LOC book-NOM   be-PAST
     'There was a book on the desk.'

The second coding property we examine is the case marking of the nominal. Keenan (1976) says, "subjects in intransitive sentences are usually not case marked if any of the NPs in the L are not case

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[11] He shows several pieces of evidence to show the unmarked word order of the existential sentence in Japanese is LSV (Location-Subject-Verb) and not SLV (Subject-Location-Verb). We can not show them here, but please refer to Kuno (1973b). We will examine the similarities and differences between the existential sentence and non-canonical constructions in Chapter 3.

marked," In accusative languages, it is generally the nominative case which tends to be zero marked. Japanese does have overt nominative marking *–ga* that is the typical marking for subjects, and it will be shown here that the second nominals tend to show the subject property concerning case marking in non-canonical constructions, as they are assigned nominative case, as shown in (32). Their first arguments are usually assigned dative, genitive or instrumental case marking, which are not canonical case markings for subjects.

(32) a. Ken-ni-wa   yakyuu-ga   tanosii.   (Japanese)
      Ken-DAT-TOP   baseball-NOM enjoyable
      'Baseball is enjoyable for Ken.'
   b. mAza   nehamI Doka   dukh-t-a.   (Marathi: Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001:313)
      I-GEN.N always   head.N   ache-IMPERF-N
      'I always have a headache.'

In double nominative constructions, however, both of the nominals are assigned nominative case, as in (33), therefore both of them show subjecthood.

(33) Mari-ga   gokiburi-ga   kiraina   (koto)
     Mari-TOP   cockroach-NOM   dislike   thing
     '(that) Mari dislikes cockroaches.'

In the DAT-ACC type non-canonical constructions observed in Hebrew or Icelandic, neither argument shows the coding property of subject in the case marking, since there is no nominative-marked nominal (see sentences in (25)).

      Thirdly, we will examine agreement, another coding property of subject. Japanese does not have an agreement system, so we will look at examples from other languages. We will examine Hebrew, in which verbs in the present tense agree with their subjects in number and gender, and those in the past tense, agree in number, gender, and person[12]. Hebrew has three types of non-canonical constructions: DAT-NOM,

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[12] They lose agreement when the subject is first person singular and plural or third person and plural in the past tense, however. See examples in (i).
   (i)   a.   ani   kone   et   ha   sefer.
              1.SG.M   buy.SG.M ACC   DF   book.SG
              'I (M) buy the book.'
        b.   hu   kone   et   ha   sefer.
              3.SG.M   buy.SG.M. ACC   DF   book.SG
              'He buys the book.'
        c.   hi   kona   et   ha   sefer.
              3.SG.F   buy.SG.F   ACC DF book.SG
              'She buys the book.'
        d.   hem   konim   et   ha   sefer.
              3.PL.M   buy.PL.M ACC DF book.SG
              'They (M) buy the book.'

DAT-ACC, and DAT types. In all of these constructions, the dative arguments do not trigger agreement. In (34), DAT type, the (underlined) verb form does not change, though the number of the dative argument changes.

(34) a. <u>atsuv</u>   lo.
       sad   3.SG.M.DAT
       'He is sad.'
   b. lanu   <u>atsuv</u>[10].
       3.PL.DAT   sad
       'We are sad.'

On the other hand, the verb form changes as the choice of the second nominative argument is changed in DAT-NOM type. The sentences (35a) and (35b) have dative nominals in different genders, but the verb forms remain the same. However, (35a) and (35c) have different verb forms agreeing with the gender of their nominative arguments. It suggests that the (underlined) predicates agree with the nominative arguments and not with the dative ones. Similar patterns are observed in other languages[13].

(35) DAT-NOM type (verb agrees with nominative nominal)
    a. <u>kaav</u>   li   ha   rosh
       hurt.PAST.3.SG.M   1.SG.DAT DF head.SG.M
       'I had a headache.'
    b. <u>kaav</u>   lo   ha   rosh.
       hurt.PAST.3.SG.M   1.SG.DAT DF head.SG.M
       'He had a headache.'
    c. <u>kaava</u>   li   ha   beten.
       hurt.PAST.3.SG.F   1.SG.DAT   DF   stomach.SG.F
       'I had a stomachache.'

(36) shows that in the DAT-ACC type, the verb agrees with accusative arguments in number and gender.

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     e.   hen   konot   et   ha   sefer.
         3.PL.F   buy.PL.F   ACC DF book.SG
         'They (F) buy the book.'
[13] See also Verma and Mohanan (1990) on South Asian languages, which have the same types of agreement phenomena.

(36) DAT-ACC type (verb agrees with accusative argument)
    a. <u>haya</u>   li   et   ha   sefer.
       be.PAST.3.SG.M.   1.SG.DAT   ACCDF book.SG.M
       'I had the book.'
    b. <u>haya</u>   la   et   ha   sefer.
       be.PAST.3.SG.M   3.SG.F.DAT   ACCDF book.SG.M
       'She had the book.'
    c. <u>hayu</u>   li   et   ha   sfarim.
       be.PAST.3.PL   1.SG.DAT   ACCDF books.PL.M
       'I had the books.'

(36) shows that the second accusative nominal triggers agreement here. Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) take such an agreement system, as in (36), to support the claim that the second nominative nominal is the subject.

In non-canonical constructions the first argument tends to show a subject property in word order, but the second nominal tends to show subject properties with respect to case marking and agreement. In this way, the coding properties of subject are distributed over two arguments, and it is hard to identify the subject based on them. As mentioned earlier, the subject of the sentence is determined based on the behavioral and control properties, which show which argument behaves as the syntactic pivot. With regard to non-canonical constructions, it is the first argument that behaves as the subject, even though it is marked with a non-nominative case such as a dative case.

2.2.3. Objects

It is also important to examine the object properties of nominals in non-canonical constructions. There are at least two claims: one which takes the second nominal to be an object, and another which takes it to be another subject. The former claim is made in previous studies such as Kuno (1973), Shibatani (1978), and Kishimoto (2001, 2004, 2005), and the latter one is suggested by Shibatani (2000a, 2001) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) recently, which can be traced back to Martin (1958) and Mikami (1953/1972) and also in some traditional Japanese grammar.

First we will examine the former claim. Though many studies assume that non-canonical constructions are transitive, there are few studies that show the objecthood of the second nominals. Recently Kishimoto (2001, 2004, 2005) shows that the second nominal shows object properties, based on some objecthood tests for Japanese, such as *-no koto* and raising. We will review one of his objecthood tests here, which is *–no koto* insertion.

With regard to *-no koto* insertion, Kishimoto refers to Sasaguri's (1996, 2000) studies on the

properties of the formal noun *-no koto*, in which she claims that *-no koto* <IDENTITY>[14] is one modality element that can appear only in the direct object position of a sentence with a predicate that includes the speaker's psychological attitude[15]. When we compare the transitive sentence (37a) that takes *–no koto* in the direct object position to the one (37b) that takes it in the subject position, the former is grammatical, but the latter is not.

(37) a. Ken-wa   *Naomi-no*   *koto-o*   yon-da/aisitei-ta.   (transitive sentence)
     Ken-TOP Naomi-GEN   thing-ACC   call-PAST/love-PAST
     'Ken called/loved Naomi.'
    b. **Ken-no koto-wa   Naomi-o   yon-da/aisitei-ta.
     Ken-GEN thing-TOP   Naomi-ACC   call-PAST/love-PAST
     'Ken called/loved Naomi.'

The sentence is not grammatical when the patient argument appears in the subject position in case of passive, as shown (38). *-No koto* does not appear either in the subject position of intransitive sentences or in the oblique object position, as shown in (39).

(38) **Ken-no   *koto-wa*   Naomi-ni   {yob/ais}-are-ta.   (passive sentence)
     Ken-GEN   thing-TOP   Naomi-DAT   {call/love}-PASS-PAST
     'Ken was called/loved by Naomi.'
(39) a. **Ken-no koto-wa   hasit-ta.   (intransitive sentence)
     Ken-GEN thing-TOP   run-PAST
     'Ken ran.'
    b. **Ken-no   *koto-wa*   Naomi-ni   at-ta.
     Ken-GEN   thing-TOP   Naomi-DAT   meet-PAST
     'Ken met Naomi.'
    c. *Ken-wa   *Naomi-no*   *koto-ni*   at-ta.
     Ken-TOP   Naomi-GEN   thing-DAT   meet-PAST
     'Ken met Naomi.'

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[14] Sasaguri (1996) shows that *-koto* has some uses, and <IDENTITY> is one usage that does not change the meaning of the modified noun but functions to abstract the entity. See Sasaguri (1996).

[15] Sasaguri (2000) also points out that the noun should be a specified element by showing the following examples.
   (i)   a.   *inu-no   koto-ga   sugoku   sukinanda.
           dog-GEN   thing-NOM   very   like
           'I like dogs very much.'
       b.   kono inu-no   koto-ga   sugoku   sukinanda.
           this   dog-GEN thing-NOM   very   like
           'I like this dog very much.'
She also states that *–no koto* is taken by the predicate unit consisting of a verb and a modality by showing the following examples.
   (ii)   a.   ?*Hanako-no   koto-o   nagut-ta.
           Hanako-GEN   thing-ACC   hit-PAST
           'I hit Hanako.'
       b.   Hanako-no   koto-o   nagut-te-yari-ta-i.
           Hanako-GEN   thing-ACC   hit-CONJ-give-want-PRES
           'I want to hit Hanako.'

From these distributions of *-no koto*, it follows that *-no koto* appears only in the object position in transitive sentences, so Kishimoto (2004) suggests it as an objecthood test.

He points out that we can add *-no koto* to the second nominative nominals in non-canonical constructions[16], as shown in (40), and not to the first ones, as in (41).

(40) a. Ken-ni-wa   *Naomi-no*   *koto-ga*   {urayamasii/hituyoona}-yooda.   (DAT-NOM)
    Ken-DAT-TOP Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   {envious/necessary}-seem
    'Ken seems to envy/need Naomi.'
    b. Ken-wa   *Naomi-no*   *koto-ga*   sukina-yooda.   (NOM-NOM)
    Ken-TOP   Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   like-seem
    'Ken seems to like Naomi.'
(41) a. * *Ken-no*   *koto-ni-wa*   Naomi-ga   {urayamasii/hituyoona}-yooda
    Ken-GEN   thing-DAT-TOP   Naomi-NOM   {envious/necessary}-seem
    'Ken seems to be envious of/need Naomi.'
    b. **Ken-no*   *koto-wa*   Naomi-ga   sukina-yooda.
    Ken-GEN   thing-TOP   Naomi-NOM   like-seem
    'Ken seems to like Naomi.'

He claims that these constructions are transitive constructions[17], because they take direct objects.

Now we will examine Shibatani's (2000a, 2001) argument that the second nominal in non-canonical constructions is a subject. Shibatani takes the second nominal to be a "small subject" as opposed to a "large subject" that is the first nominal. The first reason is its case marking; the generalization that what is marked by *–ga*, a nominative case, is a subject in Japanese[18]. The second reason is subject-verb agreement in other languages. He also points out that the second argument also participates in honorification and reflexive binding. It is the referent of the nominative nominal that is the target of honorification in (42a) and that binds the reflexive pronoun in (42b), because the dative subject referred to by the familiar second person form *kimi* 'you' could not trigger the honorification process.

(42) a. kimi-ni (wa) rippa na go-ryoosin ga oide-ni   naru (zya nai ka).
    you-DAT (TOP) splendid COP HON-parents NOM exist(HON)-ADV become (right?)
    'You have splendid parents, right?'
    b. Yamada-san ga   okusan ga zibun no kaisya o keiei-nasatte   iru.

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[16] It is impossible to put *–no koto* in possessive constructions as shown in (i), though Kishimoto takes them as transitive. He concludes that it is not accepted by a semantic reason, since the nominal is not referential.
    (i)*Ken-ni-wa   kodomo-no   koto-ga   i-ru.
    Ken-DAT-TOP   child-GEN   thing-NOM   be-PRES
    'Ken has a child.'
[17] It should be noted that the non-canonical constructions tend to be stative sentences that show some kind of evaluations or psychological states that imply the speaker's attitudes, so it does not violate the semantic restriction on the predicate that Sasaguri (2000) points out.
[18] Onoe (1997-1998) shows the similar idea about the definition of a subject in Japanese.

Yamada-Mr.　　NOM　wife NOM　self of　　company　ACC management-do (HON)　be
'It is Mr. Yamada$_i$ whose wife$_j$ is managing self's$_{*i/j}$ own company.'

This is problematic, because these two properties are behavioral and control properties of subjects, which we have already demonstrated are difficult to use in determining grammatical subjects. However, not all the possessive constructions show such behaviors; rather, it is limited to some types of the second nominals, and there are other problems involved with taking the second arguments to be subjects, which we will show in Section 3.6.

In this section, we reviewed different views concerning the status of the second nominal in the non-canonical constructions[19]. In our hypotheses, however, it is not very important whether they show the same behaviors as the object in the canonical transitive sentence. What is more important is the question of whether they are arguments that are required by the predicates of non-canonical constructions or not, which we will discuss in the following section. We will return to the status of this second nominal in Chapter 3 in the discussion of their intransitive uses.

2.2.4. Thematic structures of non-canonical constructions

Now we will discuss the thematic structures of non-canonical constructions. If we pay attention to the meanings that the predicates describe, they can be classified into four types: possession, psychological state, physiological state, and evaluation. The predicates of each type are listed in (43), and (44) shows examples of each type.

(43)a. Possession/ Ability: *aru/iru* 'be/have,' *nai* 'don't have,' *ooi* 'many,' *sukunai* 'not many,' *dekiru* 'be able to,' *wakaru* 'know,' *hetada* 'not good at,' *zyozuda* 'good at,' *mazui* 'not good at,' *nigateda* 'have trouble in,' *tokuida* 'be clever in'
   b. Psychological state: *kowai* 'scarely,' *nikui* 'hateful,' *osorosii* 'scarely,' *tanosii* 'interesting,' *arigatai* 'thankworthly,' *hazukasii* 'ashamed,' *kawaii* 'faddle/cute,' *netamasii* 'jealous,' *urayamasii* 'envious,' *hosii* 'want,' *kiraida* 'dislikable,' *sukida* 'likable,' *zannenda* 'pity'
   c. Physiological state: *itai* 'painful,' *kayui* 'itchy'
   d. Evaluation: *muzukasii* 'difficult,' *kantanda* 'easy,' *kanouda* 'possible,' *konnanda* 'difficult,' *hituyoda* 'necessary,' *iru* 'necessary/need,' *-nikui* 'tough,' *-durai* 'tough,' *-yasui* 'easy' (tough type adjectives)

(44) a. kare-ni　　　kodomo-ga　　ooi　　(koto)　　　　　　　(Possession)
        3.SG.M-DAT　child-NOM　　many　thing
        '(that) he has many children'
     b. Ken-ga　　　hebi-ga　　　kowai　　(koto)　　　　　　　(Psychological state)

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[19] The status of the nominals in the non-canonical constructions and their syntactic structures will be discussed in Chapter 5, arguing also their predication types.

Ken-NOM   snake-NOM   scary   thing

'(lit.) (that) snakes are scary to him'

c. Ken-ni   kono   kutu-ga   itai   (koto)   (Physiological state)

Ken-DAT this   shoes-NOM   painful   thing

'(that) these shoes are painful for Ken'

d. Ken-ni   eigo-ga   muzukasii   (koto)   (Evaluation)

Ken-DAT   English-NOM   difficult   thing

'(that) English is difficult for Ken.'

With regard to their thematic structures, predicates of non-canonical constructions can be divided into three types: possessive predicates take a possessor and a theme (posssesum) as their participants, evaluation predicates take a reference point and a theme, and psychological and physiological state predicates take an experiencer and a theme.

Though the notion of thematic roles is a semantic concept, it is important to note that the differences in thematic roles are reflected in syntactic behaviors, which we will see below. First, the experiencer is different from other two thematic roles, in that the experiencer is expected by the speaker to experience psychological or physiological states (here "experience" does not strictly mean the experience in the real world, but is what the speaker conceptualizes), while the same is not always true for the possessor and the reference point. The same interpretation can be obtained even in canonical transitive sentences when the thematic role is the same. (45) shows that it is difficult to describe psychological states if the speaker does not know what the experiencer is experiencing.

(45) a. ??Ken   zisin-ga   doo   omot-teiru-ka-wa   sira-nai-ga,   Ken-wa   Mari-ga

Ken   self-NOM   how   think-PROG-Q-TOP   know-NEG-though   Ken-TOP   Mari-NOM

kiraidat-ta.

dislike-PAST

'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he disliked Mari.'

b. ?? Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken-wa   Mari-o   kiratte-i-ta.

Ken-TOP   Mari-ACC   dislike-STAT-PAST

'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he disliked Mari.'

On the other hand, the possession and the evaluation type constructions do not cause any problems in their interpretation, since they are not expected to experience, for example, a possession of the ability in (46a) or a necessity of money in (46b).

(46) a. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken(-ni)-wa   eigo-ga   deki-ru.

Ken(-DAT)-TOP English-NOM   be.able.to-PRES

'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he is good at English.'

b. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken(-ni)-wa   okane-ga   hituyooda.

Ken(-DAT)-TOP   money-NOM   necessary

'I don't know what Ken thinks, but money is necessary for Ken.'
 c. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga, Ken(-ni)-wa   mago-ga   ooi/iru.
                                                Ken(-DAT)-TOP grandchild-NOM   many/be
  'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he has many grandchildren.'

The possessor is also distinguishable from the experiencer and the reference in an alternation phenomenon with a complex case particle, *–ni totte* 'for.' Some of the dative-marked nominals in dative subject constructions can also be marked by *–ni totte*, and we will claim that this alternation is sensitive to their thematic roles. In short, the possessor cannot be marked by *–ni totte*, as shown in (47), but the reference point and the experiencer[20] can, as shown in (48) and (49).

(47) a. *Ken-nitotte   eigo-ga   zyoozuna/wakaru   (koto)
        Ken-for   English-NOM be.good.at/understand   thing
      '(that) Ken is good at/understands English.'
  b. *Ken-nitotte   kodomo-ga   iru/ooi   (koto)
        Ken-for   child-NOM   be/many   thing
      '(that) Ken has a child/many children.'
(48) a. Ken-nitotte   Hanako-ga   hituyoona   (koto)
        Ken-for   Hanako-NOM necessary   thing
      '(that) Hanako is necessary for Ken.'
  b. Ken-nitotte   eigo-ga   muzukasii/kantanna   (koto)
        Ken-for   English-NOM difficult/easy   thing
      '(that) English is difficult/easy for Ken.'
(49) Ken-nitotte sono kooi-ga   {arigatakat/osorosikat/omosirokat/zannendat}-ta   (koto)
    Ken-for the behavior-NOM   {grateful/fearful/interesting/pity}-PAST   thing
    '(that) the behavior was grateful/fearful/interesting/pity for Ken.'

It was shown that the thematic roles of the first nominals of non-canonical constructions, which behave as the subjects of the constructions, are divided into three: a possessor, an experiencer, and a reference point. The second nominals bear the theme in all types of non-canonical constructions, though if necessary they might be further subdivided into, for example, a stimulus, a possessum, or a theme.

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[20] The experiencer seems to be interpreted as a reference point in the alternated sentences, since the alternation does not easily arise in declarative sentences that express the psychological state of the speaker as in (ia). In addition, it is more acceptable with a topicalized theme, as shown in (ib), which might suggest that it is a kind of evaluation of the theme and not expressing a psychological state of the experiencer. Therefore, it is possible to claim that *–ni totte* alternation occurs only in evaluation; however, we will leave the conclusion for further research because we cannot make a clear boundary between the experiencer and the reference point in these constructions.
(i) a. watasi{-ni/??-nitotte}-wa   inu-ga   kowai.
      1.SG-{DAT/-for}-TOP   dog-NOM   scary
     'I am scared of dogs.'
   b. watasi-nitotte-wa   inu-wa   kowai.
      1.SG-for-TOP   dog-TOP   scary
     '(lit.) Dogs are scary for me.'

2.2.5. States

Lastly, we will show that non-canonical constructions generally express stative events. Cross-linguistically, predicates of non-canonical constructions tend to be adjectives[21] (we will use "adjective," including adjectival nominals, with regard to Japanese) or stative verbs, which is also true for Japanese, as shown in (50) and (51) that are lists of the non-canonical predicates.

(50) DAT-NOM type:
    Verbs: *-reru* (potential derivative[22]), *dekiru* 'can do,' *wakaru* 'understand,' *aru* 'have/exist,' *nai* 'do not have/do not exist,' *iru* 'exist,' *iru* 'need'
    Adjectives: *omosiroi* 'fun/enjoyable,' *osorosii* 'fearful,' *tanosii* 'enjoyable,' *zannen da* 'sorry,' *arigatai* 'thankful,' *urayamasii* 'envious,' *ooi* 'many,' *sukunai* 'little,' *nikurasii* 'hateful' *itosii* 'dear,' *hazukasii* 'ashamed,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *netamasii* 'jealous,' *kutiosii* 'mortifying,' *muzukasii* 'difficult[23],' *hituyoo da* 'necessary,' *kanoo da* 'possible,' *konnan da* 'difficult,' *yooi da* 'easy,' *nigate da* 'not good at doing something,' (*itai* 'painful,' *kayui* 'itchy')[24] *-nikui* 'tough,' *-durai* 'tough,' *-yasui* 'easy' (tough type adjectives)

(51) NOM-NOM type:
    Adjectives : *-tai* (desiderative derivative), *hosii* 'want,' *umai* 'good at,' *mazui* 'bad at,' *heta da* 'bad at,' *zyoozu da* 'good at,' *kirai da* 'hateful,' *suki da* 'like,' *tokui da* 'good at'

Regardless of the parts of speech of the predicates involved, the non-canonical constructions themselves express stative events. In Japanese, sentences with predicates in the present tense express future events when they describe non-stative events, as in (52a). On the other hand, if they describe stative events or properties, such sentences are interpreted to express present states even with the same predicates as in (52b).

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[21] Adjectives are a part of speech that differs from language to language. Dixon (1972) states that prototypical adjectives express "properties concepts," but the situation differs from one language to another. Wetzer (1996) distinguishes nouny and verby adjectives, and he thinks that Japanese has a class of "verby" adjectives. Though most adjectives have predicative uses, there are different distributions. Nitta (1998) points out that adjectives that describe properties tend to appear as attributive modifiers while adjectives that describe psychological and physiological states, judgments, and evaluations tend to appear as predicates.

[22] There are some modals and derivatives that have non-canonical constructions, but it is not our present purpose to explore this area. Although modals and derivatives can co-occur with many kinds of predicates, the purpose of this paper is to examine the correlations between predicate types and non-canonical constructions. We therefore limit the discussion to lexical predicates.

[23] Although Kuno (1973) treats the predicate muzukasii 'difficult' as a NON-NOM predicate, it is more like a DAT-NOM predicate:
    (i) Ken-ni(-wa)   kono   mondai-ga   muzukasii.
          Ken-DAT(-TOP)   this   problem-NOM difficult
          'For Ken this problem is difficult.'

[24] We will assume these predicates are DAT-NOM type predicates, which will be argued in Chapter 5.

(52) a. Ken-ga   hasir-u.
    Ken-NOM   run-PRES
    'Ken will run.'

  b. sinkansen-wa   totemo   hayaku   hasir-u.
    Shinkansen.bullet.train   very   fast   run-PRES
    'Shinkansen runs very fast.'

This difference in interpretation can be a test to distinguish whether the sentence describes a stative or non-stative event. Judging from this test, non-canonical constructions describe stative events; they express present states with predicates in present tense, as in (53).

(53) a. Ken-wa   ryoori-ga   zyoozuda.
    Ken-TOP   cooking-NOM be.good.at
    'Ken is good at cooking.'

  b. Ken-wa   ryoori-ga   kiraida.
    Ken-TOP   cooking-NOM dislike
    'Ken dislikes cooking.'

We showed that non-canonical constructions have some different properties compared with canonical constructions, and that the first non-canonically marked nominals behave as subjects in these constructions. It should be noted that non-canonical constructions express stative events, taking stative predicates.

2.3. Domain and classification of non-canonical constructions in Japanese

We will divide non-canonical constructions in Japanese into two classes depending on their case frames: dative subject constructions that take a DAT-NOM case frame[25] and double nominative constructions that take a NOM-NOM case frame, as shown in (54) and (55) respectively.

(54) Dative subject constructions (DAT-NOM)
  a. Ken-ni(/-ga)   kodomo-ga   iru   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-NOM   child-NOM   be   thing
    '(that) Ken has a child'

  b. Ken-ni(/-ga)   kono hon-ga   hituyoona   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-NOM   this   book-NOM   necessary   thing
    '(that) Ken needs this book' '(lit.) (that) this book is necessary for Ken'

(55) Double nominative constructions (NOM-NOM)
  a. Ken-ga   Mari-ga   sukina   (koto)
    Ken-NOM Mari-NOM   like   thing

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[25] Note that Japanese dative subject construction can also take a NOM-NOM case frame, as shown in (54).

'(that) Ken likes Mari'
b. Ken-ga   eigo-ga   umai   (koto)
  Ken-NOM   English-NOM   be.good.at   thing
  '(that) Ken is good at English'

The dative subject constructions will be further divided into two sub-types: One has an intransitive counterpart, which we call Type 1, and another lacks it, Type 2.

2.3.1. Two types of dative subject constructions

The dative marked nominal behaves as the subject in the dative subject constructions, as confirmed in Section 2.2. The dative argument in this construction shows a case alternation, as shown in (54) and (56). The predicates that take dative subject constructions are listed in (57).

(56) a. Ken-ni/-ga   kono   hon-ga   hituyoona   (koto)
       Ken-DAT/-NOM   this   book-NOM   necessary   thing
       '(that) this book is necessary for Ken'
   b. Ken-ni/-ga   musume-ga   iru (koto)
       Ken-DAT/-NOM   daughter-NOM   be   thing
       '(that) Ken has a daughter'
(57) Predicates of dative subject constructions:
   verbs: -reru (potential derivative), dekiru 'can do,' wakaru 'understand', aru 'have/exist,' nai 'do
       not have/do not exist,' iru 'exist,' mieru 'visible,' kikoeru 'audible,' iru 'need'
   Adjectives: nai 'do not have/do not exist,' -nikui 'tough,' -durai 'tough,' -yasui 'easy' (tough type
       adjectives), omosiroi 'fun/enjoyable,' osorosii 'fearful,' tanosii 'enjoyable,' arigatai
       'thankful'(, itai 'painful', kayui 'itchy'), urayamasii 'envious,' ooi 'many,' sukunai 'little,'
       nikurasii 'hateful,' itosii 'dear,' hazukasii 'ashamed,' kutiosii 'mortifying,' muzukasii
       'difficult,' arigatai 'thankful,' (itai 'painful', kayui 'itchy,') hituyoo da 'necessary,' kanoo
       da 'possible,' konnan da 'difficult,' yooi da 'easy,' nigate da 'not good at doing
       something,' zannen da 'sorry,' kowai 'scary'

As we can see in (57), some derivational suffixes and compound adjectives that take complement clauses also appear with this case frame, such as the potential suffix -reru and tough type adjectives, e.g. -nikui, -durai, and -yasui. They take complement clauses and change their case frames when they are transitive clauses, as shown in (58), though transitive case frames are also acceptable, as in (59).

(58) a. Ken-ni/-ga   eigo-ga   hanas-eru   (koto)
       Ken-DAT/-NOM   English-NOM   speak-POT   thing
       '(that) Ken can speak English'
   b. Ken-ni/-ga   eigo-ga   hanasi-yasui   (koto)
       Ken-DAT/-NOM   English-NOM speak-easy   thing
       '(that) Ken can speak English easily.'/'(that) English is easy for Ken to speak.'

(59) a. Ken-ga   eigo-o   hanas-eru   (koto)
       Ken-NOM   English-ACC   speak-POT   thing
       '(that) Ken can speak English'
    b. Ken-ga   eigo-o   hanasi-durai   (koto)
       Ken-NOM   English-ACC   speak-tough   thing
       '(that) English is tough for Ken to speak'

The dative subject constructions are further divided into two types: one that allows an intransitive variant, and another that does not, which we call Type 1 and Type 2 respectively. Intransitive constructions with some of the predicates in (57) are not elliptical, though they take only one argument, as shown in (60b).

(60) a. watasi-ni-wa   tenisu-ga   muzukasii.   (Dative subject construction)
       1.SG-DAT-TOP   tennis-NOM   difficult
       'Tennis is difficult for me.'
    b. Tenisu-wa   muzukasii.   (Intransitive sentence)
       tenisu-TOP   difficult
       'Tennis is difficult.'

We will call this type of dative subject constructions as "Type 1 (dative subject constructions)," whose predicates are listed in (61).

(61) DAT-NOM predicates (Type 1):
    verbs: *-reru* (potential derivative[26])
    Adjectives: *omosiroi* 'fun/enjoyable,' *osorosii* 'fearful,' *tanosii* 'enjoyable,' *arigatai* 'thankful,'
       urayamasii 'envious,' *nikurasii* 'hateful,' *itosii* 'dear,' *hazukasii* 'ashamed,' *muzukasii*
       'difficult,' *arigatai* 'thankful,' (*itai* 'painful', *kayui* 'itchy,') *kanoo da* 'possible,' *konnan
       da* 'difficult,' *zannen da* 'sorry'

It should be noted that the intransitive constructions with these predicates can be divided into two types depending on their thematic structures: one with a theme subject, and another with an experiencer subject.

In the intransitive construction with a theme argument, the theme argument is the target of honorification, as shown in (62), which means that it behaves as the subject of the sentence.

(62) a. Yamada-sensei-wa   muzukasiku-te   irassyaru.
       Yamada-teacher-TOP   difficult-CONJ   be.HON
       'Teacher Yamada is difficult (to go along with).'
    b. Yamada-sensei-wa   o-kowai.
       Yamada-teacher-TOP   HON-scary
       'Teacher Yamada is scary.'

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[26] There are modals and derivatives that can appear in non-canonical constructions, and modals and derivatives can co-occur with many kinds of predicates. We will discuss these derived non-canonical constructions in Chapter 4.

    c. Yamada-sensei-wa   tanosiku-te   irassyaru.
       Yamada-teacher-TOP   pleasing-CONJ be.HON
       'Teacher Yamada is pleasing.'

This differentiates this construction from the dative subject construction in which the theme argument does not behave as the subject. All of the predicates that express evaluation other than *hituyooda* 'necessary' or *iru* 'need'[27], and some predicates that express psychological states such as *omosiroi* 'interesting' and *osorosii* 'fearful' allow the intransitive constructions taking theme subjects and describing their properties. These predicates are listed in (61) as Type 1.

       Another type of intransitive construction describes psychological states of an experiencer that behaves as the subject, as shown in (63). Only some of psychological predicates in (61) allow this type of intransitive construction.

  (63) a. (watasi-wa)   kowai.
       1.SG-TOP   scared
       'I am scared.'
     b. (watasi-wa)   tanosii.
       1.SG-TOP   amused
       'I am amused.'

The argument should be an experiencer in this type, therefore the construction only describes his or her psychological state. Hence, inanimate nominals cannot be the subjects of this type, and they must be interpreted as the theme, as in (64b).

  (64) a. Yamada-san-wa   {omosiroi/kowai}-yooda.
       Yamada-Mr./Mrs.-TOP   {interesting/scary}-seem
       'Mr/s. Yamada seems to be interesting/ scary.'/'Mr/s. Yamada seems to enjoy/ be scared.'
     b. kono   eiga-wa   {omorisoi/kowai}-yooda.
       this   movie-TOP   {interesting/scary}-seem
       'This movie seems to be interesting/ scary.'

These intransitive constructions which take an experiencer argument differ from dative subject constructions, because the experiencer argument cannot be marked by dative case, as shown in (65), though the dative

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[27] (ib) shows that the theme argument of a necessity predicate cannot be the target of honorification, and thus, is not the subject of the sentence.
    (i)   a. Ken-ga/-ni   Yamada-sensei-ga   hituyooda.
          Ken-NOM/-DAT   Yamada-teacher-NOM   necessary
          'Ken needs teacher Yamada.'
        b. *Yamada-sensei-wa   hituyoo-de   irassyaru.
          Yamada-teacher-TOP   necessary-CONJ   be.HON
          'Teacher Yamada is necessary.'

subject constructions with the same predicates assign dative case to the experiencer argument, as shown in (66).

    (65) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   tanosii   (koto)
         Ken-NOM/-DAT   enjoyable   thing
         '(that) Ken seems to be pleasing'
       b. watasi-ga/*-ni   hazukasii   (koto)
         1.SG-NOM/-DAT   ashamed   thing
         '(that) I am ashamed'
    (66) a. Ken-ga/-ni   tenisu-ga   tanosii   (koto)
         Ken-NOM/-DAT   tennis-NOM   enjoyable thing
         '(that) tennis is enjoyable for Ken'
       b. watasi-ga/-ni   hitomae-ga   hazukasii (koto)
         1.SG-NOM/-DAT   in.public-NOM   ashamed   thing
         '(that) I am ashamed in public'

Takezawa and Whitman (1998) explain this difference by the "nominative preservation rule" suggested by Shibatani (1978)[28], which forces sentences to have at least one nominative nominal Since there is only one argument in the intransitive construction, it should be assigned nominative case because of the rule.

    It should be noted that intransitive constructions that take reference points as their sole argument are not acceptable, as shown in (67).

    (67) *Yamada-wa   muzukasii-yooda.
       Yamada-TOP   difficult-seem
       'For Yamada is difficult.' (OK in the meaning 'Yamadaseems to be difficult (to get along with).'

It is impossible to interpret (67) as the meaning "For Yamada (it) is difficult" with *Yamada* as the reference point, but it is acceptable if it describes *Yamada* as a theme and expresses his or her property.

    There are predicates that always require two arguments, however, which we call "Type 2." It should be noted that the possession type of dative subject constructions does not allow intransitive constructions, as shown in (68b-c) and (69b-c).

    (68) a. Ken-ni-wa   kodomo-ga   i-ru.
         Ken-DAT-TOP   child-NOM   be-PRES
         'Ken has a child/children.'
       b. *Ken-ga/*-ni   i-ru.   (<u>Possessor</u>-Theme)
         Ken-NOM/DAT   be-PRES
         'Ken has.' (OK in the reading of 'Ken is (there).')

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[28] Shibatani (1978) suggests that Japanese has a nominative preservation rule that one sentence should have at least one nominative argument.

c. *kodomo-ga   i-ru.   (Possessor-<u>Theme</u>)
   child-NOM   be-PRES
   'Child is possessed' (OK in the reading of 'A child is (there).')

(69) a. Ken-ga/-ni   eigo-ga   deki-ru.
        Ken-NOM/DAT   English-NOM   be.able.to-PRES
        'Ken understands English.'

     b. *Ken-wa   deki-ru.   (<u>Possessor</u>-Theme)
         Ken-TOP   be.able.to-PRES
        'Ken can.' (OK in the reading 'Ken is a brilliant man.')

     c. Eigo??-wa/*-ga   deki-ru.   (Possessor-<u>Theme</u>)
        English-TOP/NOM   be.able.to-PRES
        'English is understandable.'

Sentences with two arguments—a possessor and a possessum—are acceptable, as shown in (68a) and (69a), but the ones with one argument are not as the intended meanings. Therefore, they lack intransitive variants. In some cases the intransitive constructions are grammatical but with different meanings from the possessive constructions. Some sentences can be interpretable as existential sentences, as shown in (68b) and (68c) or the one expressing a property, as in (69b). The existential construction itself is intransitive even with a locative nominal, taking a theme subject, as shown in (70a), in which the theme argument marked by a nominative case is the target of honorification (See also Section 2.4.).

(70) a. ima   kyoositu-ni-wa   subarasii   sensei-ga   takusan   irassyaru. (Locative-<u>Theme</u>)
        now classroom-LOC-TOP   great   teacher-NOM   many   be.HON
        'There are many great teachers in the classroom now.'

     b. kami-wa i-ru.   (Theme)
        god-TOP be-PRES
        'God exists.'

In addition to the possession type, even some of the psychological state or evaluation types, such as *nikui* 'hateful,' *urayamasii* 'envious,' *netamasii* 'envious,' and *hituyooda* 'necessary,' do not seem to allow intransitive variants, as shown in (71b-c) and (72a) that are somehow elliptical and that the nominal cannot be the target of honorification, as shown in (72b).

(71) a. watasi-ni-wa   hanzaisya-ga   nikui.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   criminals-NOM   hateful
        'I hate criminals.'

     b. #watasi-wa   nikui.   (<u>Experiencer</u>-Theme)
         1.SG-DAT-TOP   hateful
        'I hate.'

     c. #hanzaisya-wa   nikui.   (Experiencer-<u>Theme</u>)
         criminals-TOP   hateful
        'Criminals are hateful.'

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(72) a.# Yamada-sensei-wa   nikuku-te   irassyaru.
        Yamada-teacher-TOP   hate-CONJ   be.HON
        'Teacher Yamada hate.'
    b. *Sensei-gata-wa   nikuku-te   irassyaru.
        teacher-PL-TOP   hateful-CONJ   be.HON
        'Teachers are hateful.'

Some of the psychological predicates might be able to express evaluations (which we mentioned in footnote 20 in this chapter), but it should be noted that the psychological predicates that do not allow the intransitive uses do not seem to allow such interpretations, as we cannot interpret (71a) and (71c) as evaluation sentences.

2.3.2. Double nominative constructions

Japanese has another type of non-canonical construction, which is the double nominative construction that takes NOM-NOM case frame, as shown in (73). The second nominative nominal, whose thematic role is a theme, is sometimes marked by accusative case, though nominative case is more acceptable. This alternation is not allowed in the dative subject construction.

(73) a. Ken-ga   Kaori-ga/?-o   sukina   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   Kaori-NOM/-ACC   like   thing
        '(that) Ken likes Kaori'
    b. (watasi-ga)   tyokoreeto-ga/?-o   hosii   (koto)
        1.SG-NOM   chocolate-NOM/-ACC   want   thing
        '(that) I want some chocolate'

The first nominative nominal, whose thematic role is either experiencer or reference point, behaves as the subject in this construction. The predicates that appear in this construction are listed in (74).

(74) NOM-NOM predicates   (cf. (51))
        Adjectives: *-tai* (desiderative derivative), *hosii* 'want,' *umai* 'good at,' *mazui* 'bad at'
        Adjectival nominals: *heta da* 'bad at,' *zyoozu da* 'good at,' *kirai da* 'hateful,' *suki da* 'like,' *tokui da* 'good at'

In contrast to dative subject constructions, the predicates that take double nominative constructions do not allow intransitive, as shown in (75b-c), which are acceptable as elliptical.

(75) a. Ken-ga/-wa   Hanako-ga   sukida.
        Ken-NOM/-TOP   Hanako-NOM like
        'Ken likes Hanako.'

b. *Ken-ga/-wa   sukida.   (<u>Experiencer</u>-Theme)[29]
   Ken-NOM/TOP   like
   'Ken likes.' (OK in the reading 'I like Ken.')
c. *Hanako-ga/-wa   sukida.   (Experiencer-<u>Theme</u>)
   Hanako-NOM/-TOP   like
   'Hanako is likable.' (OK in the reading 'I like Hanako.')

Now the non-canonical constructions are classified into two types, dative subject constructions and double nominative constructions, and the former is further divided into two, Type 1 which allows an intransitive, and Type 2 which does not. These classifications are indispensable in order to map the non-canonical constructions onto the conceptual space, which will be done in Chapter 3.

2.3.3. Problematic cases

One type of non-canonical constructions problematic for structural classification is the ones that express physiological states. (76) and (77) take different case frames, though both of them express the physiological states, sharing the predicates.

(76) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   me-ga   kayui   (koto)   (NOM-NOM)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   eyes-NOM   itchy   thing
        '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'
     b. Ken-ga/*-ni   atama-ga   itai   (koto)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   head-NOM   painful   thing
        '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'
(77) a. Ken-ga/-ni   keito-no   seetaa-ga   kayui   (koto)   (DAT/NOM-NOM)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   wool-GEN   sweater-NOM   itchy   thing
        '(that) woolen sweater is itchy for Ken'
     b. Ken-ga/-ni   konotoge-ga   itai   (koto)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   this thorn-NOM   painful   thing
        '(that) this thorn is painful for Ken'

In (76), dative case marking is not allowed on the first nominals, and the sentences are instances of double nominative constructions. However, it is allowed in (77), in spite of sharing the same predicates with (76), and the sentences are dative subject constructions. Therefore, it is difficult to classify their construction types depending only on their predicates; they may take dative subject constructions, as in (77), and they may take double nominative constructions, as in (76). Such predicates are listed in (78).

(78) Adjectives: *itai* 'painful,' *kayui* 'itchy,' *tumetai* 'cold'

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[29] The underline shows that the argument remains the subject in intransitive use.

With regard to this issue, we will claim in Chapter 5 that these predicates in principle take dative subject constructions. It should be noted that the double nominative constructions in (76) can also be interpreted as external possessor constructions, since they have to take body parts as their second nominals. The first nominals in (76) can be interpreted as possessors of the second nominals, and they appear externally there. Therefore, we distinguish them from the ones in (77) which do not have any possessive relationships between the two nominals and which appear to be the dative subject construction.

In addition, these constructions look like the so-called "double subject constructions[30]" in (79), in which possessive relationships are found between the two nominals, as shown in (80).

(79) a. Ken-ga   ie-ga/*-o   hiroi   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   house-NOM/-ACC roomy   thing
        '(that) Ken's house is roomy'
    b. Ken-ga   atama-ga   ookii   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   head-NOM   large   thing
        '(that) Ken's head is large'
(80) a. Ken-no   me
        Ken-GEN   eye
        'Ken's eyes'
    b. Ken-no   ie
        Ken-GEN   house
        'Ken's house'

One of the important properties of double subject constructions is that their predicates lexically require only one participant. In the non-canonical constructions in (76) and (77), however, both of the nominals are required by the predicates because they become elliptical with just one participant. We will discuss these issues in Chapter 5.

2.4. Related constructions

There are constructions related to non-canonical constructions, and some of them are especially important to capture the scope and extension of non-canonical constructions. We hardly characterize properties of one construction without discussing other related constructions; for instance, it is impossible to know the function of a passive construction without referring to or comparing it with the active one.

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[30] There are several different views on the double subject constructions. Some include all non-canonical constructions in the double subject construction, but some do not. See, for example, Kuno (1973a), Sugimoto (1995), Onoe, Kimura, Nisimura (1998), Onoe (2004), and Shibatani (2000a, 2001).

2.4.1. Appearance

Predicates that describe appearances take similar case frames to those of possessive constructions cross-linguistically, which are DAT-NOM or LOC-NOM case frames, as shown in (81).

(81) matiawase-no   basyo-ni   Ken-ga   araware-ta.
     promise.to.meet-GEN place-LOC   Ken-NOM   appear-PAST
     'Ken appeared at the meeting place.'

Moreover, there are some appearance constructions in which dative arguments behave as the subjects, so they seem to be dative subject constructions. (82) shows that the dative-marked nominals behave as the subjects of the sentences, as they are the target of honorification.

(82) a. Yamada-sensei-ni   kodomo-ga   oumareninat-ta.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT   child-NOM   be.born.HON-PAST.
        'Teacher Yamada had a baby.'
     b. Yamada-sensei-ni   odeki-ga   odekininat-ta[31].
        Yamada-teacher-DAT   blotch-NOM   come.out.HON-PAST
        'Teacher Yamada made a blotch.'

However, they differ from other non-canonical constructions aspectually, since they express non-stative events. These sentences can be tested by examining their predicates in present form. As we showed in Section 2.2, the non-canonical constructions are interpreted to express present stative events but not future events when their predicates are in present form, as shown in (83a), which only describes present states.

(83) a. Ken-ni   (*moosugu) eigo-ga   deki-ru.   (Ability)
        Ken-DAT   soon   English-NOM   be.able.to-PRES
        'Ken can speak English (*soon).'
     b. Hanako-ni   moosugu akatyan-ga   deki-ru.   (Appearance)
        Hanako-DAT   soon   baby-NOM   get.to.have-PRES
        'Hanako will have a baby soon.'

That is not the case with the appearance constructions, which express future events in the present form, co-occurring with a future temporal adverbial *moosugu* 'soon' in (83b). This means that they express non-stative events.

Since the appearance constructions express non-stative events, they are different from other dative subject constructions that describe stative events. In addition, the appearance constructions do not always

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[31] The verbs, *dekiru* and *wakaru* express various meanings including states, change of the states, and even actions (i.e. "try to understand").

appear as dative subject constructions; when they lack possessive meanings (which include achieving something), they are considered to be intransitive constructions in which the second theme argument behaves as the subject, as shown in (84).

(84) a. *Yamada-sensei-no   otaku-ni   osiuri-ga   irassyat-ta.
      Yamada-teacher-GEN   house.HON-LOC high-pressure.salesman-NOM come.HON-PAST
      'A high-pressure salesman came to teacher Yamada's house.'

    b. Ken-no ie-ni   Yamada-sensei-ga   irassyat-ta.
      Ken-GEN house-DAT   Yamada-teacher-NOM   come-PAST
      'Teacher Yamada came to Ken's house.'

In fact, the verbs *dekiru* in (83) can express both achievements (appearances) of abilities and possessions of abilities and knowledge, and all of them behave like dative subject constructions. Undeniably, this construction is closely related to dative subject constructions.

There are some different views on this construction; Onoe (1998-1999) characterizes these sentences by the concept of *syuttai* 'appearance,' and Kishimoto (2005) also takes them, as well as other non-canonical constructions, as transitive sentences. One thing is certain: it is necessary to explain why they have similar structures.

2.4.2. Existential and locative constructions

Existential constructions often have similar structures to possessive constructions cross-linguistically, taking similar case frames such as DAT-NOM and LOC-NOM[32]. Moreover, they express stative events; they seem to be non-canonical constructions as well as possessive constructions, but in fact they are not because their subjects are the second theme arguments.

One of the biggest differences between possessive constructions and existential constructions is the animacy of the first locative or dative argument, which is animate in the former (the so-called "possessor"), and inanimate in the latter; this difference often causes their syntactically different behaviors. The same verbs are used for both existential constructions and possessive constructions in Japanese, which are *aru* 'be,' *iru* 'be,' and *nai* 'not be,' as shown in (85).

(85) a. kooen-ni   kodomo-tati-ga   i-ru.   (Existential construction)
      park-LOC   child-PL-NOM   be-PRES
      'There are children in the park.'

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[32] See, for example, Clark (1978) and Lizotto (1983) for their typological studies on existential, locative and possessive constructions.

b. tukue-no   ue-ni   pasokon-ga   a-ru.
  desk-GEN   on top-DAT   PC-NOM   be-PRES
  'There is a PC on the desk.'

As a locative case particle in stative sentences[33] and a dative case particle have the same phonological realization, *-ni*, in Japanese, existential constructions seem to have the same case frame as possessive constructions, as shown in (85). However, the animacy of the nominal differentiates the existential constructions from the possessive constructions; their subjects' arguments are not the same. The locative nominals in the existential constructions do not show the behavioral and control properties of subject, unlike the ones in the dative subject constructions which do show them. For instance, the locative nominal can neither bind a reflexive pronoun nor be the target of honorification, as shown in (86).

(86) *Yamada-sensei-no   otaku-ni   Ken-ga   irassya-ru.
    Yamada-teacher-GEN   house.HON-LOC   Ken-NOM   be.HON-PRES
    'Ken is in teacher Yamada's house.'

On the other hand, the second nominative nominal shows the subject properties; namely, it can be the target of honorification, as in (87a). This means that the second nominal is the subject in the existential construction but not the first locative one.

(87) a. kooen-ni   sensei-gata-ga   irassya-ru.   (Existential construction)
    park-LOC   teacher-PL-NOM   be.HON-PRES
    'Teachers are in the park.' or 'There are teachers in the park.'
  b. *Hanako-ni   rippana   sensei-ga   irassya-ru.   (Possessive construction)
    Hanako-DAT great   teacher-NOM   be.HON.
    'Hanako has a great teacher.'

Hence, the existential constructions cannot be taken as non-canonical constructions in our definition, since the nominative marked theme is the subject and not the locative one, which means they are canonical intransitive sentences that take nominative marked subjects.

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[33] A case particle, *-de*, is used to mark a location where an event take place. The following examples in (i) show the contrast. See also the discussion by Nakau and Nishimura (1998) on these particles.
  (i)   a.   kono   kooen-de   kyoo   huriimaaketto-ga   a-ru.
            this   park-LOC   today   flea market-NOM   be-PRES
            'A flea market will be held in this park today.'
      b.   kono   kooen-ni   hunsui-ga   aru.
            this   park-LOC   fountain-NOM   be
            'There is a fountain in this park.'

2.4.3. Multiple nominative constructions

Kuno (1973a, b) shows that Japanese has what he calls "multiple nominative constructions," as in (88b-c), which Tateishi (1994) calls "major subject constructions."

(88) a. *Bunmeikoku   no dansei   no heikinzyumyoo   ga   mizikai.*
      civilized countries 's   male's   average-life-span   short-is
      'The average life-span of males of civilized countries is short.'
   b. *Bunmeikoku   no dansei   ga   heikinzyumyoo ga   mizikai.*
   c. *Bunmeikoku   ga   dansei   ga   heikinzyumyoo ga   mizikai.*

<div align="right">(Kuno 1973a:34)</div>

Kuno (1973a) claims that these sentences are formed by subjectivization and that all of the nominals marked by nominative case are subjects. In addition, the nominative nominals are associated with one another by an "aboutness relation" (Kuno 1973a)[34].

Tateishi (1994) calls this construction "multiple subject construction" and he divided them into two types of constructions: one in (89a) covers sentences that express genitive relationships, as in (89b) ("genitive raising" in his terminology), and another in (90a) consists of those that do not, as in (90b) (which he calls "major subject construction")

(89) a. Taroo-ga   chichioya-ga otooto-ga   nyuuin-shi-ta.   (Tateishi 1994:20)
      Taroo-NOM   father-NOM   younger.brother-NOM be.hospitalized-do-PAST
      'It was Taro whose father's younger brother was hospitalized.'
   b. Taroo-no chichioya-no otooto-ga   nyuuin-shi-ta.
(90) a. Nihon-no   tabemono-ga sakana-ga   umai.   (Tateishi 1994:21)
      Japan-GEN   food-NOM   fish-NOM   good
      'It is Japanese food among which fish is good.'
   b. *Nihon-no   tabemono-no sakana-ga   umai.

Both types are different from what we call the double nominative constructions in two aspects, and we do not consider them to be non-canonical constructions. One difference is that not all of the arguments are required by the predicates, and another is that they can describe non-stative events (89) as well as stative ones (90). For example, the predicates in (89) and (90) are not elliptical at all when they only take one argument, as shown in (91). Hence, they are not taken as non-canonical constructions in our definition.

(91) a. Ken-ga   nyuuinsi-ta.
      Ken-NOM   be.hospitalized-PAST
      'Ken was hospitalized.'

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[34] Kuno (1973a) claims that an "aboutness relation" should hold between the topic phrase (the first nominal) and the the rest of the construction in the multiple nominative construction.

b. sakana-wa   umai.
   fish-TOP   good
   'Fish is delicious.'

2.4.4. External possessor constructions

External possessor constructions observed in various languages are also related to one type of non-canonical construction in Japanese. Since even some of the double nominative constructions are considered to be external possessor constructions, they are related constructions. For example, the ones expressing physiological states often take a body-part as their argument, as in (92a), which is an external possessor construction because the possessor appears externally from the possessum nominal (cf. (92b) in which the possessor appears internally).

(92) a. Hanako-ga   te-ga   kayui   (koto)
     Hanako-NOM   hand-NOM   itchy
     '(that) Hanako's hand is itchy.'
   b. [Hanako-no   te]-ga   kayui   (koto)
     Hanako-GEN   hand-NOM   itchy   thing
     'that Hanako's hand is itchy'

Besides double nominative constructions, there are other constructions that can be taken as external possessor constrictions, which are so-called possessor passives shown in (93b).

(93) a. Hanako-ga   Ken-no   te-o   tatai-ta.
     Hanako-NOM   Ken-GEN   hand-ACC   hit-PAST
     'Hanako hit Ken's hand.'
   b. Ken-wa   Hanako-ni   te-o   tatak-are-ta.
     Ken-TOP   Hanako-DAT   hand-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST
     'Ken had hit on his hand by Hanako.'

Compared to the sentences in (93a) that take a possessor and a possessum in a noun phrase, the possessor argument appears externally from the possessum noun phrase in (93b). The possessor passive constructions are not classified as non-canonical constructions in our definition, since they take canonically nominative marked subjects. However, it is notable that they share some properties with the double nominative constructions that are external possessor constructions.

It is shown that there are some constructions closely related to the non-canonical constructions, and some of them will be examined in the following chapters: the appearance and existential constructions will be examined in Chapter 3, and the external possessor constructions, in Chapter 5.

2.5. Previous studies on non-canonical constructions and our hypotheses

Now we will review some of the previous analyses on non-canonical constructions and show their limitations. There are at least three views of capturing non-canonical constructions according to their classifications: a transitive analysis, an intransitive analysis, and a continuum analysis. Our claim is similar to the transitive analysis in that the predicates require two arguments in non-canonical constructions, but different in that we propose that non-canonical constructions that describe stative events differ from transitive constructions in their conceptualizations.

2.5.1. Three views on non-canonical constructions

Non-canonical constructions take non-canonical case frames, in which the first (non-canonically marked) nominals behave as subjects of the sentences. This causes a lot of controversy over whether they are transitive or intransitive sentences. Some take them to be transitive, and others do not.

First, we will review a transitive analysis, which considers non-canonical constructions to be transitive constructions. Kuno (1973a) claims explicitly that dative subject constructions and double nominative constructions (but not multiple nominative constructions, double subject constructions and double nominative constructions with an external possessor) are transitive in Japanese[35] and that stative predicates assign a nominative case to their objects while non-stative transitive predicates assign an accusative case to them. Takezawa and Whitman (1998) take "the principle of nominative maintenance" suggested by Shibatani (1978) as the motivation of their nominative case assignment to the objects, given they are transitive. The principle is that every clause in Japanese has to take at least one nominative nominal. They then explain why the first nominal should be marked by the dative case; to borrow their phrase: "stative predicates are the lexical elements that are not able to assign cases and their projections are 'transparent' to case assignment." Such exceptional case marking thus becomes possible in their theory. Recently Kishimoto (2004, 2005) claims that they are transitive sentences by showing that the second nominative arguments show object properties (See Section 2.3)[36].

There are some problems in this analysis, however. One of them is its cross-linguistic applicability, since transitive analysis is based on the non-canonical constructions that take two arguments. However, there are some non-canonical constructions that require only one argument in other languages, for example,

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[35] See, for example, Grimshaw (1990), Mishra (1990), Takezawa and Whitman (1998), Yeon (1999), and Onishi (2001a) that take a transitive analysis.

[36] Kuroda (1983), Sugioka (1984), and Moriyama (1993) take the transitive analysis, too.

a DAT type in Hebrew, as shown in (94), which takes a dative subject as sole argument but is not elliptical at all.

(94) kal   li
     cold   1.SG.DAT
     'I am cold.'

The framework that also explains this type of non-canonical constructions is necessary for cross-linguistic study. The second problem with this analysis is that it cannot predict the scope of the non-canonical constructions, since most of the studies examine what is to be categorized as non-canonical. The scopes of constructions generally differ from language to language, and the case frames can also vary across languages. The predicates that appear in non-canonical constructions and their properties can differ from language to language. However, these differences are hardly explained by the transitive analysis.

The second view is an intransitive analysis of non-canonical constructions. Some Japanese grammarians, for example Mikami (1953/1972), have taken non-canonical constructions as intransitive constructions in which the nominative nominals are the subjects. Recently Shibatani (2000a, 2001) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) have advanced this intransitive analysis based on the existence of purely intransitive uses of the non-canonical predicates and the nominative case marking of the nominals. They suggest that the non-canonical constructions are one kind of double subject constructions[37], in which a large subject (the first nominal) is required when the proposition made by the small subject (the second nominal) and predicate is not universally true. The large subject refers to a domain in which the proposition becomes true. For example, the proposition "*asi-ga nagai* 'leg is long'" is not universally true, hence it requires a large subject to specify the domain in which it becomes true, as shown in (95b).

(95) a. Ken-ga   asi-ga   nagai.   (Shibatani 2000a: 198)
        K.-NOM   leg-NOM   long
        'Ken has long legs.'
     b. [Ken ga   [asi ga   nagai]]
        Large SUBJ   [Small SUBJ   PRED]
        Domain   Proposition

In addition, they suggest that there is a degree of dependency[38] between the proposition and the domain, which is reflected in the case marking of the first nominal. The dependency hierarchies are shown in (96), in which the further to the left, the higher the dependency.

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[37] They call the first argument the "large subject", and second argument the "small subject," since they take these constructions as a type of double subject construction.

[38] Kachru (1990) also suggests a degree of dependency: GEN > DAT > LOC/INST for Hindi (see also Chapter 1).

(96) a. The degree of dependency for Sinhara: (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001)
         DAT > GEN > INST
     b. The degree of dependency for Japanese   (Shibatani 2000a)
         NOM > DAT

The more the proposition depends on the domain in order to be universally true, the higher the case marking in the hierarchy that will be chosen to mark the first nominal that expresses the domain.

There are at least three problems with this analysis. One is that not all of the predicates allow intransitive constructions: Type 2 dative subject constructions and double nominative constructions do not. It should be made clear what determines their degrees of dependency and when the intransitive constructions are allowed. A second problem is that this analysis cannot determine when the nominal that expresses the domain can be the subject. As we saw in the previous section, locative nominals in existential constructions do not behave as the subjects, though they describe domains. The third problem is that there are some non-canonical constructions in which only domain arguments exist, for example, the Hebrew DAT type of non-canonical constructions shown in (94). Whether a predicate by itself can be a proposition is uncertain.

The third view on non-canonical constructions is a continuum analysis that captures non-canonical constructions in a transitivity continuum[39]. Tsunoda (1985, 1990) argues that transitive verbs should be defined semantically: "those verbs which describe an action that not only impinges on the patient but necessarily creates a change in it (Tsunoda 1985:387)." His idea is that transitive and intransitive verbs constitute a continuum, and constructions such as non-canonical constructions are thought to lie somewhere between intransitive and transitive constructions. Tsunoda (1990) suggests a semantic hierarchy of two place predicates which shows what kinds of two-place predicates tend to appear in transitive constructions. This analysis may capture the cross-linguistic distributive differences and the semantic tendencies of non-canonical constructions, but this neither explains their non-canonical case frames nor their structural variations.

We saw three views on non-canonical constructions and showed their limitations and problems, but what is more important is that the notion of "transitivity" poses some serious problems. "Transitivity" is suggested to be a continuum on one-way classification in Hopper and Thompson (1980), which is one of the

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[39] Cognitive approaches to non-canonical constructions may be another view on them, since they do consider them to be either transitive or intransitive. For example, Kumashiro (2002) analyzes them in the Cognitive Grammar framework suggested by Langacker (1987, 1991) that does not posit prototypical sentences but shows the conceptualizations of the events or states. He takes non-canonical constructions as one of setting of subject constructions, in which the setting is profiled.

most important studies on transitivity. They suggest the following ten parameters in order to capture transitivity, shown in Table 2.1: The higher parameters a construction has, the higher its transitivity is.

Table 2.1. Transitivity parameters (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252)

	High	Low
Participant	2 or more participants, A and O.	1 participant
Kinesis	action	non-action
Aspect	telic	atelic
Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
Affirmation	affirmative	negative
Mode	realis	irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of o	O totally affected	O not affected
Individuation of o	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Though each parameter seems to be independent, there are some correlations between the parameters and Tunoda (1985) organizes them into a few types, as he points out: the ones concerning an agent such as volitionality and agency, and the ones concerning an event such as kinesis and aspect.

We will also show correlations between the parameters but from a different perspective: stativity. It should be noted that some parameters are only relevant to non-stative events not to stative ones; in other words, such parameters keep consistent values for the stative sentences. The parameters relevant only to non-stative sentences are kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, agency and affectedness of O. However, other parameters are relevant to the stative sentences, too. Sentences that describe stative events, as shown in (97), always express non-active, atelic, non-punctual, and non-volitional events, in which the agent is low in potency and the object is not affected by the event.

(97) a. Ken-wa   yasasiku-nai.
      Ken-TOP   gentle-NEG
      'Ken is not a gentle man.'
    b. yama-ga   takaku   sobie-teiru.
      mountain-NOM   highly   tower-PROG
      'There is a mountain towering high.'
    c. Ken-wa   Mari-ga   urayamasii.
      Ken-TOP Mari-NOM   envious
      'Ken envies Mari.'

For example, (97a) and (97c) differ in the parameters PARTICIPANT and AFFIRMATION: the former is a

negative sentence with one participant, and the latter is a affirmative sentence with two participants. These are summarized in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Transitivity parameters for non-stative and stative sentences

	Non-stative	Stative
KINESIS	±[40]	－(Non-action)
ASPECT	±	－(Atelic)
PUNCTUALITY	±	－(Non-punctual)
VOLITIONALITY	±	－(Non-volitional)
AGENCY	±	－(A low in potency)
AFFECTEDNESS OF O	±	－(O not affected)
INDIVIDUATION OF O[41]	±	±
PARTICIPANT	±	±
MODE	±	±
AFFIRMATION	±	±

As a natural consequence, studies which seek for prototypical transitive sentences focus on these parameters[42]. Therefore, some parameters are biased toward non-stative sentences, though the other parameters concern both non-stative and stative sentences.

Moreover, it is almost impossible to predict the occurrence of non-canonical constructions just by the transitivity parameters. The values in transitivity parameters cannot determine the constructions by themselves. For example, (98) is a double nominative construction, and (99a) and (99b) are non-stative and stative intransitive sentences respectively.

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[40] "±" is used when the parameter show both values. In other words, the parameter does not keep constant values for that type of sentence and relevant to the sentence.

[41] We extend the parameter of "individuation of object" to include the individuation of themes in states that may appear as subject or object. It should be noted that Kageyama (to appear) suggests interpreting this parameter to refer to the individuation of event, and our extension might be the same.

[42] Jacobsen's (1991) prototypical transitive is shown in (i), and Givón's (1995) definition of transitive event in (ii):
  (i) There are two entities involved in the event.   (Jacobsen 1991: 29)
      One of the entities (called the "agent") acts intentionally.
      The other entity (called the "object") undergoes a change.
      The change occurs in real time.
  (ii) Semantic definition of transitive event   (Givón 1995: 76)
      Agent: The prototypical transitive clause involves a volitional, controlling, activity-initiating agent who is responsible for the event, thus its salient cause.
      Patient: The prototypical transitive event involves a non-volitional, inactive non-controlling patient who registers the event's change-of-state, thus its salient effect.
      Verbal modality: The verb of the prototypical transitive clause codes an event that is perfective (non-durative), sequential (non-perfect) and realis (non-hypothetical). The prototype transitive event is thus fast-paced, completed, real, and perceptually-cognitively salient.

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(98)   Ken-wa Hanako-ga   sukidat-ta.
          Ken-TOP Hanako-NOM like-PAST.
          'Ken liked Hanako.'

(99) a. Ken-wa hasit-ta.   b.   Ken-wa kasikoi
        Ken-TOP run-PAST   Ken-TOP cleaver
        'Ken ran.'   'Ken is cleaver.'

Their values in transitive parameters are summarized in Table 2.3, in which the stative intransitive sentence has the lowest values, the non-canonical construction in the middle, and the non-stative intransitive construction the highest.

Table 2.3. Values in transitivity parameters

	(98)	(99a)	(99b)
KINESIS	−	+	−
ASPECT	−	−	−
PUNCTUALITY	−	−	−
VOLITIONALITY	−	+	−
AGENCY	−	+	−
AFFECTEDNESS OF O	−	NA	NA
INDIVIDUATION OF O	+	NA	NA
PARTICIPANT	+(2)	−(1)	−(1)
MODE	+	+	+
AFFIRMATION	+	+	+
total number of [+]	4	5	2

This means that we cannot determine the form of the constructions according to the parameters, just as non-canonical constructions are higher or lower in transitivity than intransitive sentences. Hence, the parameters by themselves are not enough to capture varieties of constructions including non-canonical constructions. What we may be able to say about the non-canonical constructions by using these parameters is that they show rather low transitivity, but more explanation is necessary to capture them in relation to other constructions.

    As a matter of fact, most of the arguments about transitivity deal only with sentences that express non-stative events, as in (100), as we can tell because there are various phenomena observed, such as intransitivization and causativization.

(100) a. Ken-wa kabin-o   kowas-ita.
       Ken-TOP vase-ACC   break-PAST
       'Ken broke the vase.'
   b. kabin-ga   koware-ta.
       vase-NOM   break-PAST
       'The vase broke.'

In contrast, not many studies are done on stative sentences, though it is the intransitive stative sentences that are the farthest from prototypical transitive constructions. It brings us to a question regarding the status of stative sentences, including non-canonical constructions. Tsunoda (1999) also points out that many researchers seek for the transitive prototype but not for the intransitive prototype, and also indicates —by showing the variety of intransitive sentences—that transitives and intransitives may not be captured on a one-way continuum. Therefore, stative sentences are the key to understanding the overall picture with regard to the idea of transitivity, which is the purpose of this thesis.

2.5.2. Semantic properties

Some approaches show semantic properties of non-canonical constructions; such approaches claim that non-canonical constructions express non-volitional, uncontrollable, and stative events. Though we agree that the non-canonical constructions share these semantic properties, these semantic approaches also have limitations. The crucial fact is that the other stative sentences, which take a canonical intransitive case frame, can share all of these semantic properties. The canonical intransitive stative sentence here is a sentence that takes one argument and expresses its state regardless of part of speech of the predicate. Such sentences in (101) show non-volitional and uncontrollable states; they neither co-occur with volitional adverbs such as *wazato* 'deliberately,' nor appear in imperative sentences, as shown in (102).

(101) a. Ken-ga   kawatteiru   (koto)   (verbal predicate)
         Ken-NOM   strange   thing
         '(that)Ken has a strange character'
     b. kono   huku-ga   ookii   (koto)   (adjectival predicate)
         this   cloth-NOM   large   thing
         '(that) this cloth is large'
(102) a. *Hanako-wa wazato   kawatteiru.
         Hanako-TOP deliberately   strange
         'Hanako is deliberately strange.'
     b. *kawatteiro!
         strange.IMP
         'Have a strange character!'

These examples show us that the semantic properties suggested to capture non-canonical constructions are not properties of their own but of stative sentences as a whole

In addition, canonical transitive constructions can have some of these properties, even though they express non-volitional stative events, as shown in (103a), in which a volitional adverb is not acceptable (it is controllable, allowing a negative imperative sentence, however).

(103) a. Ken-wa (*wazato) onaka-o kowasite-iru.
   Ken-TOP deliberately stomach-ACC break-PROG
   'Ken (*deliberately) has an upset stomach.'
  b. Onaka-o   {kowas-una/*kowas-e}!
   stomach-ACC break-NEG.IMP/break-IMP
   'Don't get an upset stomach!/ Get an upset stomach!'

Therefore, it follows that these properties cannot be sufficient conditions for non-canonical constructions to occur.

2.5.3. Our hypotheses

As an alternative approach to the non-canonical constructions, we will show our hypotheses on non-canonical constructions. Our view is similar to the transitive approach in assuming that they take two arguments required by the predicates, but we differentiate the non-canonical constructions from the prototypical transitive sentences that describe non-stative events, assuming that the former is the stative transitive sentences whose semantic structure is DOMAIN-THEME, and the latter is the non-stative transitive sentences whose semantic structure is AGENT-PATIENT, as shown in Chapter 1. The conceptual space shown again in Figure 2.1 explicitly shows the relationships between the canonical and non-canonical constructions, for example, transitive events which are on the upper-left corner tend to be expressed by canonical transitive construction.

Figure 2.1. The conceptual space for canonical and non-canonical constructions

Temporal stability / No. of arguments	LOW← Temporal Stability →HIGH (Event) (State)
2	transitive event transitive state (AGENT-PATIENT) (DOMAIN-THEME)
1	intransitive event intransitive state (AGENT) (THEME)

In addition, we suggest the following hypotheses in order to capture cross-linguistic differences observed in non-canonical constructions, which were suggested in Chapter 1.

(104) Hypotheses for non-canonical constructions
1. The semantic structure taken by non-canonical constructions is DOMAIN-THEME, and the specific thematic roles for the participants are determined by the states the sentences describe.
2. The thematic hierarchy in Figure 2.2 shows the likelihood to appear as AGENT or DOMAIN. The lower the thematic role, the more likely to appear as a DOMAIN. (Case marking might change in parallel with the change of the semantic structure.)
3. The grammatical relation is related to the thematic hierarchy. The higher the thematic role of the DOMAIN is, the more likely it behaves as the subject of the sentence, as shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2. Thematic hierarchy

Thematic role:	AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]	
Case marking:	NOM→	←LOC
Grammatical relation:	Subject→	
Semantic structure:	AGENT→	←DOMAIN

There are two advantages in this approach. First, this allows for varieties of non-canonical constructions such as non-canonical constructions with one argument. Second, this will be able to predict the scope of the constructions, as shown in (105), and capture their cross-linguistic tendencies.

(105) Predictions arising from the hypotheses:
1. If a participant with a higher thematic role can be captured as DOMAIN, one with a lower role should also be captured as DOMAIN. For example, if an experiencer is taken as DOMAIN in the language, a possessor should be taken as DOMAIN, but not vice-versa.
2. If a participant with a lower thematic role behaves as subject, one with a higher thematic role also does.

We will examine these hypotheses in the following chapters and claim that they can capture the varieties of non-canonical constructions observed in and across languages.

2.6. Summary

We showed what non-canonical constructions are and that non-canonical constructions had some different properties from canonical constructions. They generally express stative events that take two arguments, in which the participants that are taken to be the domains, such as an experiencer and a possessor, and are usually marked with non-nominative cases behave as the subjects of the sentences. Because of their non-canonical case frames, many studies have been done on them. We reviewed three views with regard to

their transitivity—a transitive analysis, an intransitive analysis, and a continuum analysis—and some semantic approaches to them, and showed their limitations. In fact, non-canonical constructions differ from canonical transitive and intransitive constructions in various aspects, and are hard to be analyzed as either of them. One of the biggest problems is that studies of stative sentences are lacking, compared to studies of non-stative sentences.

As an alternative approach, we propose a set of hypotheses that consider non-canonical constructions to be stative sentences with two arguments, which are different from sentences that describe non-stative events. The following chapter will examine these hypotheses and show their mapping on the conceptual space in relation to other related constructions.

Chapter 3. Non derived non-canonical constructions in Japanese

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses non-canonical constructions with non-derived predicates in modern Japanese, including dative subject constructions and double nominative constructions (except for the double nominative constructions that express physiological states, which will be discussed in Chapter 5[1]). We will attempt to capture their properties in terms of the hypotheses suggested in Chapter 1, including the conceptual space and the thematic hierarchy, which is shown again in (1). This hierarchy shows which thematic role is less likely to be interpreted as a DOMAIN and which one is more likely to behave as the subject of the sentence.

(1)   Agent > Experiencer > Possessor > Reference > Location [+HUM][2] > Location [-HUM]

We discussed syntactic and semantic properties shared by the non-canonical constructions in Chapter 2, but their internal differences and their relationships with other constructions have not been made clear yet, both of which are necessary to characterize them in and across languages. Previous studies mainly focus on the general properties of non-canonical constructions, but such approaches have some limitations, as pointed out in Chapter 2, and problems remain. How can we capture the non-canonical constructions in relation to canonical transitive and intransitive constructions? What are their differences? How can we capture their cross-linguistic differences?

In this chapter, we will examine non-derived non-canonical constructions, focusing on their internal varieties and differences concerning two parameters of the conceptual space— the number of arguments and the temporal stability—in order to show the scope of each non-canonical construction within the conceptual space. We have already shown in Chapter 2 that all of the non-canonical constructions in Japanese take two arguments among which the first nominal behaves as subject, but they differ in whether their arguments can be backgrounded or not, i.e., allow intransitive constructions. The non-canonical constructions that must take two arguments will be mapped higher onto the conceptual space, and the ones

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[1] The non-canonical constructions with derived predicates, such as the desiderative constructions, will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[2] The thematic role described as "LOC [+HUM]" is not discussed in this chapter, but it should be distinguished from LOC [-HUM] when we examine the non-canonical constructions in other languages, such as Korean. Korean has some non-canonical constructions in which the locative nominal behaves as subject if it is human. See the detailed discussion in Chapter 6.

that can background one of their arguments will be mapped lower. With regard to the temporal stability, we will show that the non-canonical constructions that describe psychological states are considered to be less temporally stable than those describing possession and evaluation, and therefore mapped on the left. As a result, the scope of each non-canonical construction in Japanese will be mapped onto the conceptual space, as in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Scope of non-canonical constructions in Japanese

No.of Arg	Temporal stability			
	Low ←			→ High
2		NOM-ACC Psychologi-cal action (V)	NOM-NOM DAT-NOM (Type 2) Psychological state (A) Coming-into-possession	DAT-NOM (Type 2) Possession Evaluation(necessity)
			DAT-NOM (Type 1) Psychological (A)	DAT-NOM (Type1) Evaluation (A)
1	NOM		Psychological state	State/Property

However, we need to examine other related constructions in order to map them properly, because their scopes will not be made clear without knowing the scopes of other related constructions. The examination is also necessary to argue in favor of our hypotheses on non-canonical constructions based on the thematic hierarchy. We will show the relations between canonical and non-canonical constructions, and examine the thematic hierarchy by comparing their syntactic and semantic properties. First, some of the non-canonical constructions that express non-volitional and uncontrollable stative events have corresponding transitive sentences that express volitional and controllable non-stative events, as shown in (2b). It should be noted that this is limited to only some of the constructions that express psychological states.

(2) a. Ken-ga   Mari-ga   urayamasii   (koto)   (double nominative construction)
        Ken-NOM   Mari-NOM   envious   thing
        '(that) Ken envies Mari'
     a. Ken-ga   Mari-o   urayan-deiru (koto)   (transitive sentence)
        ken-NOM   Mari-ACC   envy-PROG   thing
        '(that) Ken envies Mari'

This is because, in terms of semantic properties, the experiencer can be interpreted as a possible controller of the event but the possessor and reference can not. This supports our thematic hierarchy in which the experiencer is higher than the possessor and reference. Second, dative subject constructions of the evaluation type are semantically similar to other intransitive stative sentences that also express evaluation, as shown in (3b).

(3) a. Mari-ni-wa   yoga-ga   tanosii.
        Mari-DAT-TOP   yoga-NOM   enjoyable
        'Yoga is enjoyable for Mari.'
     a'. yoga-wa   tanosii.
         yoga-TOP   enjoyable
         'Yoga is enjoyable.'
     b. watasi-ni-wa   kono   hana-ga   utukusii.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   this   flower-NOM   beautiful
        'This flowers is beautiful for me.'

We will claim, based on subjecthood and objecthood tests, that their syntactic structures are different, though they share the same thematic structures and semantic properties.

These discussions on related canonical constructions fit well into the scope of the non-canonical constructions on the conceptual space shown in Figure 3.1. The psychological state types which are considered to express closer events to canonical transitive ones are mapped closer to the canonical transitive constructions, and the evaluation types that are semantically similar to intransitive stative constructions are mapped closer to the intransitive stative constructions, which are in the bottom-right on the conceptual space, taking one argument and describing temporally stable states.

One more issue we argue in this section is whether the non-canonical predicates are transitive and intransitive, on which previous studies have different views. We will show that the non-canonical predicates take intransitive constructions of limited semantic types; for example, an intransitive sentence with a theme subject only describes its property, i.e., it is limited to expressing a property description. We claim, then, that they require two arguments. It follows that they are not intransitive.

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This chapter consists of six sections, plus an introduction. Section 3.2. will examine one of the parameters, the number of arguments in the sentence, and also the thematic hierarchy. Section 3.3. will examine another parameter, temporal stability, and show that the sentences that describes psychological states are less temporally stable than the ones that describe possessive relations or evaluations. We will also demonstrate that the semantic type of the sentence also plays an important role. Section 3.4. will compare the evaluation type dative subject constructions with intransitive stative sentences and show that they are semantically similar but syntactically different. The semantic type of the sentences will be examined in Section 3.5. to show that the semantic type is a motivation of the intransitive uses of the non-canonical constructions. We will claim that non-canonical predicates take two arguments, and they can take intransitive constructions in limited semantic types. Section 3.6. will show the mapping of the non-canonical constructions based on the discussions in this chapter and summarize them. Lastly, in Section 3.7 we will examine sentences describing appearance and show that some of them can be interpreted as non-canonical constructions describing non-stative events.

3.2. The number of arguments

We will start by discussing the number of arguments that can be taken by non-canonical predicates, which defines one of the two parameters of the conceptual space proposed in Chapter 1. The more arguments the predicate requires, the higher they are mapped in the space. Even though the number of arguments is the same, the predicate will be mapped lower if its arguments are capable of being backgrounded. The non-canonical constructions in Japanese take two arguments, but there are differences in the backgrounding of their arguments. This is due to their different thematic structures. Some of the non-canonical predicates have to take two arguments (e.g. possession), but they can have one instead of two, and it's accomplished via backgrounding. This section will also reveal how the non-canonical constructions differ from other constructions, such as canonical intransitive and transitive constructions, and show some support for the thematic hierarchy shown in (1).

3.2.1. The number of arguments and their thematic roles

We have already shown in Chapter 2 that all of the non-canonical constructions in Japanese take two arguments and that the first arguments behave as the subjects. However, there are differences among the

non-canonical constructions in the availability of intransitive variants, by which we divided the dative subject constructions into two grouPASType 1 and Type 2. In other words, some of them can background one of their arguments and thereby appear as intransitive constructions.

Type 1 dative subject constructions allow their intransitive variants, as in (4) and (5).

(4) a. onnagokoro-wa   muzukasii.
      woman's.heart-TOP   difficult.
      'Woman's heart is difficult.'
    b. hebi-ga   kowai   (koto).
      snake-NOM   scary   thing
      '(that) snakes are scary'
(5) a. (watasi-wa)   kowai.
      1.SG-TOP   scary
      'I am scared.'
    b. (watasi-wa)   tanosii.
      1.SG-TOP   amused
      'I am amused.'

In Chapter 2, we noted that there are two kinds of intransitive constructions: one that has a theme subject, as shown in (4), and another, with an experiencer subject, as in (5). The predicates in (6) allow intransitive constructions with theme subjects, as shown in (4), and the ones in (7) allow intransitive constructions with experiencer subjects, as in (5).

(6)   Predicates which have intransitive uses (theme subject):
    a. Psychological state: *kowai* 'scary,' *osorosii* 'fearful,' *tanosii* 'enjoyable,' *hazukasii* 'ashamed,'
            kawaii 'cute,' *urayamasii* 'envious'
    b. Physiological state: *itai* 'painful,' *kayui* 'itchy'
    c. Evaluation: *muzukasii* 'difficult,' *kantanda* 'easy,' *konnanda* 'difficult'
(7)   Predicates which have intransitive uses (experiencer subject):
    Psychological state: *kowai* 'scary,' *osorosii* 'fearful,' *tanosii* 'enjoyable,' *hazukasii* 'ashamed'

Recall that only the psychological predicates allow both types of intransitive constructions: one takes the first experiencer nominal as the subject, and the other takes the second theme nominal as the subject. It should be noted that intransitive constructions with possessor or reference subjects are not grammatical. Type 2 dative subject constructions that describe possession, some psychological states (such as *nikui* 'hateful' and *urayamasii* 'envious'), and double nominative constructions obligatorily take two arguments; they are elliptical if they take only one argument. We mentioned in Chapter 2 that some of the psychological predicates are able to express evaluations. However, psychological predicates that do not allow intransitive

interpretation cannot express evaluation, only psychological states. We will examine this in more detail in Section 3.5.

In summary, the double nominative construction and the Type 2 dative subject construction—both lacking intransitive variants—should be mapped higher in the conceptual space than the Type 1 dative subject construction, because one of the arguments can be backgrounded in the latter.

3.2.2. Thematic roles and their hierarchy

One question arises: why is it that the reference and the possessor cannot appear as the subjects of intransitive constructions, while the experiencer can? We will claim that this is due to the thematic hierarchy.

Stative events do not show obvious force dynamics and are not expressed by various structures, so not much attention has been paid to stative sentences in comparison to non-stative sentences. The experiencer construction is an exception, however, since its status has often been disputed in previous studies, due to the existence of various ways of expressing psychological states (Croft's "mental state") of the experiencer. Croft claims that there are two possible ways to process mental states: "There are two processes involved in processing a mental state (and changing a mental state): the experiencer must direct his or her attention to the stimulus, and then the stimulus (or some property of it) causes the experiencer to be (or enter into) a certain mental state (Croft 1991:219)." He also points out, "… there is no inherent directionality of causation, for that reason there is cross-linguistic variation in the assignment of the experiencer to subject or object status. (Croft 1999:217)" (see also Pesetsky (1995)). Since some of the non-canonical constructions express mental states, it is important to grasp how the situation is conceptualized.

The experiencer is assigned an independent status but the possessor and the reference are not always distinguished in studies on thematic hierarchy. We will start by discussing transitive sentences with predicates that share the same stem as the non-canonical predicates, which will show us that experiencer is higher than possessor and reference on the thematic hierarchy. As pointed out by Kachru et al. (1976), Kachru (1990)[3], and also Klaiman (1981), non-canonical constructions often have canonical counterparts,

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[3] In Kachru et al. (1976) and Kachru (1990), she classifies the correspondence into three: stative, change-of-state, active. The stative corresponds to the non-canonical constructions in Japanese, and the change-of-state is expressed by *-ni naru* 'to become -.' It is interesting that it does not change the case frame of the complement clause, as shown in (i) and (ii).

and in fact some non-canonical predicates have lexically corresponding transitive verbs in Japanese, as shown by Shibatani (2000a).

(8) a. Ken-ga   Hanako-ga   kiraida.
     Ken-NOM   Hanako-NOM dislike (AN)
     'Ken dislikes Hanako.'
   b. Ken-ga   Hanako-o   kirat-teiru.
     Ken-NOM   Hanako-ACC   dislike (V)-PROG
     'Ken dislikes Hanako.'

(8a) is a double nominative construction with the adjectival predicate *kiraida* 'dislike,' and (8b) is a transitive sentence with the verbal predicate *kirau* 'dislike' which shares the stem with the adjectival predicate.

The predicate's part of speech seems to play an important role in this case. The four semantic types of the predicates are listed in (9).

(9) a. Possession/ Ability: *aru/iru* 'be/have' (V), *nai* 'don't have' (A), *ooi* 'many' (A), *sukunai* 'not many' (A), *dekiru* 'be able to' (V), *wakaru* 'know' (V), *hetada* 'not good at' (AN), *zyozuda* 'good at' (AN), *mazui* 'not good at' (A), *nigateda* 'have trouble in' (AN), *tokuida* 'be clever in' (AN)
   b. Psychological state: *kowai* 'scary' (A), *nikui* 'hateful' (A), *osorosii* 'scarely' (A), *tanosii* 'interesting' (A), *arigatai* 'thankworthy' (A), *hazukasii* 'ashamed' (A), *kawaii* 'cute' (A), *netamasii* 'jealous' (A), *urayamasii* 'envious' (A), *hosii* 'want' (A), *kiraida* 'dislikable' (AN), *sukida* 'likable' (AN), *zannenda* 'pity' (AN)
   c. Physical state: *itai* 'painful' (A), *kayui* 'itchy' (A)
   d. Evaluation: *muzukasii* 'difficult' (A), *kantanda* 'easy' (AN), *kanouda* 'possible' (AN), *konnanda* 'difficult' (AN), *hituyoda* 'necessary' (AN), *iru* 'necessary/need' (V)

It is interesting to note that the predicates of possession and evaluation that appear in non-canonical

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(i) a.   Ken-ni-wa   Mari-ga   hituyooda.
       Ken-DAT-TOP   Mari-NOM   necessary
       'Mari is necessary for Ken.'
   b.   Ken-ni-wa   Mari-ga hituyooni-nat-ta.
                        necessary-become-PAST
       'Mari came to be necessary for Ken.'
(ii) a.   Ken-wa Mari-ga   sukida.
       Ken-TOP Mari-NOM   like
       'Ken likes Mari.'
   b.   Ken-wa Mari-ga   sukini-nat-ta.
       Ken-TOP Mari-NOM   like-become-PAST
       'Ken came to like Mari.'
This means that *–ni naru* adds the meaning of the change, retaining the stative proposition. Since it seems to express dynamic events, they keep the case frame of the stative complement clause.

construction are either verbs or adjectives (adjectives include adjectival nominals here), as seen in (9). On the other hand, the predicates of psychological and physiological states are limited to adjectives. Teramura (1982), Sugimoto (1986), and Yamaoka (2000) each point out a correlation between the meanings of the predicates and their parts of speech, but the reason for the correspondence has not been made clear. We will show that this correspondence can be explained by the thematic hierarchy. In addition, the non-canonical predicates that have transitive counterparts are limited to those involving the psychological predicates listed in (10)[4], whose transitive correspondences are listed after the slash. Psychological states can be expressed either with non-canonical constructions—with either NOM-NOM or DAT-NOM case patterns—or their transitive counterparts, as shown in (11b) and (12b).

(10) a. NOM-NOM: *sukida* 'like' (A)/ *suku* 'like'[5] (V), *kiraida* 'dislike' (AN)/ *kirau* 'dislike' (V), *hosii* 'want' (A)/ *hossuru* 'want, desire' (V)

 b. DAT-NOM: *tanosii* 'enjoyable' (A)/ *tanosimu* 'enjoy' (V), *netamasii* 'envious' (A)/ *netamu* 'envy' (V), *urayamasii* 'envious' (A)/ *urayamu* 'envy' (V), *nikui* 'hateful' (A)/ *nikumu* 'hate' (V)

(11) a. Ken-wa eiga-ga tanosii-yooda.
 Ken-TOP movie-NOM enjoyable-seem
 'Movies seem to be enjoyable for Ken.'

 b. Ken-wa eiga-o tanosinde-iru.
 Ken-TOP movie-ACC enjoy-PROG
 'Ken is enjoying the movie.'

(12) a. Ken-wa Hanako-ga {urayamasii/netamasii/nikui}-yooda.
 Ken-TOP Hanako-NOM {envious/jealous/hateful}-seem
 'Ken seems to envy/be jealous of/hate Hanako.'

 b. Ken-wa Hanako-o {urayande/netande/nikunde}- iru.
 Ken-TOP Hanako-ACC {envy/jealous/hate}-STAT
 'Ken envies/is jealous of/hates Hanako.'

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[4] Japanese has a suffix *–garu* (a verbalizer added to adjectives) that makes psychological verbs from adjectives, which requires the transitive case frame, NOM-ACC, as in (ii).
 (i) *arigatai/arigata-garu*, *tanosii/tanosi-garu*, *muzukasii/muzukasi-garu*, *tokuida/tokui-garu*.
 (ii) Ken-wa sono hon-o omosiro-gat-ta.
 Ken-TOP the book-ACC interesting-garu-PAST.
 '(lit.) Ken took the book interesting.'
The *–garu* verbs, however, cannot describe the psychological states of the first person directly, as shown in (iii), but they describe the situation observable from outside, as pointed out in Kinsui (1989). On the other hand, the non-canonical constructions can describe the psychological state of the first person directly. Even with a third person subject, the *–garu* construction does not describe the psychological state but rather the situation interpreted from the action. Therefore, we will not define transitive sentences with *-garu* verbs as the transitive variants of the non-canonical constructions.
 (iii) {Mari/*watasi}-wa sono hon-o omosiro-gatte-i-ta.
 Mari/I-TOP the book-ACC interesting-garu-PROG-PAST
 'Mari/I was taking the book interesting.'
[5] *Suku* 'like' is not often used in modern Japanese, however.

The predicate's part of speech is crucial to determine the construction type with regard to psychological state type, as shown in (8), (10), (12), and (13): the sentences with verbal predicates in (8b), (10b), (12b), and (13b) take canonical transitive case frame, while the sentences with adjectival predicates take non-canonical case frames, as shown in (8a), (10a), (12a), and (13a).

(13) a. Ken-ga   Mari-ga/?-o   nikui   (koto)   (Adjectival predicate)
         Ken-NOM   Mari-NOM/-ACC   hate   thing
         '(that) Ken hates Hanako'
    b. Ken-ga   Mari-o/*-ga   nikunde-iru   (koto)   (Verbal predicate)
         Ken-NOM   Mari-ACC/-NOM   hate-STAT   thing
         '(that) Ken hates Hanako'

The sentences taking verbal predicates cannot describe stative events without –*te iru* (PROG), however, since the predicates originally express non-stative events[6]. The stativity can be checked by looking at the meaning of the sentences with the predicates in present tense form, as shown in (14): the sentence with a verbal predicate in (14a) expresses a future event in the present tense, while the one with an adjective predicate in (14b) expresses a present stative event.

(14) a. kare-wa   Hanako-o   kira-u-daroo.
         3.SG.M-TOP   Hanako-ACC   dislike-PRES-seem
         'He seems to be going to dislike Hanako.'
    b. kare-wa   Hanako-o   kiratte-iru-daroo.
         3.SG.M-TOP   Hanako-ACC   dislike-STAT-seem
         'He seems to dislike Hanako.'

This shows that sentences with the verbal predicate express non-stative events without –*te iru*. Note that sentences taking the verbal predicate in –*te iru* form express a present stative event in the present tense, as shown in (13).

       Previous studies (Jarkey 1999, Shibatani 2000a, 2001, Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001, Onishi 2001) point out that transitive counterparts of the non-canonical constructions can be interpreted as expressing volitional and controllable states, while the non-canonical constructions must describe non-volitional and uncontrollable states. In fact, verbal predicates can co-occur with a volitional adverb, such as *wazato* 'deliberately,' as in (15a), and can take imperative forms, as in (15b), which indicates that the events are

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[6] Kinsui (1989) shows that *kanasin-da* 'felt sad' expresses the psychological state of the experiencer, while *kanasin-de i-ta* 'was feeling sorrow' expresses the psychological state judged externally.

controllable.

(15) a. Ken-wa   wazato   Mari-o   {kirat-ta/nikun-da}.
        Ken-TOP deliberately   Mari-ACC   dislike-PAST/hate-PAST
        'Ken deliberately disliked/hated Mari.'
     b. Mari-o   {kirau/nikumu}-na.
        Mari-ACC   {dislike /hate}-NEG.IMP
        'Don't dislike/hate Mari.'

On the other hand, adjectival predicates cannot co-occur with volitional adverbs, as in (16), and they lack

imperative forms. This means that they express uncontrollable states.

(16) *Ken-wa   wazato   Mari-ga   {kiraidat/nikukat}-ta.
        Ken-TOP deliberately   Mari-NOM   dislike/hate-PAST
        'Ken deliberately disliked/hated Mari.'

One more difference between the verbal sentences and adjectival sentences is a person restriction. Teramura

(1982) argues that verbal psychological predicates such as *kanasimu* 'feel sorrows' describe psychological

states objectively, on the basis that the first person cannot be the subject in (17a), whereas the first person

can be the subject in the adjectival psychological expression, as shown in (17b).

(17) a. ??watasi-wa   Hanako-o   kiratte-iru.
           1.SG-TOP   Hanako-ACC   dislike-PROG
           'I dislike Hanako.'
     b. watasi-wa   Hanako-ga   kiraida.
        1.SG-TOP   Hanako-NOM   dislike
        'I dislike Hanako.'

In this respect, the non-canonical constructions and their transitive counterparts show different properties.

    This nominative-accusative alternation is not allowed for predicates of possession and evaluation, as

accusative case cannot appear on the theme argument, as shown in (18), though some of the predicates are

verbs.

(18) a. Ken-ga   konohon-{ga/*o}   hituyoona/muzukasii   (koto)   (Adjectival)
        Ken-NOM   this book-NOM/-ACC   necessary/difficult   thing
        '(that) this book is necessary/difficult for Ken'
     b. Ken-ga   konohon-{ga/*o}   iru/wakaru   (koto)   (Verbal)
        Ken-NOM   this book-NOM/-ACC   need/understand   thing
        '(that) Ken needs/understands this book'
     c. Ken-ga   kodomo-{ga/*o}   iru/ooi   (koto)   (Verbal/Adjectival)
        Ken-NOM   child-NOM/-ACC   be/many   thing

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'(that) I have have a/many child'

The possession and evaluation predicates do not have corresponding non-derived transitive verbs; they may, however, sometimes have syntactically derived transitive verbs. As we pointed out, both verbal and adjectival predicates are observed in the dative subject constructions of the possession and evaluation types. It should be noted that these predicates express non-volitional and uncontrollable states regardless of their parts of speech, as shown in (19), where they allow neither volitional adverbs nor imperative forms.

(19) a. *Ken-wa wazato eigo-ga dekiru/wakaru.
    Ken-TOP deliberately English-NOM be.able.to/understand.
    'Ken can speak/understand English deliberately.'
  b. *Eigo-ga dekir-o/wakar-e.
    English-NOM be.able.to-IMP/understand-IMP
    'Be able to speak/understand English!'

In order to express controllable and volitional events, it is necessary, for example, to use compound verbs formed with –*suru* 'do' or –*siyoo to suru* 'try to do' (Jarkey 1999). See (20) for examples taking a canonical transitive case frame.

(20) a. sensei-wa syukudai-o {ooku/muzukasiku}-si-ta.
    teacher-TOP homework-ACC {many/difficult}-do-PAST
    'The teacher made homework many/difficult.'
  b. Ken-wa sono ronbun-o wakarooto-si-ta.
    Ken-TOP the thesis-ACC try.to.understand-do-PAST
    'Ken tried to understand the thesis.'

The possessive verb *motu* 'have' seems to be the transitive counterpart of *aru* 'exist' or *iru* 'exist,' expressing possession in the dative subject construction, as in (21), though they are not morphologically related.

(21) a. kare-wa okane-o motte-iru.
    3.SG.M-TOP money-ACC have-PROG
    'He has money.'
  b. kare-ni-wa okane-ga aru.
    3.SG.M-DAT-TOP money-NOM be
    'He has money.'

The transitive verb *motu* 'have' can express a volitional and controllable event or state, as shown in (22), but it tends to be interpreted as a concrete and physical possession such as "having something in one's hand."

(22) a. kare-wa   wazato   okane-o   motte-iru.
        3.SG.M.-TOP   deliberately   money-ACC   have-PROG
        '(lit.) He has money deliberately.' 'He holds money deliberately.'
    b. okane-o   mote!
        money-ACC   have.IMP
        'Hold the money!' or 'Possess money!'

The verb *motu* is not always able to express the same possessive relationship as *aru* or *iru*, as pointed out by Tsunoda (1990) and Sawada (2002, 2003), so we do not claim it to be their transitive counterpart. Hence, we conclude that only the psychological predicates have morphologically related transitive counterparts.

Another discriminating phenomenon concerning some psychological predicates is the case alternation of the second nominals, as shown in (23), which is not allowed in other types of predicates (cf. (18)).

(23) a. watasi-ga   Ken-ga/?-o   sukina/kiraina (koto)
        1.SG-NOM   Ken-NOM/-ACC   like/dislike   thing
        '(that) I like/dislike Ken'
    b. watasi-ga   Ken-ga/?-o   urayamasii/nikui   (koto)
        1.SG-NOM   Ken-NOM/-ACC   envious/hateful   thing
        '(that) I envy/hate Ken'

The non-canonical constructions may take a NOM-ACC case frame without changing the predicate forms or part of speech, and the sentences continue to express non-volitional and uncontrollable states, as confirmed in (24).

(24) *Ken-wa   wazato   Hanako-o   {sukidat/nikukat}-ta.
        Ken-TOP deliberately   Hanako-ACC   {like/hate}-PAST
        'Ken deliberately likes/hates Hanako.'

This means that the predicate's part of speech rather than its case frame plays an important role for the interpretation of the sentence in psychological states. It is interesting to note that most of the constructions that allow this alternation are double nominative constructions.

In this way, the non-canonical constructions of the psychological state type are different from other possessive and evaluation types, but what causes the difference? Our claim is that the experiencer is a possible controller of the event; in other words, an experiencer can be interpreted as an agent, but others cannot. The events tend not to be interpreted as controllable ones without the participant's experience, in other words, the controllable interpretation requires at least experiencing it. It is natural that the participant

that is not expected to be involved in the event cannot control the event. As we showed in Chapter 2, the experiencer is different from the other two thematic roles in that the experiencer is expected by the speaker to experience psychological or physiological states, while the same is not true for the possessor and the reference. This is shown in (25a). It is difficult to describe psychological states if the speaker does not know what the experiencer is experiencing, but this is not true for the possession and evaluation types, as shown in (26).

(25) a. ??Ken   zisin-ga   doo   omot-teiru-ka-wa   sira-nai-ga,   Ken-wa Mari-ga
         Ken   self-NOM   how   think-PROG-Q-TOP   know-NEG-though Ken-TOP Mari-NOM
      kiraidat-ta.
      dislike-PAST
      'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he disliked Mari.'

(26) a. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken(-ni)-wa   eigo-ga   dekiru.
                                                        Ken(-DAT)-TOP   English-NOM   be able to
      'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he is good at English.'

    b. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken(-ni)-wa   okane-ga   hituyooda.
                                                        Ken(-DAT)-TOP   money-NOM   necessary
      'I don't know what Ken thinks, but money is necessary for Ken.'

    c. Ken zisin-ga doo omotteiru-ka-wa siranaiga,   Ken(-ni)-wa   mago-ga   ooi/iru.
                                                        Ken(-DAT)-TOP   grandchild-NOM   many/be
      'I don't know what Ken thinks, but he has many grandchildren.'

Since the experiencer is expected to experience a psychological or physiological state, then it can be more easily taken as a controller of the event and appear as the subject of the transitive counterpart[7]. However, the possessor or the reference is not cognized to experience the event, so they cannot control it. This is why the possessor or reference is taken as the controller of the event even with verbal predicates (see (18) and (19)). The differences observed among these thematic roles with regard to their semantic properties, such as their controllability and experience, are summarized in Figure 3.2.

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[7] With regard to parts of speech, Croft (1991) shows a typological tendency of their functions. Verbs tend to describe events, and adjectives tend to modify the properties of objects. Therefore, the relative ranking of the stativity of parts of speech is as follows.
   (i)   verb < adjective < noun

Figure 3.2. The thematic hierarchy and semantic properties of each thematic role

TH semantic props	Agent > Experiencer > Possessor, Reference > Location [+HUM] > Location [-HUM]	
Controllability	[±CON]	[-CON]
Experience	[+EXP]	[-EXP]

In summary, these properties show that the experiencer differs from the possessor and the reference in a potential controllability; in other words, the experiencer is closer to the agent than others in this respect. On the other hand, the possessor and the reference are rather close to the location, since they neither experience nor control the event.

3.3. Temporal stability and semantic types of non-canonical constructions

3.3.1. Temporal stability of non-canonical constructions

Next we will examine the temporal stability of non-canonical constructions, another parameter in the conceptual space. First, we will discuss the semantic types of the non-canonical constructions. Givón (1984:55) posits the time-stability scale of lexical classes in which nouns are classified as the most time-stable, adjectives as intermediate, and verbs as rapid changing. He also shows that psychological states are less temporally stable than possession or evaluation, because the psychological states can be and are usually transitory states.

We can see differences in temporality of the sentences by looking at the co-occurrence restriction with temporal adverbs. (27) shows that the psychological state predicates can co-occur with the temporal adverbs that express only a duration, while the evaluation predicates are difficult to pair with them, as in (28).

(27) a. watasi-ni-wa   ?issyun   mago-ga   kawaikat-ta.
      1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment   grandchild-NOM   lovable-PAST
      'The grandchild is lovable for me for a moment.'
   b. watasi-ni-wa   issyun   inu-ga   kowakat-ta.
      1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment   dog-NOM   scary-PAST
      'Dogs were scary for me for a moment.'
(28) a. watasi-ni-wa   (??issyun)   eigo-ga   zyoozudat-ta.
      1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment   English-NOM   be.good.at-PAST
      'I was good at English for a moment.'

      b. watasi-ni-wa   (??issyun)   eigo-ga   kantandat-ta.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment English-NOM easy-PAST
        'English was easy for me for a moment.'

Psychological state predicates are usually transitory predicates that are allowed to co-occur with temporal adverbs such as *issyun* 'for a moment,' while predicates of possession or judgments do not easily occur with them[8]. It is rather difficult to determine the temporal stability of possession, since there are various kinds of possessive relations, for example, kinship, body-part, abstract possession, and so on. It is true that some possessive relationships are more transitory than others, and that the co-occurrence of temporal adverbs with the predicates become easier the more transitory the possession becomes, as shown in (29) and (30).

(29) a. watasi-ni-wa   issyun   itami-ga   at-ta.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment pain-NOM   be-PAST
        'I had a pain for a moment.'
      b. watasi-ni-wa   (*issyun)   nikibi-ga   at-ta.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment pimple-NOM be-PAST
        'I had a pimple for a moment.'
(30) a. watasi-ni-wa   (*issyun)   ie-ga   at-ta.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   for a moment   house-NOM be-PAST
        'I had a house for a moment.'
      b. watasi-ni-wa   (??issyun)   musume-ga   i-ta.
        1.SG-DAT-TOP   for.a.moment daughter-NOM be-PAST
        'I had a daughter for a moment.'

Since possessive relations show various temporal stabilities, some possessive predicates are similar in temporal stability to judgment predicates, but others are not. Although we need further research to explain temporal stability completely, we can say at least that possession relations are in general more stable than psychological states, except for the cases of the physiological possession in (29a), which can be as momentous as psychological states. In summary, psychological states are less temporally stable than the possession/ evaluation, so the former can be roughly placed to the left of the latter in the conceptual space.

3.3.2. Semantic types of non-canonical constructions and generic sentences

    The semantic type of the constructions is also very important in order to determine their temporal

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[8] They can co-occur with the temporal adverbs if they are captured as psychological events by using *kanziru* 'feel' as in (i).
  (i) watasi-wa   issyun   eigo-o   muzukasiku   kanzi-ta.
    1.SG-TOP   for.a.moment English-ACC difficult   feel-PAST
    'I felt English to be difficult for a moment.'

stability. Masuoka (1987) and also Kageyama (to appear) classify semantic types of sentences into event and property descriptions. The former describes the actual or the hypothetical occurrence of a particular dynamic or stative event in a particular spatiotemporal domain, and the latter describes the characteristic or inherent property of an event or a target that cannot set on a particular point of time[9]. For example, the sentence in (32) describes properties of the agents, while the ones in (32) describe the events that happened in particular spatiotemporal time.

(31) a. neko-wa   sakana-o taberu.
      cat-TOP   fish-ACC eat
      'Cat eats fish.'
    b. sono koara-wa   yoku   neru.
      the koala.bear-TOP   often   sleep
      'The koala bear sleeps well.'
(32) a. neko-ga   sakana-o tabe-ta.
      cat-NOM fish-ACC eat-PAST
      'The cat ate fish.'
    b. sono koara-wa   yokune-tei-ta.
      The koala.bear-TOP   well.sleep-PROG-PAST
      'The koala bear was sleeping well.'

A stative predicate *kowai* 'scary' can also express a property description and an event description, shown in (33a) and (33b) respectively.

(33) a. Ken-wa   otoosan-ga   kowai.
      Ken-TOP   father-NOM   scary
      'Ken is scared of his father.'
    b. kowai!
      scary
      'I am scared!'

(33a) tends to express an inherent state, more or less, while (33b) expresses a transitory stative event. Though they share the same predicate, their temporal stabilities differ: the former describes more stable events than the latter. This shows us that the semantic type of the sentence affects its temporal stability. We will discuss the relationship between semantic type and the constructions in more detail in Section 3.5, where we suggest that they play an important role in the choice of construction.

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[9] This distinction seems to correspond to the "stage-level" and "individual level" distinction in Carlson (1980), or the distinction between the "particular sentence" and the "generic sentence" in Krifka et al. (1995), but it should be noted that their distinctions are the predicate level and not the semantic types of the sentence as a whole.

It should be noted that generic sentences describe properties; in other words, their semantic type is a property description. Even though one predicate describes a transitory psychological state, it can also describe an inherent property. The generic sentences in (34a) are not as transitory as the ones in (27a), though they take the same predicates expressing psychological states. The sentences in (34) describe properties of the experiencers, while those in (27) describe their psychological states.

(34) a. roozin-ni-wa   mago-ga   kawaii.
        elderly-DAT-TOP   grandchild-NOM   lovable
        'Grandchildren are lovable for the elderly.'
     b. ningen-wa   mienai   mono-ga   kowai.
        human.being-TOP   invisible stuff-NOM   scary
        'Human beings are scared of invisible stuffs.'

On the other hand, the "particular" sentences[10] are statements about events that occur in a particular spatiotemporal domain. It is difficult to distinguish the "particular" from the "generic" stative sentences, however, since it is difficult to isolate specific episodes or isolated facts of states that do not have clear boundaries. However, it is not impossible. Though Japanese does not have definite-indefinite marking, it is possible to distinguish the generic sentences with NPs referring to kinds (we call them "kind NPs") from other stative sentences by using *–monoda* (cf. Kageyama to appear). *–monoda* can be put on generic sentences that describe properties, but not on sentences that describe particular instances. The sentences in (35) take the particular NPs as subjects and describe particular events, so *–monoda* cannot occur with them even though they are property descriptions. On the other hand, it is possible for the generic sentences with the kind NPs, as shown in (36).

(35) a. ??sono   neko-wa sakana-o   tabe-ru   monoda.
          the   cat-TOP fish-ACC   eat-PRES
          'The cat eats fish.'
     b. *sono   koara-wa   yoku   ne-teiru   monoda.
         The   koala.bear-TOP   well   sleep-PROG
         'The koala bear is sleeping well.'
(36) a. neko-wa   sakana-o taberu   monoda.
         cat-TOP   fish-ACC eat
         'Cat eats fish.'
     b. koara-wa   yoku   neru monoda.
        koala.bear-TOP   often   sleep
        'Koala bear sleeps well.'

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[10] See, for example, Krifka et al (1995:2), who divide sentences into "generic" sentences and "particular" sentences.

This is why we should pay attention to the semantic type of sentences when we map them on the conceptual space, because they have different temporal stabilities. The generic sentences cannot be placed on a time scale, which means they are atemporal. However, as a matter of convenience, we map the non-canonical constructions just by the semantic type of the predicates discussed in Section 3.3.1, since it is impossible to map all the sentences with different semantic types. Please note that the sentence that expresses a particular event is less temporally stable than the one that expresses a property.

3.3.3. Mapping of non-canonical constructions on the conceptual space

Now we map the scopes of each non-canonical construction onto the conceptual space based on the discussions in Section 3.2. and 3.3, as shown in Figure 3.3 (more concrete one will be shown in Section 3.6).

Figure 3.3. Mapping of non-canonical constructions in Japanese

No.of arg	Temporal Stability		
	Low ←		→ High
2		NOM-NOM DAT-NOM (T 2) Psychological state	DAT-NOM (Type 2) Possession Evaluation (necessity)
		DAT-NOM (T 1) Psychological state	DAT-NOM (Type1) Evaluation
1			

As we discussed in Section 3.2, the non-canonical predicates which must take two arguments and lack intransitive variants, such as the possession type, are mapped onto the upper conceptual space, because they cannot background their arguments. (However, it should be noted that all of the non-canonical constructions in Japanese have to take two arguments. The differences between the dative subject construction whose predicate also has intransitive uses and the canonical intransitive stative construction will be examined in the next Section 3.4.) With regard to the temporal stability, the ones that are more temporally stable are mapped

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on the right. As shown in Section 3.3.1, the non-canonical constructions that express psychological states are mapped to the left of the ones expressing possession and evaluation, both of which tend to be more temporally stable.

It seems that the scope of each non-canonical construction is mapped onto the upper-right corner of the conceptual space without leaving any blank spot such as the one that Croft (2001) suggests. However, we need to examine related constructions as well as canonical transitive and intransitive constructions in order to map them properly. It is only then that we can properly map the scope of the non-canonical constructions onto this conceptual space.

3.4. Differences in stative sentences focusing on *-ni totte*-marked nominal

First we will discuss canonical intransitive constructions that are deeply related to dative subject constructions of the evaluation type. It was hypothesized in Chapter 1 that the non-canonical constructions take two arguments which are interpreted as a DOMAIN and a THEME. How about other intransitive stative predicates?

The intransitive stative sentence here takes one argument and describes its state including its property regardless of the part of speech of the predicate, as in (37).

(37) a. Ken-ga   kawatteiru   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   being.strange   thing
      (that)Ken has a strange character'
   b. kono   huku-ga   ookii   (koto)
      this   cloth-NOM   large   thing
      '(that) this cloth is large'

As pointed out in Chapter 2, these intransitive stative sentences share the following semantic properties with non-canonical constructions: uncontrollability, stativity, and non-volitionality, all three of which are problematic for semantic approaches to the non-canonical constructions. In fact, the intransitive stative sentences do not take a volitional adverb, as shown in (38a), and do not have an imperative form, as shown in (38b).

(38) a. *Hanako-wa   wazato   kawatteiru.
      Hanako-TOP   deliberately   be.strange
      'Hanako is deliberately strange.'

b. *kawatteiro!
   be.strange.IMP
   'Have a strange character!'

Moreover, we can add a reference nominal to the intransitive stative sentence in (39a). As a result, (39b) comes to have a surface case frame and thematic structure similar to the dative subject construction in (40).

(39) a. kono   huku-wa   ookii.   (Intransitive stative sentence)
         this   cloth-TOP   large
         'this cloth is large.'
     b. *watasi-ni-wa*   kono   huku-wa   ookii.
         1.SG-DAT-TOP   this   cloth-TOP   large
         'this cloth is large for me.'
(40) watasi-ni-wa   rekisi-wa   muzukasii.   (Dative subject construction)
     1.SG-DAT-TOP   history-TOP   difficult
     'History is difficult for me.'

Questions then arise. How can these intransitive stative sentences in (37) be distinguished from the dative subject constructions? What are their differences? We would like to emphasize that the dative subject constructions (especially the evaluation type) and the intransitive stative constructions are syntactically different, even though they share semantic properties and the case frame (when the intransitive one takes a reference nominal as an adjunct). We will demonstrate that the non-canonical predicates must take two arguments interpreted as DOMAIN and THEME, but the intransitive stative constructions take one argument interpreted as THEME, and may take an adjunct interpreted as DOMAIN. This shows that adjectival sentences do not always have the same structure, as Bennis (1998) also points out, showing their differences in argument structures. This goes against Perlmutter and Postal's (1984) claim on the adjectival predicates, in which all the adjectival predicates and corresponding stative verbs are categorized as one type of intransitive predicates: unaccusative.

3.4.1. Semantic similarities between the dative subject constructions and intransitive constructions

First, we will show that an evaluation type of dative subject constructions is similar to the intransitive stative constructions semantically. Shibatani (1986) and Sugimoto (1986) show that some of the dative subject constructions allow a switch from a dative to a complex case particle, *-ni totte* 'for'[11]. This

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[11] Nomura (1984) and Tsukamoto (1991) pointed out that the complex case particle, *-ni totte*, lost the concrete

alternation is sensitive to the semantics of the constructions and not to their predicates. The dative subject constructions that express possession do not allow the *ni/-ni totte* alternations, as shown in (41), and Shibatani (1986) and Sugimoto (1986) claim that this alternation relates to low transitivity.

(41) a. Ken-ni/*-nitotte   unten-ga   dekiru/kanoona   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-for   drive-NOM   can/possible   thing
    '(that) Ken can drive'
  b. Ken-ni/*-nitotte   kodomo-ga   aru/ooi (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-for   child-NOM   be/many thing
    '(that) Ken has a child'
  c. Ken-ni/*-nitotte   henna   {oto/mono-ga}   {kikoeru/mieru}   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-for   strange   sound/thing-NOM   audible/visible   thing
    '(that)a strange sound/thing is audible/visible for Ken'

On the other hand, the predicates of evaluation or psychological states allow the alternation, as in (42).

(42) a. Ken-ni/-nitotte   zibun-no sippai-ga   {hazukasii/osorosii/kowai}   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/for   self-GEN failure-NOM   shameful/fearful/scary   thing
    '(that) Ken is {ashamed /fearful/ scared} of his failure'
  b. Ken-ni/-nitotte   Hanako-ga   {kawaii/netamasii/?urayamasii/?nikui} (koto)
    Ken-DAT/for   Hanako-NOM cute/enviable/jealous/hateful   thing
    '(that) for Ken, Hanako is cute/enviable/jealous/hateful'
  c. Ken-ni/-nitotte   Hanako-no   tasuke-ga   hituyoona/iru (koto)
    Ken-DAT/for   Hanako-GEN help-NOM   necessary/need thing
    '(that) Hanako's help is necessary/needed for/by Ken'
  d. Ken-ni/-nitotte   yakyuu-ga   omosiroi/muzukasii (koto)
    Ken-DAT/for   baseball-NOM interesting/difficult thing
    '(that) baseball is interesting/difficult for Ken'

Despite sharing the same predicate, if the sentence expresses an evaluation of the second nominal without expressing possession of the ability by the first nominal, the alternation is possible, as shown in (43) (cf. (41c)). The first dative nominal is interpreted as a reference point and not a possessor.

(43) Ken-ni/-nitotte   kono megane-ga yoku   mieru   (koto)
    Ken-DAT-/for   this glasses-NOM well   visible   thing
    '(lit.) (that) these glasses are visible for Ken.' or '(that) Ken can see well with these glasses'

The reference nominal added to the intransitive stative sentence is also marked by *–ni totte*, as seen in (44).

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meaning of the verb, *toru* 'take', and it becomes fixed as a particle. There are other complex particles in Japanese, but they differ in the degree of grammaticalization.

(44) a. Ken{-ni/-nitotte}   konohuku-ga   ookii   (koto)
       Ken-DAT/for   this cloth-NOM   large   thing
       '(that) this cloth is large for Ken'
   b. Ken{-ni/-nitotte}   Tokyo-ga   tooi   (koto)
       Ken-DAT/for   Tokyo-NOM   far   thing
       '(that) Tokyo is far for Ken'

This shows that the *–ni totte* marking is allowed when the dative nominal is interpreted as a reference point. The point is that dative subject constructions and intransitive stative constructions expressing evaluation, as shown in (40) and (39) respectively, are semantically similar, taking a reference and a theme, allowing the same alternation in their reference nominal.

     In addition, the Type 1 dative subject constructions even have intransitive correspondents, as shown in (45) (their dative subject constructions are shown in (46)).

(45) a. yakyuu-ga/-wa   omosiroi/muzukasii (koto)
      baseball-NOM/-TOP   interesting/difficult   thing
      '(that) baseball is interesting/difficult'
   b. sippai-ga/-wa   hazukasii/kowai   (koto)
      failure-NOM/-TOP shameful/scary   thing
      '(that) failure is shameful/scary'
(46) a. watasi-ni   yakyuu-ga   omosiroi/muzukasii   (koto)
      1.SG-DAT   baseball-NOM   interesting/difficult   thing
      '(that) baseball is interesting/difficult for me'
   b. watasi-ni   sippai-ga   hazukasii/kowai   (koto)
      1.SG-DAT   failure-NOM shameful/scary   thing
      '(that) failure is shameful/scary for me'

An interesting correspondence is observed between the existence of an intransitive use and the *–ni totte* alternation: the predicates that do not allow the alternation, which means they do not take a reference, tend to lack the intransitive use. This suggests that the evaluation type of dative subject constructions, most of which are Type 1, is semantically close to the intransitive stative constructions.

     Compounding with the verb *–sugiru* 'over-' also shows the similarity between the evaluation type of the dative subject constructions and the intransitive stative sentences with a reference nominal. The verb *–sugiru* can compound with verbal and adjectival predicates, adding the scalar interpretation[12], as seen in (47).

(47) a. Ken-wa   itumo   okasi-o   tabe-sugiru.

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[12] Kageyama and Yumoto (1998) discuss on these structures in detail.

Ken-TOP always   sweets-ACC   eat-over
'Ken always over-eats sweets.'
  b. Ken-wa   se-ga   taka-sugiru.
     Ken-TOP height-NOM   tall-over
     'Ken is too tall.'

The scale is usually measured and determined by someone's evaluation, so it is possible to express the reference overtly as a *–ni totte* nominal, which can be added to the sentence regardless of the part of speech of the predicate and its argument structure, as shown in (48).

(48) a. watasi-nitotte [Ken-wa okane-o   tukai]-sugiru.   (transitive verb)
        1.SG-for   Ken-TOP money-ACC   spend-overdo
        'For me, Ken over-uses money.'
     b. watasi-nitotte [Ken-wa osoku-made   hataraki]-sugiru   (intransitive verb)
        1.SG-for   Ken-TOP late-till   work-overdo
        'For me, Ken over-work till late.'
     c. watasi-nitotte [Ken-wa seikaku-ga   kura]-sugiru   (adjective)
        1.SG-for   Ken-TOP character-NOM gloomy-overdo
        'For me, Ken's character is too gloomy.'
     d. watasi-nitotte [Ken-wa amarinimo   wagamama]-sugiru   (adjectival nominal)
        1.SG-for   Ken-TOP too   selfish-overdo
        'For me, Ken is too selfish.'

It should be noted that *-sugiru* cannot always compound with the predicates of the dative subject constructions, however. It cannot be added to the evaluation type, as shown in (49), but can be added to the possessive type, as in (50).

(49) a. *watasi-nitotte [Hanako-ni-wa   Mari-ga   urayamasi/hituyoo]-sugiru.
         1.SG-for   Hanako-DAT-TOP Mari-NOM   envious/necessary-overdo
         'For me, Mari is too envious/necessary for Hanako.'
     b. *watasi-nitotte [Hanako-ni-wa   eigo-ga   muzukasi]-sugiru.
         1.SG-for   Hanako-DAT-TOP English-NOM difficult-overdo
         'For me, English is too difficult for Hanako.'
(50) a. watasi-nitotte [Hanako-ni-wa   kodomo-ga   i/oo]-sugiru.
        1.SG-for   Hanako-DAT-TOP   child-NOM   be/many-overdo
        'For me, Hanako has too many children.'
     b. watasi-nitotte [Mari-ni-wa   samazamana   koto-ga   {wakari/mie}]-sugiru.
        1.SG-for   Mari-DAT-TOP   various   thing-NOM   understand/see-overdo
        'For me, Mari understands to various things.'

Our claim is that it is difficult to add extra references to a sentence that has a reference argument of its own. The evaluation type of dative subject constructions takes a reference as its argument, so it is difficult to add

another one, as shown in (49). However, the possessive type takes a possessor instead, meaning that we can easily add a reference nominal to it, as shown in (50). This is supported because the intransitive stative sentences do not easily take an extra reference when they already had one, as shown in (51).

(51) a. *watasi-nitotte [Ken-ni-wa   Mari-wa   kirei]-sugiru.
           1.SG-for   Ken-DAT-TOP Mari-TOP   beautiful-overdo
           'For me, Mari is too beautiful for Ken.'
     b. ??watasi-nitotte   [Hanako-ni-wa   Ken-wa   kawattei]-sugiru.
           1.SG-for   Hanako-DAT-TOP   Ken-TOPASTrange-overdo
           'For me, Ken is too strange for Hanako.'

The sentences that take a reference, such as the evaluation type of dative subject constructions and the intransitive stative sentences with a reference nominal, cannot take an extra reference even in –*sugiru* compounding.

Because of these semantic similarities observed between the evaluation type of dative subject constructions and the intransitive stative sentences, we need to determine how they can be distinguished. At this point, -*ni totte* alternation poses some questions, because the complex particle –*ni totte* is generally considered to be an oblique case particle. Is the structure of the sentence the same as the dative subject constructions when the dative alternates with a complex particle, –*ni totte*, which is generally considered to be an oblique case particle? If it is the same, why does such an alternation exist? If it is different, how can we capture the alternate sentence in relation to the intransitive stative sentences?

3.4.2. Syntactic structures of stative sentences

Before discussing the issues, we want to confirm the meanings and properties of the complex case particle –*ni totte*. Teramura (1982) describes –*ni totte* as it appears in *sootaiteki seizyou kitei* 'prescription of relative property,' and it expresses relative standards as *hukujiteki hogo* 'sub-argument.' Nomura (1984) characterizes it as expressing the participant in focus to whom the totally stipulated judgment is applicable, and it appears in the theme-comment type sentence or its variations.

A -*ni totte* nominal can appear as the judge in stative sentences regardless of the part of speech of the predicate, shown in (52) with adjectival predicates and (53) with verbal predicates, though it cannot appear in dynamic sentences, as shown in (54).

(52) a. Ken-nitotte   Hanako-wa   kireida.
           Ken-for   Hanako-TOP   beautiful

'Hanako is beautiful for Ken.'
    b. Ken-nitotte   densya-no   oto-wa   urusai.
       Ken-for   train-GEN   sound-TOP   noisy
       'The sound of trains is too noisy for Ken.'
(53) a. watasi-nitotte Ken-wa kanari   kawat-teiru.
       1.SG-for   Ken-TOP considerably   strange-PROG
       'Ken is considerably strange for me.'
    b. Ken-nitotte   sono hanasi-wa   bakagetei-ta.
       Ken-for   the story-TOP   ridiculous-PAST
       'The story was ridiculous for Ken.'
(54) a. *Ken-nitotte   Mari-wa   hasit-ta.
       Ken-for   Mari-TOP   run-PAST
       'For Mari, Ken ran.'
    b. *Ken-nitotte   Mari-wa   Hanako-o   yon-da.
       Ken-for   Mari-TOP   Hanako-ACC call-PAST
       'For Ken, Mari called Hanako.'

We take –*ni totte* as a complex particle that is used to specify the reference point of the evaluation. This is semantically similar to Teramura's description, but we assume that a –*ni totte* nominal can behave as an argument, which we will demonstrate below.

    The –*ni totte* construction is derived from the dative subject construction by assigning –*ni totte* to the first nominal instead of the dative case (we distinguish it from both the dative subject construction and the intransitive sentence in order to examine their differences). Each construction is shown in (55).

(55) a. Hanako-ni-wa   neko-ga kawaikat-ta.   (Dative subject construction)
       Ken-DAT-TOP   cat-NOM cute-PAST
       'Cats are cute for Hanako.'
    b. Hanako-nitotte   neko-ga kawaikat-ta.   (-*ni totte* construction)
       Hanako-for   cat-NOM cute-PAST
       'Cats are cute for Hanako.'
    c. Hanako{-ni/-nitotte} kono huku-ga   hadedat-ta.   (Intransitive stative construction)
       Hanako-DAT/-for   this   cloth-NOM   flashy-PAST
       'This cloth was flashy for Hanako.'

It was shown in Chapter 2 that the dative nominal shows the subjecthood and the nominative one shows the objecthood in the dative subject constructions. It has not been made clear, however, how similar constructions, such as the –*ni totte* construction and the intransitive stative construction, behave syntactically. We will examine this further below.

    The subject properties of the nominals will be examined first. In terms of honorification, as shown in Chapter 2, the dative nominal in the dative subject construction shows the subject status, as in (56a), (58a),

but what about –*ni totte* construction? It is interesting that it is also the –*ni totte* nominal, which is the first nominal, but not the nominative one, that is the target of honorification, as shown in (56b) and (58b).

(56) a. Yamada-sensei-ni   Hanako-ga   {hituyoude/urayamasikute}-irassyaru   (koto)
      Yamada-teacher-DAT   Hanako-NOM   necessary/envious-be.HON   thing
      '(that) Hanako is necessary/envious for teacher Yamada'

     b. ?Yamada-sensei-nitotte   Hanako-ga   {hituyoude/urayamasikute}-irassyaru   (koto)
       Yamada-teacher-for   Hanako-NOM   necessary/envious-be.HON   thing
       '(that) Hanako is necessary/envious for teacher Yamada'

(57) a. *Hanako-ni   Yamada-sensei-ga   {hituyoude/urayamasikute}-irassyaru   (koto)
      Hanako-DAT   Yamada-teacher-NOM   necessary/envious-be.HON   thing
      '(that) teacher Yamada is necessary/envious for Hanako'

     b. *Hanako-nitotte   Yamada-sensei-ga   {hituyoude/urayamasikute}-irassyaru   (koto)
       Hanako-for   Yamada-teacher-NOM   necessary/envious   -be.HON   thing
       '(that) teacher Yamada is necessary/envious for Hanako'

(58) a. Yamada-sensei-ni   eigo-ga   {muzukasikute/omosirokute}-irassyaru (koto)
      Yamada-teacher-DAT   English-NOM   difficult/interesting-be.HON   thing
      '(that) English is difficult/interesting for teacher Yamada'

     b. Yamada-sensei-nitotte   eigo-ga   {muzukasikute/omosirokute}-irassyaru (koto)
       Yamada-teacher-for   English-NOM   difficult/interesting-be.HON   thing
       '(that) English is difficult/interesting for teacher Yamada'

(59) a. *sono   kangohu-ni   Yamada-sensei-no   seikaku-ga   muzukasikute-irassyaru (koto)
      the   nurse-DAT   Yamada-teacher-GEN character-NOM   difficult-be.HON   thing
      '(that) the character of teacher Yamada is difficult for the nurse'

     b. *sono kangohu-nitotte   Yamada-sensei-no   seikaku-ga   muzukasikute-irassyaru (koto)
       the   nurse-for   Yamada-teacher-GEN character-NOM   difficult-be.HON   thing
       '(that) the character of teacher Yamada is difficult for the nurse'

This means that the –*ni totte* nominal shows subjecthood like the dative nominal in the dative subject construction. On the other hand, the second nominative nominal—but not the –*ni totte* nominal—can be the target of honorification in the intransitive stative construction, as shown in (60) to (62). The reference expressed by the –*ni totte* nominal does not behave as the subject in this intransitive construction.

(60) a. *Yamada-sensei-{nitotte/ni}(-wa)   Hanako-ga   okireina   (koto)
      Yamada-teacher-for/DAT(-TOP)   Hanako-NOM beautiful.HON thing
      '(that) Hanako is beautiful for teacher Yamada'

     b. *Yamada-sensei-{nitotte/ni}(-wa)   Hanako-ga   kanari   kawatteirassyaru (koto)
       Yamada-teacher-for/DAT(-TOP)   Hanako-NOM considerably   strange.HON   thing
       '(that) Hanako is considerably strange for teacher Yamada'

(61) a. Ken-{nitotte/ni}(-wa)   Yamada-sensei-ga   okireina   (koto)
      Ken-for/DAT(-TOP)   Yamada-teacher-NOM   beautiful.HON thing
      '(that) teacher Yamada is beautiful for Ken'

b. Ken-{nitotte/ni}(-wa)   Yamada-sensei-ga   kanari   kawatte-irassyaru (koto)
    Ken-for/DAT(-TOP)   Yamada-teacher-NOM   considerably   strange-be.HON   thing
    '(that) teacher Yamada is considerably strange for Ken'

(62) a. Yamada-sensei-ga   o-kireina   (koto)
    Yamada-teacher-NOM   HON-beautiful   thing
    '(that) teacher Yamada is beautiful'

b. Yamada-sensei-ga   kanari   kawatteirassyaru   (koto)
    Yamada-teacher-NOM   considerably   strange.HON   thing
    '(that) teacher Yamada is considerably strange'

The reflexive binding brings about the same result. The dative nominal in the dative subject construction binds a reflexive and shows subjecthood in (63), and the same is the true for the *–ni totte* construction, as shown in (64), in which the first *–ni totte* nominal does.

(63) a. Ken$_i$-ni   eigo-ga   zibun$_i$-no ani-yorimo   hanas-eru   (koto)
    Ken-DAT English-NOM   self-GEN brother-than   speak-POT   thing
    '(that) Ken can speak English better than his (own) brother'

b. Ken$_i$-ni   Mari$_j$-ga   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no   imooto-yorimo   kawaii   (koto)
    Ken-DAT Mari-NOM   self-GEN   sister-than   cute   thing
    '(that) for Ken, Mari is cuter than his (own) sister'

(64) a. Mari$_i$-nitotte   Hanako$_j$-ga   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no imooto-yori   hituyoo/urayamasii-rasii (koto)
    Mari-for   Hanako-NOM   self-GEN   sister-than   necessary/envious-seem   thing
    '(that) for Mari, Hanako is more necessary/envious than his (own) sister'

b. Hanako$_i$-ga   Mari$_j$-nitotte   zibun$_{*i/j}$-no imooto-yori   hituyoo/urayamasii-rasii (koto)
    Hanako-NOM   Mari-for   self-GEN   sister-than   necessary/envious-seem   thing
    '(that) for Mari, Hanako is more necessary/envious than his (own) sister'

The situation is different from the one observed in honorification, however, because the reference nominal marked by *–ni totte* behaves like the subject in the intransitive stative construction in terms of the reflexive binding. It can bind a reflexive pronoun in the intransitive sentences regardless of its case marking, as shown in (65). This means that the sentence is different from the intransitive stative sentences without the reference nominal, in which the nominative marked theme nominal binds the reflexive, as shown in (66).

(65) a. Ken$_i$-ni/-nitotte   Hanako$_j$-ga   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no   imooto-yorimo   kireina   (koto)
    Ken-DAT-/for   Hanako-NOM   self-GEN   sister-than   beautiful thing
    '(that) for Ken, Mari is more beautiful than his (own) sister'

b. Ken$_i$-ni/-nitotte   Hanako$_j$-ga   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no   imooto-yori   kawatteiru   (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-for   Hanako-NOM   self-GEN   sister-than   strange   thing
    '(that) for Ken, Mari is stranger than his (own) sister'

(66) a. Hanako$_i$-ga   zibun$_i$-no   imooto-yori   kireina   (koto)
    Hanako-NOM self-GEN   sister-than   beautiful   thing
    '(that) Hanako is more beautiful than her (own) sister'

b. Hanako$_i$-ga   zibun$_i$-no imooto-yori   kawatteiru   (koto)
   Hanako-NOM self-GEN sister-than   strange   thing
   '(that) Hanako is stranger than her (own) sister'

In this way, the reflexive binding and the honorification process show different results. With regard to the intransitive stative constructions, the reference nominal behaves as the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, but it cannot be the target of honorification. Concerning this, Kumashiro (2002) assumes two distinct levels of subjects, the sentential and the predicational levels, and explains these differences based on them. However, there are some problems in using the reflexive binding as a subjecthood test. One is that sometimes nominals other than subjects can bind reflexives, as Iida (1996) demonstrates. Another is that the first nominal in the intransitive stative construction is not an argument, though it is in the dative subject construction. The first nominal in the intransitive stative construction cannot be relativized, as shown in (67b), while the one in the dative subject construction can, as in (67a). This is why we determine the subject using on the honorification process, in which case the first nominal in the intransitive construction is not the subject, but the one in the dative subject construction is the subject.

(67) a. [t$_i$ Hanako-ga   urayamasii]   hito$_i$ (Dative subject construction)
         Hanako-NOM envious   person
      'those who are envious of Hanako'
   b. *[Hanako-ga   kireina]   hito   (Intransitive stative construction)
       Hanako-NOM   beautiful person
       'those for whom Hanako is beautiful'

In summary, the first nominal in the dative subject and the *–ni totte* construction behaves as the subject, while the one in the intransitive stative sentences does not. The subject of the intransitive sentence is the nominative marked theme nominal.

Now we will examine the objecthood of the nominals in each construction. Kishimoto (2004) shows that *–no koto* is a test of objecthood, as we discussed in Chapter 2, and that the second nominative nominals in the non-canonical constructions show objecthood. The stative sentences we are discussing here all express some evaluation or psychological state, so there is no violation of the semantic restriction of *–no koto* on the predicates shown by Sasaguri (2000). Therefore we can use it as a test of objecthood.

In fact, it is impossible to add *–no koto* to dative or *–ni totte* nominals in any construction, as shown in (68) and (69).

(68) a. *Ken-no   koto-ni-wa   Naomi- ga   {urayamasii/hituyoona}-yooda.

Ken-GEN   thing-DAT-TOP   Naomi- NOM   envious/necessary-seem
       'Ken seems to be envious of/need Naomi.'
    b. *?Ken-no koto-nitotte-wa   Naomi-ga   {urayamasii/hituyoo}-yooda.
       Ken-GEN thing-for-TOP   Naomi- NOM   envious/necessary-seem
       'Ken seems to be envious of/need Naomi.'
(69) a. *Ken-no   koto-nitotte-wa   Naomi -ga   kireina-yooda.
       Ken-GEN   thing-for-TOP   Naomi-NOM   beautiful-seem
       'For Ken, Naomi seems to be beautiful'
    b. * Ken-no koto-nitotte-wa   Naomi -ga   kanari   kawatteiru-yooda.
       Ken-GEN   thing-for-TOP Naomi -NOM   considerably   strange-seem
       'For Ken, Naomi seems to be considerably strange.'

However, *-no koto* can occur with the nominative nominal of the dative subject and the *–ni totte* construction, as shown in (70a) and (70b) respectively, but not with the nominative nominal of the intransitive stative construction, as in (71) and (72), regardless of the existence of the reference nominal.

(70) a. Ken-ni-wa   Naomi-no   koto-ga   {urayamasii/hituyoona}-yooda.
       Ken-DAT-TOP Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   envious/necessary-seem
       'Ken seems to be envious of/need Naomi.'
    b. ?Ken-nitotte-wa   Naomi-no   koto-ga   {urayamasii/hituyoo}-yooda.
       Ken-for-TOP   Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   envious/necessary-seem
       'Ken seems to be envious of/need Naomi.'
(71) a. * Ken-nitotte-wa   Naomi-no   koto-ga   kireina-yooda.
       Ken-for-TOP   Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   beautiful-seem
       'For Ken, Naomi seems to be beautiful'
    b. * Ken-nitotte-wa   Naomi-no   koto-ga   kanari   kawatteiru-yooda.
       Ken-for-TOP   Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   considerably   strange-seem
       'For Ken, Naomi seems to be considerably strange.'
(72) a. *Naomi-no   koto-ga   kireida.
       Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   beautiful
       'Naomi is beautiful'
    b. *Naomi-no   koto-ga   kanari   kawatteiru.
       Naomi-GEN   thing-NOM   considerably   strange
       'Naomi is considerably strange.'

This demonstrates that the nominative nominals in the dative and *–ni totte* constructions show objecthood, but the nominative-marked nominal in the intransitive stative sentence does not.

The results are summed up in Table 3.1; the first nominals of the dative subject and the *–ni totte* constructions are taken to be the subjects, while it is the second nominal that is the subject in the intransitive construction. It means that the reference nominal in the intransitive stative construction behaves as an adjunct and not as an argument.

Table 3.1. The distribution of the subject properties

test Construction		Dative subject	*-ni totte*	intransitive
Honorification	NP1	✓	✓(?)	*
(subjecthood test)	NP2	*	*	✓
-no koto	NP1	*	*	*
(objecthood test)	NP2	✓	✓(?)	*

Note, however, that the acceptability of the sentences in which the *–ni totte* nominal is the target of honorification and in which the *–no koto* is added to the nominative nominal sometimes seem to decrease in *–ni totte* constructions, as seen in (56b) and (70b). However, at the same time we have shown that the second nominative nominal does not exhibit subjecthood at all, which distinguishes the *–ni totte* construction from the intransitive stative sentence.

We have demonstrated that the dative nominal in the dative subject construction behaves as the subject, even though it is marked by *–ni totte*, while the reference nominal in the intransitive stative construction, which can be marked by dative case, is an adjunct and therefore not an argument. Hence, though the dative subject construction and the intransitive stative construction are similar to each other semantically, they clearly differ from each other syntactically. This shows us that there is a possibility that the syntactic structures are determined by the predicate, not by the surface case frames or the thematic roles.

3.4.3. The function of the alternation

Now that we showed that the *–ni totte* alternation did not change the syntactic structure of the dative subject construction, we will demonstrate that the alternation is based on a semantic motivation, showing that there are other alternations and that these alternations are semantically restricted.

There is an alternation phenomenon between the dative case *–ni* and the locative case *-de*, as shown in (73). The *-de* nominal behaves as the subject, since it can be the target of honorification.

(73) a. Yamada-sensei-no   otaku-de-wa   kuruma-ga   hituyoode-irassyaru-souda.
    Yamada-teacher-GEN   home-LOC-TOP   car-NOM   necessary-be.HOM-hearsay
    '(I heard that) teacher Yamada's family needed a car.'

   b. Yamada-sensei-no otaku-de-wa   tonari-no   ie-no   gareezi-ga
                    neighbor-GEN   home-GEN   garage-NOM
    urayamasikute-irassyaru-souda.

envious-be.HOM-hearsay

'(I heard that) teacher Yamada's family envied the garage of his neighbor.'

c. Yamada-sensei-no   gokaazoku-no   aida-de-wa   kono terebibangumi-ga

                        family.HON-GEN   among-LOC-TOP   this   TV.program-NOM

omosirokute-irassyaru-souda.

interesting-be.HON-hearsay

'(I heard that) this TV program is interesting for teacher Yamada's family.'

Even though the locative nominals are marked by an oblique case, they retain subject properties. This shows that the first nominal in the dative subject construction is the subject of the construction regardless of case marking.

In addition, there is some restriction on these alternations, because there are cases that the alternation is impossible, as shown in (74).

(74) a. kono hon-{ni/*nitotte}(-wa)   kabaa-ga   hituyooda.
       this   book-DAT/for(-TOP)   cover-NOM   necessary
       '(lit.)A cover is necessary for this book.'

b. kono   miti-{ni/*nitotte}(-wa)   dentou-ga   hituyooda.
       this   road-DAT/for(-TOP)   lamp-NOM   necessary
       '(lit.) Lamps are necessary for this road.'

In fact, –ni totte alternation is not possible if the dative nominal is not a reference, as we examined in Section 4.2. (74) shows that the alternation is not allowed when the nominal is inanimate, which is difficult to use as a reference. In case of the–de alternation, the alternation is impossible with the dative nominal which cannot be interpreted as the location, as shown in (75).

(75) a. boku-{ni/*de}(-wa)   kuruma-ga   hituyooda.
       1.SG-DAT/LOC(-TOP)   car-NOM   necessary
       'I need a car.'

b. boku-{ni/*de}(-wa)   suugaku-ga   muzukasii.
       1.SG-DAT/LOC(-TOP)   math-NOM   difficult
       'Math is difficult for me.'

The complex case -ni totte expresses a semantically more specific meaning. The dative is used to mark not only the reference but also the possessor, location, goal, and so on, while –ni totte can only mark the reference. It is obvious that the –ni totte nominal has a more restricted meaning than the dative nominal.

Our claim is that the –ni totte alternation functions to make the semantic relationship between the

nominals in the sentence clear. Let us look at the relativization phenomenon[13]. The relativization of the nominative nominal in the dative subject construction is not always acceptable, as shown in (76) and (77)[14]. When the *–ni totte* nominal is present, however, various nominals can be more easily relativized, as in (78) and (79).

(76) a. ??[Ken-ni   hituyoona]   Mari   b. ??[Ken-ni   tanosii]   suugaku
      Ken-DAT   necessary   Mari   Ken-DAT   enjoyable   math
      'Mari whom Ken needs'   'math that is enjoyable for Ken'

(77) a.   [Ken-ni   hituyoona] hito   b. ?[Ken-ni   tanosii]   kamoku
      Ken-DAT   necessary person   Ken-DAT enjoyable   subject
      'those who Ken needs'   'subject that is enjoyable for Ken'

(78) a. [Ken-nitotte   hituyoona] Mari   b.   [Ken-nitotte   tanosii]   suugaku
      Ken-for   necessary Mari   Ken-for   enjoyable math
      'Mari whom Ken needs'   'math that is enjoyable for Ken'

(79) a. [Ken-nitotte   hituyoona] hito   b.   [Ken-nitotte   tanosii]   kamoku
      Ken-for   necessary   person   Ken-for   enjoyable subject
      'those who Ken needs'   'Subject that is enjoyable for Ken'

A similar situation is observed with regard to word order. More word order varieties are observed in *–ni totte* constructions, as shown in (80b) to (83b). Some of the word orders are less acceptable with dative nominals in (80) to (83) sentence a.

(80) a. Hanako-ni   Ken-ga   kowai   (koto)
      Hanako-DAT   Ken-NOM   scary   thing
      '(that) Ken is scary for Hanako'
    b. Hanako-nitotte   Ken-ga   kowai   (koto)
      Hanako-for   Ken-NOM   scary   thing
      '(that) Ken is scary for Hanako'

(81) a. ??Ken-ga Hanako-ni   kowai   (koto)
       '(that) Ken is scary for Hanako'
    b.   Ken-ga Hanako-nitotte   kowai   (koto)
       '(that) Ken is scary for Hanako'

(82) a. boku-ni   kono hon-ga   omosiroi   (koto)
      1.SG-DAT   this   book-NOM   interesting   thing
      '(that) this book is interesting for me'

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[13] The alternation between dative and the complex case particle *–niyotte* 'by' is observed in passive sentences, which makes the semantic relationships more explicit. Please refer to Sunawaka (1984) for detail.

[14] Hideki Kishimoto (p.c.) points out that the acceptability of the relative clause increases if we add an adverbial particle, *mo* 'also.'

   (i) a. [Ken-ni-mo   hituyoona] Mari   b. [Ken-ni-mo   tanosii] suugaku
       Ken-DAT-mo necessary Mari   Ken-DAT-mo   enjoyable math
       'Mari whom Ken also needs.'   'math that is enjoyable also for Ken.'

b. boku-nitotte   kono   hon-ga   omosiroi   (koto)
   1.SG-DAT   this   book-NOM   interesting   thing
   '(that) this book is interesting for me'

(83) a. ??kono   hon-ga   boku-ni   omosiroi   (koto)
     this   book-NOM   1.SG-DAT   interesting   thing
     '(that) this book is interesting for me'

b. kono hon-ga   boku-nitotte   omosiroi   (koto)
   this   book-NOM   1.SG-for   interesting   thing
   '(that) this book is interesting for me'

These phenomena are deeply related to the function of the *–ni totte* alternation. Since the *–ni totte* alternation makes the semantic relationships of the nominals in the sentence clear, more varieties of word order become acceptable.

3.4.4. Summary of the discussion

Figure 3.4 summarizes the syntactic properties of stative sentences.

Figure 3.4. Syntactic properties of stative sentences

Construction ⧹ NP	Dative subject (possession type)	(judgment type)	Intransitive stative
Case for NP1	NOM		
	DAT		
		-ni totte 'for'	
NP1 (domain)	obligatory (possessor)	e.g. need	optional (judge)
	argument		adjunct
Syntactic property: NP1	+subjecthood, −objecthood		−subject, −object
NP2 (theme)	−subjecthood, +objecthood		+subject, −object

⇔ Semantic difference   ⇔ Syntactic difference

Though the evaluation type of dative subject construction and the intransitive stative sentence with a reference nominal are semantically similar, there are remarkable syntactic differences between them: the former take two arguments, in which the dative nominal shows subjecthood, but the latter take one argument, in which the nominative-marked nominal shows subjecthood, even in the presence of a dative-marked reference nominal. Now we can distinguish the dative subject construction from the intransitive stative sentence by the number of arguments. We can say that the reference nominal taken by the predicates that appear in the dative subject construction behaves an argument, in fact as the subject, while

the one taken by the other intransitive stative predicate behaves as an adjunct. This suggests that the structure is determined by the lexical information of the predicate to some extent. We also suggested that the *–ni totte* alternation of the dative nominal in the dative subject constructions is caused by a semantic motivation, not changing their syntactic structure.

3.5. Appearance as dynamic non-canonical construction

Next we will examine an appearance that is expressed with a similar construction. Sentences of appearance also appear with a non-canonical case frame in Japanese: DAT/LOC-NOM. We will show that some of them take the same syntactic structure as the dative subject construction that expresses stative events, though the appearance construction expresses a non-stative event.

"Appearance," or coming into existence, is a non-stative event, so its aspectual properties are the same as other non-stative events (cf. Kindaichi 1950). (84a) is a sentence that describes the appearance of a lump on the head, and refers to a future event if the verb is in the present tense. The stative one with the same predicate does not, however, as shown in (84b).

(84) a. Ken-ni-wa   moosugu   tankobu-ga   dekiru.
        Ken-DAT-TOP soon   lump-NOM   get.to.have
        'Ken will have a lump on his head soon.'
     b. *Ken-ni-wa   moosugu   eigo-ga   dekiru.
         Ken-DAT-TOP   soon   English-NOM   can
         'Ken can understand English soon.'

The appearance sentence requires two thematic roles, a location and a theme, as shown in (85).

(85) a. Mari-ni   kodomo-ga   deki-ta.
        Mari-DAT child-NOM   get.to.have-PAST
        'Mari had a child.'
     b. kooen-ni   Ken-ga   araware-ta.
        park-LOC   Ken-NOM   appear-PAST
        'Ken appeared in the park.'

As we showed in Chapter 2, some of the appearance constructions can be captured like the dative construction in which the first dative nominal behaves as the subject. (86a) shows that the dative nominal can be the target of honorification, but the nominative nominal cannot, as shown in (86b).

93

(86) a. Yamada-sensei-ni okosan-ga   odekininat-ta.
   Yamada-teacher-DAT child.HON-NOM get.to.have.HON-PAST
   'Teacher Yamada had a child.'
  b. *Ken-ni rippana gihu-ga   odekininat-ta.
   Ken-DAT great step-father-NOM get.to.have.HON-PAST
   'Ken had a great step-father.'

(87) shows that the dative nominal binds the reflexive pronoun. These behaviors show that the dative nominal is the subject.

(87) a. Ken$_i$-ni nikibi-ga zibun$_i$-no ane-yori ippai deki-ta.
   Ken-DAT pimple-NOM self-GEN sister-than many get.to.have-PAST
   'Ken had more pimples than his (own) sister.
  b. Ken$_i$-ni sono mondai-no kotae-ga zibun$_i$-no ane-yori hayaku wakat-ta.
   Ken-DAT the exercise-GEN answer-NOM self-GEN sister-than fast get.to.know-PAST
   'Ken got an answer to the exercise faster than his (own) sister.'

Although the appearance construction describes non-stative events, it expresses non-volitional and uncontrollable events. The appearance sentence neither co-occurs with a volitional adverb, as in (88), nor does it take imperative forms, as in (89).

(88) a. *Mari-ni wazato   kodomo-ga deki-ta.
   Mari-DAT deliberately child-NOM get.to.have-PAST
   'Mari had a child deliberately.'
  b. *Mari-ni-wa sakki   wazato   kotae-ga wakat-ta.
   Mari-DAT-TOP little while ago deliberately answer-NOM get.to.know-PAST
   'Mari got to know the answer deliberately little while ago.
(89) a. *Kodomo-ga dekiro!
   child-NOM get.to.have.IMP
   'Have a child!'
  b. kotae-ga wakare!
   answer-NOM get.to.know.IMP
   'Know the answer!'

As Kishimoto (2005) shows that the dative nominal tends to be interpreted as a subject in the appearance construction that shows some kind of possession, it is considered to be the dative subject construction only when the dative nominal is interpreted as a possessor, not just a location. If the dative nominal is only interpretable as the location of the appearance, the subject of the sentence is the theme nominal, because only the theme nominal can be the target of honorification, as shown in (90).

94

(90) a. *Yamada-sensei-no   kinzyo-ni   kooen-ga   odekininat-ta.
        Yamada-teacher-GEN   neighbor-LOC park-NOM   be.made.HON-PAST
        'A park was built in the neighborhood of teacher Yamada.'
    b. kono   ie-de   Yamada-sensei-ga   oumareninat-ta.
        this   house-LOC   Yamada-teacher-NOM   be.born.HON-PAST
        'Teacher Yamada was born in this house.'

In a similar way, the dative nominal in (92) is also difficult to interpret as a possessor, because the theme is not a possessable entity but an event. In this case, it cannot be interpreted as the subject.

(91) ??Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   ziken-ga   ookorininat-ta.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   accident-NOM happen.HON-PAST
        'An accident happened on teacher Yamada.'

On the other hand, the sentences in (92) express not only the appearance of an entity but also its possession. In this case, the dative nominal is interpreted as the possessor, and so the dative nominal can be the target of honorification, as shown in (92).

(92) a. Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   okosan-ga   odekininat-ta.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   baby.HON-NOM   get.to.have.HON-PAST
        'Teacher Yamada had a baby.'
    b. Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   sono mondai-no   kotae-ga   owakarininat-ta.
        Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   the   exercise-GEN answer-NOM   come.to.understand.HON-PAST
        'Teacher Yamada got the answer for this exercise.'

This fits our hypotheses well, because possessor is higher than location in our thematic hierarchy, which means that it is more likely to behave as the subject.

3.6 Constructions and predication types

This section will demonstrate that the predicate of the Type 1 dative subject construction that allows its intransitive variant lexically requires two participants and suggest that the motivation for backgrounding one of its arguments is a semantic shift.

As we reviewed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5), there are at least three views on non-canonical constructions in terms of transitivity: a transitive analysis, an intransitive analysis, and a continuum analysis. One of the most significant issues here is whether the arguments in these non-canonical constructions are required by the predicates or not. The transitive and continuum analyses assume that both of the arguments are required by the predicate, while an intransitive analysis does not. Given this, different analyses would be

taken with regard to the Type 1 dative subject construction and its intransitive variants. The transitive and continuum analyses will assume that the direction of the alternation is from the dative subject construction to its intransitive variants, but in the intransitive analysis the dative subject construction occurs based on its intransitive counterparts.

We will claim that both of the arguments in the dative subject construction are required by the predicate, which is the transitive analysis, by showing that covert backgrounded participants semantically exist, even in its intransitive variants. If the predicate takes only one argument, this will never happen. Then we will suggest that the motivation of the alternation is a semantic shift, since the semantic type of the intransitive variants is limited.

3.6.1. Problems on alternation

One theoretical question is how to capture an obvious semantic relation between the Type 1 dative subject construction in (93) and its intransitive variants in (94).

(93) a. Ken-ni/-ga   kurayami-ga   kowai (koto)
   Ken-DAT/-NOM darkness-NOM scary thing
   '(that) darkness is scary for Ken'
  b. Ken-ni/-ga   kono eiga-ga   omosiroi (koto)
    Ken-DAT/-NOM this movie-NOM interesting thing
    '(that) this movie is interesting for Ken'
(94) a. Ken-ga kowai (koto)
   Ken-NOM scary thing
   '(that) Ken is scary'
  b. kono eiga-ga   omosiroi (koto)
   this movie-NOM interesting thing
   '(that) this movie is interesting'

The intransitive variants are divided into two kinds based on their thematic structures, as we saw in Chapter 2: one type of construction shown in (95b) and (96c) takes a theme nominal and describes its state or property (we will call this type of intransitive variant the "theme subject type" in this section for convenience), and another takes an experiencer nominal and expresses its psychological state (we will call this type of intransitive variant the "experiencer subject type"), as in (96b).

(95) a. Ken-ni-wa pasokon-ga muzukasii.
   Ken-DAT-TOP pc-NOM   difficult.
   'PC is difficult for Ken.'

b. pasokon-wa   muzukasii.
   pc-TOP   difficult.
   'PC is difficult.'

(96) a. watasi-ni-wa   hebi-ga   kowai.
      1.SG-DAT-TOP   snake-NOM   scary
      'Snakes are scary for me.'

   b. watasi-wa   nantonaku   kowai.
      1.SG-DAT-TOP   unconsciously scary
      'I am scared.'

   c. hebi-wa   kowai.
      snake-TOP   scary
      'Snakes are scary.'

The theme subject intransitive variant in (97a) is semantically similar to the intransitive stative sentence (97b) that also takes a theme and describes its states or properties, though they are syntactically different, as demonstrated in Section 3.4.

(97) a. kono   geemu-ga   muzukasii   (koto)
      this   game-NOM   difficult   thing
      '(that) this game is difficult'

   b. kono   hana-ga   utukusii (koto)
      this   flower-NOM   beautiful thing
      '(that) this flower is beautiful'

(98) summarizes the thematic roles assigned to the arguments of the dative subject construction and its intransitive variants.

(98) a. Experiencer subject type   b. Theme subject type
       EXPERIENCER—THEME   e.g. (96a)   EXPERIENCER/JUDGE—THEME
          | |
       EXPERIENCER   e.g. (96b)   e.g. (96c)   THEME
       ※underlined one appears as the subject

Three analyses on non-canonical constructions were reviewed above, and now we will briefly review the motivation for the alternation in each view. Shibatani (2000a, 2001) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) take an intransitive analysis, and they claim that first dative nominal is required when the proposition consists of a small subject, i.e. the second nominative nominal, and the predicate is not a universally true statement. In that case, the dative nominal provides a domain in which the proposition is evaluated. On the other hand, Sugimoto (1986) and Yamaoka (2000) propose to derive the intransitive variant from the dative

subject construction[15], and Sugimoto (1986) suggests an operation called *zokusei-ka* "attributivization" (an operation that makes the sentence describe an attribute, or a property) that derives the intransitive variant from the dative subject constructions, since the theme subject intransitive variant generally expresses properties. The dative subject constructions do not always describe properties; they can describe evaluations in (99a) and (100a), while their intransitive variants in (99b) and (100b) describe properties.

(99) a. kodomo-tati-ni-wa   kono terebibangumi-ga   omosiroi.   (Sugimoto 1986:335)
       child-PL-DAT-TOP this   TV.program-NOM   interesting
       'This TV program is interesting for children.'
    b. kono   terebibangumi-wa   omosiroi.
      this   TV.program-TOP   interesting
      'This TV program is interesting.'

(100) a. gakusei-tati-ni-wa   doitugo-no   kakuhenka-ga   muzukasikat-ta. (Sugimoto 1986:335)
       student-PL-DAT-TOP German-GEN inflection-NOM   difficult-PAST
       'The inflection of German was difficult for students.'
    b. doitugo-no   kakuhenka-wa   muzukasii.
      German-GEN inflection-NOM   difficult
      'The inflection of German was difficult'

He claims that the alternation takes place when the dative nominal has less subjecthood, but no difference in subjecthood is observed among the Type 1 and Type 2 dative subject constructions. As shown in Chapter 2 and also in Section 3.4., all of the dative nominals show subjecthood in both types. Yamaoka (2000) observes that the intransitive variants of the dative subject construction arise when the meaning of *kookyoosei* 'publicity' is added to it. The problem is that he did not show concrete evidence for this theory, so the concept of 'publicity' itself is left undefined.

Some problems remain for both analyses, one of which is the existence of another type of the intransitive variants, the experiencer subject type, as shown in (101), which has not received much attention.

(101) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   tanosii   (koto)
       Ken-NOM/-DAT   enjoyable   thing
       '(that) Ken seems to be pleasing'
    b. watasi-ga/*-ni   hazukasii   (koto)
      1.SG-NOM/-DAT   ashamed   thing
      '(that) I am ashamed'

This is problematic for the intransitive analysis in that the first experiencer nominal in the dative subject

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[15] Note that they focus on the theme subject intransitive variant and not discuss the intransitive variant that takes an experiencer subject.

construction is the subject of the intransitive variant, since the first nominal is assumed to be required by the proposition and is not an argument of the predicate. If it is not an argument of the predicate, why is this type of intransitive sentence possible? In addition, this is also problematic for the transitive analyses, such as Sugimoto (1985) and Yamaoka (2000), since this cannot be explained by the attributivization and the publicity of the sentence, meaning the psychological states.

We will show some evidence to confirm that the predicate of the Type 1 dative subject construction lexically requires two arguments. First, we will provide evidence for the existence of a covert argument even in the intransitive variants, which shows that the predicate lexically requires two arguments. Second, we will suggest a semantic shift as a motivation for the alternation. It will be demonstrated that the occurrence of each type of the intransitive variant is related to the semantic type of the sentence, which can be identified as the phenomenon similar to the one observed in the dynamic sentences pointed out by Kageyama (to appear)[16]. It will be demonstrated that the semantic types of the intransitive variants are limited to one type, while the dative subject constructions do not show such a limitation.

3.6.2. The semantic type and the semantic shift

Before starting the discussion, a brief explanation of the distinction between an event and property description, which are two semantic types of sentences, is necessary. Masuoka (1987, 2000, 2004) distinguishes two semantic types of sentences: the one that describes an event (which is called an "event description") and another that describes a property (which is called a "property description"), as shown in (102a) and (102b) respectively.

(102) a. Ken-wa   kinoo   eki-de   Mari-o   mi-ta.
     Ken-TOP   yesterday station-LOC   Mari-DAT   see-PAST
     'Ken saw Mari at the station yesterday.'
     b. Ken-wa   kookoo-no   sensei-da.
     Ken-TOP   high.school-GEN   teacher-COP
     'Ken is a high school teacher.'

The former in (102a) is intended to describe the actual or the hypothetical occurrence of a particular event including dynamic and stative ones in a particular spatiotemporal domain, and the latter in (102b) describes the characteristic or inherent property that is not limited to a particular point of time. Masuoka (1987, 2000)

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[16] We will review his study in the following section.

shows that these semantic types can explain several grammatical phenomena[17], such as differences between attributive passives and other passives, and the properties of double subject constructions.

Kageyama (to appear) discusses some constructions that induce a decrease in the predicate's valence. For example, middle constructions have fewer arguments than their predicates' valences require (cf. Kemmer 1993), but such sentences are not elliptical. The English middle construction shown in (103a) takes one argument, while the transitive sentence with the same predicate takes two (103b).

(103) a. This book sells well.   (Middle construction)
     b. He sells this book.   (Transitive construction)

Kageyama suggests that a semantic shift from an event description to a property description takes place in middle constructions (and also in constructions such as peculiar passives (attributive passives) or reflexive constructions). Furthermore, his analysis is that the semantic shift takes off an argument, stating that there is an essential difference between the "dynamic" event description and "static" property description, and that this difference exerts an influence on valence change in passive, reflexive, and other constructions. He claims that the semantic shift from the event description to the property description induces a decrease in valence, since the predicate of the property description lacks an *Ev*-argument and does not project an Event Phrase.

We will show that the same semantic shift is observed between the dative subject construction and its intransitive variant, specifically the theme subject type. In particular, we will show that the theme subject type intransitive variant can be formed only when the predicate denotes property, and this valence change can be induced by the semantic type shifting from event description to property description. We will show that the intransitive variants of the theme subject type can only express an atemporal property description of the theme argument, while the dative subject construction and other intransitive stative sentences can appear in both semantic types.

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[17] Masuoka (2004) also pay attention to the form of the sentences, especially whether the sentence takes a topic or not. The property description requires a topic semantically, but even the event description can optionally take a discourse topic. Since it is not clear how to distinguish these two kinds of topics, we mainly assume that the most important difference between them is whether the propositions can be situated in a particular spatiotemporal domain or not, following his definition of the semantic types.

3.6.3. The semantic type of the dative subject constructions and their intransitive variants

In this section, we will examine the semantic type of the Type 1 dative subject construction and its intransitive variants. Though the former can express both event and property descriptions, the latter are limited to one of the semantic types depending on the type of the intransitive variant.

In order to discern the semantic type of the sentence, first we will use some expressions that must describe the actual occurrence of a particular event in a particular spatiotemporal domain, in other words they must appear in an event description sentence: one is –*mamada* 'stay on,' which expresses the continuation of events (including stative events) in a particular spatiotemporal domain, and another is temporal adverbials such as *kinoo* 'yesterday' that also describe particular temporal domains of events. Ssentences that can denote an event, i.e. event descriptions, should co-occur with these expressions.

-Mamada 'stay on'[18] is generally allowed to appear with verbal, adjectival, or nominal predicates, if the proposition described by the sentence is interpreted as referring to an event that can undergo change in a particular temporal domain[19] (cf. Kuchii 1995, Uchimaru 1999), as seen in (104).

(104) a. karera-wa   te-o   tunaida-mama-dat-ta.   (Verb)
          they-TOP   hands-ACC   shake-stay.on-COP-PAST
          'They keep shaking hands.'
      b. ima-no-mama-de-wa   dame-da.   (Noun)
          present-GEN-stay.on-COP-TOP   no.good-COP
          'Keeping the present situation is no good'

If any change in the event is not conceivable, the expression is not acceptable, as shown in (105).

(105) a. ??Mari-no   me-wa   huta-tu-no-mama-dat-ta.
          Mari-GEN   eye-TOP   two-CLS-GEN-stay.on-COP-PAST
          '?Mari's eyes stayed two.'
      b. ??tikyu-wa   marui-mama-dat-ta.
          earth-TOP   round-stay.on-COP-PAST
          'The earth stayed round.'

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[18] *-mamada* expressions are divided into *de*-type and *ni*-type depending on the following elements. *de*-type expresses continuing states of the subject or object, while *ni*-type additionally expresses 'be resigned to the situation' or 'leave thing on one's own', as shown in (i). We will focus on *de*-type. See Kuchii (1995) and Uchimaru (1999) for detail.
     (i) asi-no   omomuku-mama-ni   arui-ta.
       foot-GEN betake.oneself.to-stay.on   walk-PAST
       'I walked where my feet carried (me).'
[19] In case of states, it does not mean that the sentence expresses change of state; rather, it means that the sentence expresses a state that is not permanent and can be located in time.

Although –*mamada* can only occur with the predicate of a sentence expressing a changeable state in a particular temporal domain, this does not mean that it cannot co-occur with intransitive predicates classified as "individual level" predicates (in Carlson (1980)). It does co-occur if the sentence can be interpreted to express a changeable state. For example, the predicate *kasikoi* 'clever' usually denotes an inherent property and is assumed to be an individual level predicate[20], as in (106a), which is usually taken to hold at any particular point of time; however –*mamada* is nevertheless permitted, as in (106b), where it is recognized as describing a "changeable" state. The same is true for (107), whose predicate, *hansamu da* 'being handsome,' is usually taken to express an inherent property, but can be also used to express a temporal state.

(106) a. Ken-ga   kasikoi   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   clever   thing
        '(that) Ken is clever.'
     b. Ken-ga   tosi-o   totte-mo   kasikoi-mamadat-ta   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   age-ACC get-also   intelligent-stay.on -PAST   thing
        '(that) Ken stayed intelligent even in his old age'
(107) (after a boxing game) mazu-wa   hansamuna-mama-de   yokat-ta.
                   in.the.mean.time-TOP   handsome-stay.on-COP   good-PAST
      'It is good in the meantime that you are still handsome.'

Generic sentences rarely allow -*mamada*, since they express properties that are not located to a particular point of time, i.e. atemporal, as shown in (108b), especially when they take kind-referring nominals[21] as their subjects.

(108) a. uma-wa   keru(-mono-da).
        horse-TOP   kick-thing-COP
        'Horses kick.'
     b. *uma-wa   keru-mamadat-ta.
         horse-TOP   kick-stay.on-PAST.
        'Horses keep kicking.'
     c. kono   uma-wa   keru-mamadat-ta.
        this   horse-TOP   kick-stay.on-PAST.
        'This horse keeps kicking.'

The sentence in (108a) is not interpreted as expressing a changeable state, because it takes a kind-referring

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[20] It is classified as tokusei keiyousi "adjectives that express properties," in Japanese grammar (see Nishio (1972)).
[21] The kind-referring noun phrases do not denote or designate some particular object, but rather the kind itself. *Uma* "horses" in (109a) denotes the kind Horse itself but not a particular horse.

NP and describes its property that is not placed in a particular spatiotemporal domain. On the other hand, the sentence with a specific NP can be more naturally interpreted to express a changeable state and allows –*mamada*, as shown in (108c). It is semantically natural that a sentence expressing a stative event that lacks a temporal duration[22] does not co-occur with –*mamada*, since –*mamada* expresses the continuation of the changeable event in a particular spatiotemporal domain. (109) describes a point state, or an instantaneous state, that does not have a temporal duration, and it cannot co-occur with –*mamada*.

(109) ??go-zi-no   mama-dat-ta.
　　　 five-o'clock-GEN   stay.on-COP-PAST
　　　 '*It stays five o'clock.'

We can then determine whether the sentence can express the stative event located to a particular temporal domain or not by using –*mamada*.

　　　Now we will examine whether the dative subject construction and its intransitive variants can appear as event descriptions or not. The dative subject construction can express a "changeable" state located in a particular temporal domain, occurring with –*mamada*, as shown in (110). This shows that the dative subject construction can describe events.

(110) a. Ken(-ni)-wa   kurayami-ga   kowai-mamada.
　　　　 Ken(-DAT)-TOP   darkness-NOM scary-stay.on
　　　　 'Ken is still scared of darkness.'
　　　 b. watasi(-ni)-wa   suugaku-ga   muzukasii-mamada.
　　　　 1.SG.(-DAT)-TOP math-NOM   difficult-stay.on
　　　　 'Math is still difficult for me.'

Some of them, however, express fairly stable and unchangeable properties, such as the command of a language or a mental status, and therefore they do not seem to allow –*mamada*, as seen in (111).

(111) a. ??Ken(-ni)-wa   eigo-ga   dekiru-mamada.
　　　　 Ken(-DAT)-TOP English-NOM can-stay.on
　　　　 'Ken can still speak English.'
　　　 b. ??Ken(-ni)-wa   okusan-ga   iru-mamada.
　　　　 Ken-DAT-TOP   wife-NOM   be-stay.on
　　　　 'Ken still has a wife.'

　　　The experiencer subject intransitive variant of the dative subject construction expresses

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[22] Such a state is classified as a "point state" in Croft (to appear).

psychological states, which are located in a particular temporal domain, allowing –*mamada*, as shown in (112). They describe psychological states at the moment of the utterance.

(112) a. (watasi-wa) mada kowai-mamada.
   1.SG-TOP still scary-stay.on
   'I am still scared.'
  b. (watasi-wa) mada hazukasii-mamada.
   1.SG-TOP still shameful-stay.on
   'I am still ashamed.'

On the contrary, the theme subject intransitive variant does not naturally co-occur with -*mamada*, as shown in (113), even though they describe states of the entities which can be interpreted as changeable—the game or the TV program can suddenly become boring, for example. The sentences in (113) should be acceptable, since it can describe changeable states. But this is not the case.

(113) a. #sono geemu-wa omosiroi-mamadat-ta.
   the game-TOP interesting-stay.on-PAST
   'The game stayed interesting.'
  b. #sono bangumi-ga muzukasii-mamadat-ta.
   the program-TOP difficult-stay.on-PAST
   'The program stayed difficult.'

The examples in (113) cannot naturally be interpreted to express the psychological state of the entities with –*mamada*, but they are accepted as expressing psychological states of the covert experiencer, i.e., the speaker, meaning, 'for me, the game stayed interesting/ was still interesting.' We will use "#" when the sentence is interpretable as denoting a psychological state but not a property. It should be noted that other intransitive stative sentences are, however, interpreted as describing "changeable" states in a particular temporal domain and allow –*mamada*, as shown in (114).

(114) a. sono kabe-wa siroi-mamadat-ta.
   the wall-TOP white-stay.on-PAST
   'The wall stayed white.'
  b. kare-no kami-ga mizikai-mamadat-ta (koto)
   3.SG.M-GEN hair-NOM short-stay.on-PAST thing
   '(that) his hair stayed short'
  c. Ken-wa yasasii-mamadat-ta.
   Ken-TOP gentle-stay.on-PAST
   'Ken stays gentle.'

The differences will become clear when we compare (113) and (114). The intransitive stative sentences in

(114) cannot express the speaker's evaluation of the entities, but they do express states of the entities themselves, even with –*mamada*, so they differ from (113), which denote the covert speaker's psychological states. The difference between the theme subject intransitive variant and other canonical intransitive stative sentences suggests that the predicates of the former lexically require two participants, and that the covert one is implied even in the intransitive variant. However, the experiencer subject intransitive variant can describe temporal stative events, without implying the presence of another argument.

Next, we will examine temporal adverbials that refer to a particular temporal domain of the event. Kudo (2001, 2004) points out that we can add temporal adverbials, such as *sengetu* 'last month,' *kyonen* 'last year,' and *kinoo* 'yesterday,' to the sentences that express temporal states or events, as in (115b), but not to the ones that express atemporal, inherent properties, as shown in (115b). Unlike –*mamada*, the temporal adverbials as *ima* 'now' or *sono toki* 'at that time' can be also added to the sentences that express instantaneous states, as in (115c), since they do not require durational states.

(115) a. kinoo   Hanako-wa   isogasikat-ta.
       yesterday   Hanko-TOP   busy-PAST
       'Hanako was busy yesterday.'
    b. ??kyoo Ken-wa   se-ga   takai.
      today Ken-TOP height-NOM   tall
      'Ken is tall today.'
    c. sonotoki   go-zi-dat-ta.
      at.that.time   5-o'clock-COP-PAST
      'It was five o'clock at that time.'

The dative subject constructions can be naturally modified by these temporal adverbials, as shown in (116) and (117), which means that they can express temporary states.

(116) a. iti-nen-mae   watasi-ni-wa   kaminari-ga   kowakat-ta.
       one-year-before   1.SG-DAT-TOP   thunder-NOM scary-PAST
       'Thunder was scary for me one year ago.'
    b. kinoo   watasi-wa   nomikai-ga   tanosikat-ta.
      yesterday   1.SG-TOP   drinking.party-NOM   enjoyable-PAST
      'The drinking party was enjoyable for me yesterday.'
(117) a. zyuu-nen-mae   Ken-ni-wa   kodomo-ga   i-ta.
       ten-year-before   Ken-DAT-TOP child-NOM   be-PAST
       'Ken had a child ten years ago.'

    b. iti-nen-mae   Ken-ni-wa   sakadati-ga   deki-ta.
      one-year-before   Ken-DAT-TOP   handstand-NOM   be.able.to-PAST.

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'Ken could do a handstand one year ago.'

The same is true for the experiencer subject intransitive variant, as shown in (118), which means that they express psychological states that can be located in particular times.

(118) a. (watasi-wa) sono toki kowakat-ta.
     1.SG-TOP that time scary-PAST
     'I was scared at that time.'
   b. kyoo-wa totemo tanosii.
     today-TOP very enjoyable
     'I am having a blast today.'

Again, the theme subject intransitive variant cannot take these adverbs, which means that they cannot be interpreted as denoting temporary states in particular times, as shown in (119).

(119) a. #kinoo kono eiga-wa kowakat-ta
     yesterday this movie-TOP scary-PAST
     '(lit) It was this movie (that (made me) feel scared.)''
   b. #iti-nen-mae hito-no tasuke-wa arigatakat-ta.
     1-year-ago people-GEN help-TOP grateful-PAST
     '(lit) I was grateful for people's help one year ago.'

Again the sentences in (119), however, are interpreted as expressing psychological states of the speaker at that certain point of time, who is a covert experiencer, as we observed in -*mamada* expression. The covert experiencer is semantically implied in the sentences with these predicates, implying the predicates semantically take two arguments. Note that other intransitive stative sentences with the predicates like *kireida* 'dislike' can be naturally interpreted as describing a temporary state in a particular temporal domain when occuring with the temporal adverbial *kinoo* 'yesterday,' as shown in (120). This shows that the theme subject intransitive variant is different from other intransitive constructions.

(120) kinoo Hanako-wa kirei-dat-ta.
     yesterday Hanako-TOP beautiful-COP-PAST
     'Hanako was beautiful yesterday.'

We have similar phenomena with temporal adverbials expressing durations, such as *zutto* 'all the time,' as shown in (121). These adverbials cannot modify a punctual event that does not have a duration (121a), but still can modify events or changeable states placed in a particular temporal domain, as shown in (121b).

(121) a. *<u>zutto</u>/*<u>issyun</u>　　　　　　go-zi-da.
　　　　all.the.time/for.a.moment　　5-o'clock-COP
　　　　'It is five o'clock all the time/ for a moment.'
　　b. Hanako-wa　<u>zutto</u>　　　isogazii
　　　　Hanako-TOP　all.the.time　　busy
　　　　'Hanako is busy all the time.'

The dative subject construction and the experiencer subject intransitive variant can be modified by the durative adverbials *zutto* 'all the time' and *sibaraku* 'for a while,' denoting temporary states, as shown in (122) and (123).

(122) a. Ken-wa　　　zutto　　　kono　　inu-ga　　　kowai-yooda.
　　　　Ken-TOP　　all.the.time　this　　dog-NOM　　scary-seem
　　　　'Ken seems to have been scared of this dog all the time.'
　　b. Ken-ni-wa　　　sibaraku-no aida　sono sippai-ga　　hazukasikat-ta.
　　　　Ken-DAT-TOP　　for.a.while　　the failure-NOM　ashamed-PAST
　　　　'Ken felt ashamed of the failure for a while.'
(123) a. watasi-wa　　zutto　　　kowakat-ta.
　　　　1.SG-TOP　all.the.time　scary-PST
　　　　'I had been scared all the time.'
　　b. watasi-wa　　sibaraku　　hazukasikat-ta.
　　　　1.SG-TOP　for.a.while　ashamed-PAST
　　　　'I had been ashamed for a while.'

However, the theme subject intransitive variant cannot be interpreted as describing the temporary states, as it cannot be modified by temporal adverbials in (124). Again, they are interpreted as expressing the psychological states of the covert experiencer.

(124) a. *kono　inu-ga　<u>zutto</u>　　　kowakat-ta　(koto)
　　　　this　　dog-TOP　all.the.time　fearful-PAST　thing
　　　　'(that) this dog was fearful all the time'
　　　　(OK in the reading '(that) I had been scared of this dog all the time.'
　　b. *sono　sippai-wa　<u>zutto</u>　　　hazukasikat-ta.
　　　　the　　failure　　all.the.time　ashamed-PAST
　　　　'The failure is shameful.' (OK in the reading 'I had felt ashamed of the failure all the time.')

　　The data on co-occurrence with *-mamada* and temporal adverbials that locate events in particular temporal domains shows that the dative subject construction and its experiencer subject intransitive variant can denote stative events, but the theme subject one cannot. This means that the former can be the event description, but the latter cannot. The theme subject intransitive variant can, however, be located in time if it expresses the psychological state of the covert experiencer, the speaker. This suggests that the predicate of

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the dative subject construction lexically requires another participant, the experiencer, even though the intransitive variant takes only the theme nominal.

Now we will examine whether or not the dative subject construction and its intransitive variants can denote properties, and claim that the experiencer subject intransitive variant cannot, but others can. The dative subject construction and its theme subject intransitive variant can denote inherent properties, as shown in (125) and (126) respectively. This means that they can express property descriptions.

(125) a. nezumi-wa   neko-ga   kowai.
       mouse-NOM cat-NOM scary
       'Mice are scared of cats.'
   b. nihonzin-wa   medatu-no-ga   hazukasii.
      Japanese-TOP   standing.out-NML-NOM ashamed
      'Japanese is ashamed of standing out.'
(126) kabuki-wa   omosiroi
     Kabuki-TOP   interesting
     'Kabuki is interesting.'

However, the experiencer subject intransitive variant cannot express the property description, as shown in (127). The sentences in (127) are acceptable only when the nominals are interpreted as theme but not as experiencer. Though we can imagine that criminals might always be scared of something, the sentence in (127a) does not express such a property.

(127) a. hanzaisya-wa kowai.
       criminal-TOP scary
       'Criminals are scary.'/'*Criminals are scared.'
   b. ningen-wa   tanosii.
      human being-TOP enjoyable
      'To be human is enjoyable.'/'??Human beings are enjoyable.'

Note that the dative subject construction also takes an experiencer subject, but it can express its property, as in (125). Hence, we cannot say that the experiencer argument cannot be the subject of the sentence that describes a property, but it happens only in the experiencer subject intransitive variant.

In summary, the dative subject construction can denote both events and properties, which means they can be both semantic types, i.e., event and property description, while its intransitive counterparts are limited to taking one of them. In particular, the theme subject type only denotes properties, while the experiencer subject type, only stative events.

There is another piece of evidence that shows that the predicate semantically requires two

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participants, which is the interpretation of the nominative nominals in the intransitive variants, as shown in (128b).

(128) a. Yamada-san-ga   mago-ga   kawaii   (koto)
       Yamada-Mr.-NOM   grandchild-NOM   loveable   thing
       '(lit.) (that) grandchildren are lovable for Mr. Yamada'
     b. mago-ga   kawaii   (koto)
       grandchild-NOM   loveable   thing
       '(that) grandchildren are loveable'

Kuno (1973 a, b) claims that there are at least two interpretations of nominative nominals23, i.e., a neutral description and an exhaustive listing. Both interpretations are possible when the predicates are action verbs, existential verbs, or adjectives denoting change of states, as shown in (129). On the other hand, only the exhaustive listing interpretation can arise when the predicates are stative verbs, adjectives, and nouns, expressing more or less permanent states, as shown in (130).

(129) a. Sora ga   aoi.   (neutral description)   (Kuno 1973a:53)
       sky   is-red
       'Look! The sky is red.'
     b. Sora ga   aoi.   (exhaustive listing)
       'It is the sky that is blue.'
(130) a. *Tokyo ga   ookii.   (neutral description)   (Kuno 1973a:53)
             is-big
       'Look! Tokyo is big.'
     b. Tokyo ga   ookii.   (exhaustive listing)
       'It is Tokyo that is big.'

Given this, the nominative nominals in the experiencer subject intransitive variant should be given both neutral and exhaustive listing interpretations, since the predicates are usually adjectives that denote changeable states. On the other hand, the nominative nominals in the theme subject type should be given only the exhaustive listing interpretation, since the predicates are adjectives that express properties. But this is not the case. The dominant interpretation of the nominative nominals n (131) is the neutral interpretation, though it assumes extra-participants, such as experiencer. It is more difficult to get an exhaustive listing reading.

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23 Kuno (1973 a, b) defines the nominative marking in non-canonical constructions. He considers it to be object marking for the stative transitive sentences, but we will extend his statement with regard to the intransitive sentences.

(131) a. obake-ga   kowai.
       ghost-NOM   scary
       '?It is the ghosts that is scary.'/'I am scared of ghosts.'
   b. musiba-ga   itai.
       decayed tooth-NOM   painful
       '??It is the decayed tooth that is painful.'/'I have a pain in the decayed tooth.'

   c. doitugo-no   kakuhenka-ga   muzukasii.
       German-GEN inflection-NOM   difficult
       '?It is the inflection of German that is difficult'/'It is the inflection of German that is difficult for
        me.'

If the predicate takes only one participant, the neutral interpretation will not occur; instead the nominal must be interpreted as an exhaustive listing, as observed in other intransitive sentences in (130). This shows that a covert participant semantically exists even in the intransitive variant, and so we can safely say that the predicates of the dative subject construction require two participants. The semantic existence of the covert participant cannot be explained if we assume they are underlyingly intransitive.

3.6.4. Semantic shifts

The intransitive variants of the dative subject construction are compatible with limited semantic types: the theme subject type with a property description, and the experiencer subject type with an event description. Because the dative subject construction can be associated with both types and their predicates lexically require two participants, semantic shifts seem to happen from the dative subject constriction to its intransitive variants. We will suggest that these semantic shifts motivate reducing the predicate's valence from two to one.

The semantic shift taking place from the dative subject construction to the theme subject intransitive variant is from the event description to the property description, as well as the semantic shift observed in Kageyama. The dative subject construction takes two arguments and describes events as well as properties, and the intransitive variant takes one and describes only properties. We suggest that this is the same semantic shift as the one suggested by Kageyama, which shifts event description to property description, thereby reducing the valence. This provides a motivation for the alternation, which is the same as the one observed in other phenomena that Kageyama discussed.

Another type of semantic shift is observed between the dative subject construction and the experiencer subject intransitive variant. Though the dative subject construction can describe both events and

properties, the intransitive variant can only describe events. Unlike the semantic shift observed between the dative subject construction and the theme type intransitive variant, this semantic shift seems to be from the property description to the event description. The fact that the experiencer subject intransitive variant can only be the event description is motivated by the fact the sentence is restricted to the time and space of the utterance. In fact, the intransitive variant is the target of a semantic restriction, which is called a person restriction. The experiencer subject intransitive variant must express the first person's emotion at the time of the utterance when the predicate is in the present tense, as shown in (132). This necessarily requires that the sentence be located in the particular spatiotemporal domain of the utterance.

(132) a. (watasi-wa)   tanosii.
       1.SG-TOP   amusing
       'I am amusing.'

      b. (watasi-wa)   nantonaku   kowai.
       1.SG-TOP   sort of   scary
       'I am sort of scared.'

The target of the emotion, which is the theme of the psychological state, is understood to exist even though it does not overtly appear as an argument; for example, the target of the emotion can be understood as an abstract atmosphere at that time in (132a) and will be the environment at the time of utterance in (133).

(133) kyoo-wa   tenki-mo   ii-si,   suzusii-si,   hiru-kara-wa   tomodati-to
      today-TOP weather-also good-and cool-and   afternoon-from-TOP   friends-with
      kaimono-da.   tanosii-na.
      shopping-COP   amusing
      'The weather is so beautiful and cool today. Moreover, I will go shopping with friend in the afternoon.
       I am happy.

In summary, we have shown that the semantic types of the dative subject construction and its intransitive variants are different and that the differences between them could be the motivation for the alternations observed. For the derivation of the theme subject intransitive variant that only denotes properties, we suggested the same semantic shift that Kageyama (to appear) suggested. We also pointed out that the experiencer subject intransitive variant is derived by backgrounding the theme, which is understood in the discourse, as the sentence is restricted to the particular spatiotemporal domain of the utterance. The fact that the predicates that take the dative subject construction require two participants supports the transitive analysis.

3.7. Examination of our hypotheses and conclusion

In this section, we will discuss the distribution of non-canonical constructions in the conceptual space again together with the distributions of some related constructions.

First, we will examine the thematic hierarchy and show the syntactic realizations of the nominals with different thematic roles and their conceptualizations, which are summarized in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5. The thematic hierarchy, conceptualizations, and realizations of each thematic role

Non-canonical constructions

TR: Agent > **Experiencer > Possessor > Reference** > Location [+HUM] > Location [-HUM]

GR: Subject ————————————→

CM: NOM ————————————→

                ←———————————— DAT/LOC

SS: ←———————————————— DOMAIN
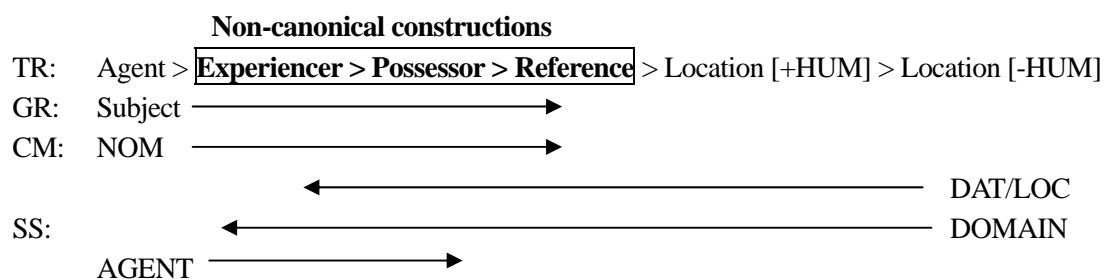
    AGENT ————————————→

With regard to the grammatical relations (GR), agent, experiencer, possessor, and reference can appear as the subject of the sentence in Japanese, though location cannot, as confirmed in Section 3.2. The dative argument in the appearance construction is the subject only when its thematic role is possessor, so it is not problematic. The reference that appears in the intransitive stative sentences, however, is an adjunct and does not behave as the subject, as shown in Section 3.4, which means not always the reference nominal is the subject. Therefore, the arrow goes to the middle of the reference in Figure 3.5. The scopes of the case markings (CM) are also shown in Figure 3.5. An agent nominal cannot be marked with dative case, but others can; an agent, experiencer, possessor, and reference nominals can be marked with nominative case, but not a locative one, as in Figure 3.5. Therefore, the non-canonically marked subjects appear in the scope bracketed by square—from the experiencer to the reference in the thematic hierarchy.

A brief explanation will be necessary to discuss the semantic structure (SS). In Chapter 1, we assume the sentence that describes one type of conceptualization of the stative event shown in Figure 3.6 to have a semantic structure DOMAIN-THEME.

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Figure 3.6. One way of conceptualizations of stative event: DOMAIN-THEME type
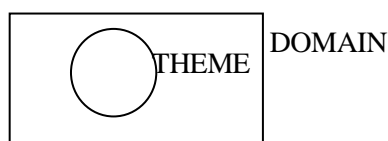
How likely to be interpreted as a DOMAIN corresponds to how unlikely to be interpreted as an AGENT that controls events; in other words, a DOMAIN is low in agentivity compared to an AGENT (see chapter 1).

We will suggest that the experiencer nominal is conceptualized as DOMAIN in stative sentences; it lacks most of the properties that AGENT has (causation, volitionality, and controllability). The possessor, reference, and locative nominals are also conceptualized as lacking these properties, and conceptualized as DOMAIN. It is also true that the experiencer nominal in some non-stative constructions is considered to be AGENT, since it can volitionally control the events. In Section 3.3., we showed that the non-canonical constructions that describe psychological states often have transitive counterparts that describe psychological states as volitional and controllable events, and in such constructions the experiencer nominal is conceptualized as AGENT. However, the possessor or reference nominal is scarcely conceptualized as AGENT, as they both tend to lack counterparts that describe them as volitional and controllable events. Some of the possessive events can be volitional and controllable, however (see Section 3.3.). In this way, the scope of DOMAIN is expressed by the arrow from the location to the experiencer in Figure 3.5, while the scope of AGENT is from the agent to the middle of the possessor. Recall that the corresponding transitive sentences take an AGENT that controls the event.

These distributions observed in Figure 3.5 support our hypotheses: the experiencer, which is higher than the reference in the hierarchy, is more likely to behave as the subject. These results do not violate our predictions; rather, they support our hypotheses concerning Japanese non-canonical constructions.

Now that we have shown the distribution of the non-canonical constructions in the thematic hierarchy, then we will show them in the conceptual space to capture their relationship to other constructions. Though we have already shown the brief version in Section 3.3.3, the dative subject construction and intransitive stative construction differ in their valences: the former takes two arguments, but the latter takes only one and is placed on the bottom of the conceptual space. The non-canonical

constructions in the upper conceptual space always require two arguments, lacking intransitive variants; the lower ones allow intransitive variants when the semantic shift happens (see Section 3.6). With regard to the temporal stability, the ones that are more temporally stable are mapped on the right. The non-canonical construction that expresses psychological states is mapped to the left of the ones expressing possession or evaluation, which tend to be more temporally stable. Hence, the scopes of each non-canonical construction in the conceptual space are shown again in Figure 3.7, in which we also map the scopes of some related constructions such as canonical transitive and intransitive constructions.

Figure 3.7. Scope of non-canonical constructions in Japanese

No.of Arg	Temporal stability Low ← → High		
2	NOM-ACC Psychologi-cal action (V)	NOM-NOM DAT-NOM (Type 2) Psychological state (A) Coming-into-possession DAT-NOM (Type 1) Psychological (A)	DAT-NOM (Type 2) Possession Evaluation(necessity) DAT-NOM (Type1) Evaluation (A)
1	NOM	Psychological state	State/Property

The appearance construction that expresses coming into possession, is less temporally stable than the possessive and evaluation type, since it describes a non-stative event. In this way, Japanese non-canonical constructions are mapped in the upper-right corner of the conceptual space, and all of them are mapped without leaving any blank that Croft (2001) restricts.

The experiencer subject intransitive variant will be mapped under the Type 1 dative subject construction, sharing the same temporal stability but lacking one argument. Since the theme subject intransitive variant describes properties which are more temporally stable than psychological states, it will be mapped underneath evaluation, taking one argument.

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As a conclusion, our hypotheses can capture the non-canonical constructions in Japanese, including their internal varieties and relationships with other related constructions. Their distributions are mapped onto the conceptual space, showing these relationships. We will examine the applicability of our hypotheses to other languages in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4. Derived non-canonical constructions

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on non-canonical constructions with derived predicates that take verbal clauses as their complements, which we call "derived non-canonical constructions." They are semantically divided into three types: the potential, the desiderative, and tough constructions. All of them share semantic and syntactic properties with the non-derived non-canonical constructions, which have been examined in Chapter 2 and 3. The potential and the tough constructions are considered to be the dative subject construction, in that they take transitive complement clauses, while the desiderative construction is the double nominative construction. All of them describe non-volitional and uncontrollable states, just like the non-derived non-canonical constructions do.

One of the biggest structural differences between the non-derived and the derived non-canonical constructions is that the latter must take clausal complements, as shown in (1b-c), while the former must take nominative nominals, as in (2a), which could be nominalized clauses, as shown in (2b-c). This difference raises a number of issues.

(1)   a. Ken-ga   ringo-o   taberu.   (NOM-ACC)
         Ken-NOM   apple-ACC   eat
         'Ken eats apples.'

      b. Ken-ga   [ringo-ga   tabe]-tai.   (Desiderative: NOM-NOM)
         Ken-NOM   apple-NOM   eat-DES
         'Ken wants to eat apples.'

      c. Ken-ga/-ni   [ringo-ga   tabe]-rareru.   (Potential: DAT/NOM-NOM)
         Ken-NOM/-DAT   apple-NOM   eat-POT
         'Ken can eat apples.'

      d. Ken-ga/-ni   [ringo-ga   tabe]-{nikui/gatai/durai}.(Tough: DAT/NOM-NOM)
         Ken-NOM/-DAT   apple-NOM   eat-difficult/difficult/difficult
         'It is tough for Ken to eat apples.'

(2)   a. watasi-wa   [undoo]-ga   sukida.
         1.SG-TOP   exercise-NOM like
         'I like exercise.'

      b. watasi-wa   [[ϕ hasiru]-no]-ga   sukida.
         1.SG-TOP   run-NML-NOM   like
         'I like running.'

      c. watasi-wa   [[ϕ Ken-o   karakau]-no]-ga   sukida.
         1.SG-TOP   Ken-ACC play.a.joke.on-NML-NOM   like
         'I like to play jokes on Ken.'

We will discuss two of these issues in this chapter: one is the distribution and properties of two variants observed in the derived non-canonical constructions, and the other concerns their modal meanings. The case frames of the derived non-canonical constructions are different from the ones originally taken by the embedded predicates. That is, in these derived constructions the predicate's canonical transitive case frame (NOM-ACC) is changed into a non-canonical one, like the double nominative (NOM-NOM) or DAT-NOM, as shown in (1b)-(1d), though the transitive case frame is, however, still possible, as in (3). This means there are two possible case frames for non-derived non-canonical constructions with transitive complement clauses.

(3)　a. Ken-ga　　　[ringo-o　　　tabe]-tai.
　　　　Ken-NOM　　apple-ACC　　eat-DES
　　　　'Ken wants to eat apples.'
　　　b. Ken-ga　　　[ringo-o　　　tabe]-rareru.
　　　　Ken-NOM　　apple-ACC　　eat-POT
　　　　'Ken can eat apples.'

We will assume syntactically and semantically different structures for these two variants (cf. Sugioka 1984); the sentence with the nominative-marked second nominal results from a syntactic and semantic reanalysis (e.g. in the desiderative construction with the desiderative suffix –*tai*[1], the desiderative suffix is analyzed as forming a complex predicate with its preceding verb by restructuring and consequently takes nominative marking on the second nominal). Given this, various case marking tendencies pointed out in previous studies can be explained.

The second issue is the modal meanings expressed by these derived non-canonical constructions. It should be noted that all of the three types of the derived non-canonical constructions—the desiderative constructions, the potential constructions, and the tough constructions—express some modal meanings, which are classified as Agent-oriented modality (Bybee et al. 1996) or Event modality (Palmer 2001). The reason why these modal expressions impose the non-canonical case markings is yet to be clear, and we will suggest that these modal expressions change the case frame by changing the thematic structures and the meanings of the complement clauses. The derived constructions express non-volitional and uncontrollable states as the non-derived non-canonical constructions do, because of the derivational suffixes.

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[1] Japanese is known as an agglutinating language, and predicates, such as verbs, adjectives, and adjectival nouns, inflect in several ways. *ta-i* shows the same inflections as adjectives, which are as follows: *-taku-* (*mizenkei* 'irrealis form'), *-takat-, taku-* (*renyookei* 'infinitive form'), *-ta-* (*syuusikei* 'conclusive form'), *-ta-* (*rentaikei* 'attributive form'), and *-take-* (*kateikei* 'hypothetical form'). The names for the inflections are taken from Traditional Japanese grammar. Verbs also inflect, and the inflection of the root in front of the desiderative *-ta-i* is always *renyookei* 'infinitive form (INF)'.

This chapter consists of five sections. Section 4.2. discusses the variations and properties of derived non-canonical constructions in contrast to the non-derived ones and shows that they share several properties. Their structural difference—the derived constructions must take complement clauses—raises some issues, which Section 4.3. examines, focusing on the desiderative construction. The tendencies with regard to the two variants observed in the desiderative constructions will be explained by semantic and syntactic reanalysis. It will be also shown how the Event modality expressions impose non-canonical case frames on the sentences. Then Section 4.4. examines the hypotheses suggested in Chapter 1 and concludes that the derived non-canonical constructions are distributed in similar regions to those of the non-derived constructions shown in Chapter 3.

4.2. Properties of derived non-canonical constructions

First, we will examine variations and properties of each derived non-canonical construction briefly and show that they share basic semantic and syntactic properties with non-derived non-canonical constructions, especially when they take transitive complement clauses. However, the fact that the derived ones take complement clauses raises questions about how their case frames are derived and how their modal meanings are expressed.

4.2.1. Varieties of derived non-canonical constructions

Derived non-canonical constructions in Japanese are classified into three types, potential constructions, tough constructions, and desiderative constructions. We will show that the potential and the tough constructions are considered dative subject constructions, and the desiderative constructions the double nominative construction, when all of these constructions take transitive complement clauses.

The predicates in potential constructions appear in two forms, either with V-*reru*[2] or V–*dekiru*,

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[2] It should be noted that the suffix *–reru* is also used for passives, spontaneous constructions, and honorification, as shown in (i) and (ii). There are several studies on the relationships between these expressions. See, for example, Shibatani (1985), Onoe (2000), and Kawamura (2004). The relationship between these usages of the suffix is too broad an issue to deal with in this study.

(i) a.   Ken-wa   Hanako-o   home-ta.
         Ken-TOP   Hanako-ACC   praise-PAST
         'Ken praised Hanako.'
   b.   Ken-wa   Hanako-o   home-rare-ru.   (Potential)
         Ken-TOP   Hanako-ACC   praise-POT-PRES
         'Ken can praise Hanako.'
   c.   Hanako-wa   Ken-ni   home-rare-ta.   (Passive)
         Hanako-TOP   Ken-DAT   praise-PASS-PAST

shown in (4b) and (5b) respectively, which are derived from the clauses (4a) and (5a) taking a canonical transitive NOM-ACC case frame. The derived predicates in both types of the potential constructions show verbal inflections, ending with *–ru/-u* in present tense.

(4) a. Ken-ga   nattoo-o   tabe-ru   (koto)
        Ken-TOP fermented.soybeans-ACC   eat-PRES   thing
        '(that) Ken eats natto'
    b. Ken-(ni)-wa   nattoo-ga   tabe-rare-ru.
        Ken-DAT-TOP fermented.soybeans-NOM   eat-POT-PRES
        'Ken can eat natto.'

(5) a. Ken-ga   kuruma-o   unten-suru   (koto)
        Ken-TOP car-ACC   drive-do   thing
        '(that) Ken drives a car'
    b. Ken-(ni)-wa   kuruma-ga   unten-dekiru.
        Ken-DAT-TOP car-NOM   drive-can
        'Ken can drive a car.'

-Reru is a potential suffix that can be combined with native Japanese verbs, as in (4b), while *-dekiru*[3] occurs with Sino-Japanese verbs (verbal nouns), as shown in (5b). The verbal suffix *-dekiru* was originally only an independent verb; it maintains this usage, a potential verb that takes a dative subject, as seen in (6) (see also Chapter 3).

(6) Ken-ga/-ni   huransugo-ga   dekiru   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT French-NOM   can   thing
     '(that) Ken can speak/understands French.'

These potential constructions[4] express abilities in (7a), potential situations in (7b), or properties in (7c)

       'Hanako was praised by Ken.'
   d. Yamada-sensei-wa   Ken-o   home-rare-ta.   (Honorific)
       Yamada-teacher-TOP   Ken-ACC praise-HON-PAST
       'Teacher Yamada praised Ken.'
(ii) a. Ken-wa   kokyo-o   omoidasi-ta.
       Ken-TOP hometown-ACC   remember-PAST
       'Ken remembered (his) hometown.'
   b. Ken-ni-wa   kokyo-ga   omoidas-are-ta.   (Spontaneous)
       Ken-DAT-TOP hometown-NOM   remember-SPN-PAST
       'He remembered (his) hometown.'
[3] *dekiru* is used as a potential form for *suru* 'do' as in (i), in which it is not a suffix, but a verb.
 (i) a. Ken-wa   turi-o   suru.
       Ken-TOP fishing-ACC   do
       'Ken does some fishing.'
   b. Ken-wa   turi-ga   dekiru.
       Ken-TOP fishing-NOM   can
       'Ken can do some fishing.'
[4] We classified the non-derived non-canonical constructions into four types in Chapter 2: psychological states,

(where the agent of the complement event is usually not expressed).

(7) a. Ken-wa uni-ga   tabe-rare-ru.   (Ability)
         Ken-TOP sea.urchin-NOM   eat-POT-PRES
         'Ken can eat sea urchin.'
     b. koko-de-wa   ubarasii ryoori-ga   tabe-rare-ru.   (Potential situation)
         here-LOC-TOP delicious food-NOM   eat-POT-PRES
         'People can eat delicious foods here.'
     c. kono   kinoko-wa   tabe-rare-ru.   (Property)
         this   mushroom-TOP eat-POT-PRES
         'This mushroom is edible.'

The potential constructions with transitive complement clauses are dative subject constructions. They take a DAT/NOM-NOM case frame[5], as shown in (4b) and (5b), and it is the first dative (or nominative) marked nominal that behaves as subject, regardless of the case markings of the other nominals in the complement clause. The first nominal can be the target of honorification, as in (8a), while the second nominal cannot, as in (8b), even though it is marked with nominative case.

(8) a. Yamada-sensei-ni/-ga   eigo-ga   o-hanas-nina-reru.
         Yamada-teacher-DAT/-NOM   English-NOM   HON-speak-HON-POT
         'Teacher Yamada can speak English.'
     b. *Ken-ni/-ga   Yamada-sensei-ga   o-nagusame-nina-reru.
         Ken-DAT/-NOM   Yamada-teacher-NOM HON-comfort-HON-POT
         'Ken can comfort Teacher Yamada.'

The canonical transitive case frame (NOM-ACC) is also allowed in potential constructions with transitive complements, as shown in (9). The nominative marking on the second nominal is more natural, however.

(9) a. Ken-ga   uni-o/-ga   tabe-rareru   (koto)
         Ken-NOM   sea.urchin-ACC/-NOM eat-POT.PRES thing
         '(that) Ken can eat sea urchin'
     b. Ken-ga   eigo-o/-ga   hanas-eru   (koto)
         Ken-NOM   English-ACC/-NOM   speak-POT.PRES   thing
         '(that) Ken can speak English'

This is because the embedded predicate has a transitive case frame: since the accusative marking is not possible in the non-derived dative subject construction with a potential verb *dekiru* (which does not take a

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physiological states, possession, and evaluation.
[5] Potential constructions such as (7c) take only one nominative-marked nominal, though they take transitive complement clauses where the number of the arguments is decreased. See the discussion on the semantic types of sentences in Section 3.6.

complement), as shown in (10), it cannot occur with the embedded predicate, either.

(10) Ken-ga/-ni   tenisu-ga/*-o dekiru (koto)
   Ken-NOM/-DAT tennis-NOM/-ACC can   thing
   '(that) Ken can play tennis.'

When the complement clause is intransitive, the potential construction takes one nominative nominal but not a dative one, as shown in (11b). The nominative nominal is the sole argument and the subject, so the constructions, while intransitive, are not the dative subject construction.

(11) a. Ken-ga   hayaku hasiru (koto)
   Ken-NOM fast   run   thing
   '(that) Ken runs fast.'
  b. Yamada-sensei-ga/*-ni hayaku o-hasir-ninar-eru (koto)
   Yamada-teacher-NOM/-DAT fast HON-run-HON-POT thing
   '(that) teacher Yamada can run fast.'

On the other hand, oblique nominals retain their original markings, as shown in (12) and (13); these sentences are not considered to be the dative subject constructions, either.

(12) a. Ken-ga   amerika-ni ryuugaku-suru (koto)
   Ken-NOM America-DAT study.abroad-do thing
   '(that) Ken will study in America.'
  b. Ken-ga/*-ni   amerika-ni ryuugaku-dekiru (koto)
   Ken-NOM/-DAT America-DAT study.abroad-do.POT thing
   '(that) Ken can study in America.'
(13) a. Ken-ga   Mari-to kekkon-suru (koto)
   Ken-NOM Mari-with marriage-do thing
   '(that) Ken will marry Mari'
  b. Ken-ga/*-ni Mari-to/*-ga kekkon-dekiru (koto)
   Ken-NOM/-DAT Mari-with/-NOM marriage-do.POT thing
   '(that) Ken can marry Mari'

In essence, the potential constructions taking transitive complement clauses can take dative subjects, but the ones with intransitive complement clauses cannot. This is because the non-canonical constructions in Japanese must take two arguments, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, and the same is true for other derived non-canonical constructions.

  Tough constructions with transitive complement clauses, which describe the difficulty or ease of initiating the actions, also take dative subjects, as shown in (15) (cf. (14) for their transitive complement clauses).

(14) a. Ken-ga   gohan-o tabe-ru   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   rice-ACC eat-PRES thing
      '(that) Ken eats rice.'
    b. Ken-ga   suugaku-o   benkyoo-suru (koto)
      Ken-NOM   math-ACC   study-do   thing
      '(that) Ken studies math.'
(15) a. Ken-ni/-ga   iwasi-ga   tabe-nikui(koto)
      Ken-DAT/-NOM   sardine-NOM eat-tough thing
      '(that) it is tough for Ken to eat sardines'
    b. Ken-ni/-ga   suugaku-ga   benkyoo-si-nikui   (koto)
      Ken-DAT/-NOM   math-NOM   study-do-tough   thing
      '(that) It is tough for Ken to study math'

The first dative marked nominal behaves as the subject; it can be the target of honorification, as in (16a), while the second nominative nominal cannot, as shown in (16b). This shows that the tough constructions in (15) are classified as the dative subject construction when they take transitive complements.

(16) a. Yamada-sensei-ni-wa   iwasi-ga   o-tabe-ninari-nikui   (koto)
      Yamada-teacher-DAT-TOP   sardine-NOM   HON-eat-HON-tough   thing
      '(that) it is tough for teacher Yamada to eat sardines'
    b. *Ken-ni-wa   Yamada-sensei-ga   nagusame-nikukute-irassyaru (koto)
      Ken-DAT-TOP   Yamada-teacher-NOM   comfort-hard-be.HON   thing
      '(that) it is hard for Ken to comfort teacher Yamada'

The canonical transitive case frame is also acceptable in some cases, as shown in (17), though it is less acceptable than the DAT/NOM-NOM case frame above in (15).

(17) a. ?Ken-ga   iwasi-o   tabe-nikui   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   sardine-ACC   eat-tough   thing
      '(that) It is tough for Ken to eat sardines.'
    b. ?Ken-ga   suugaku-o   benkyoo-si-nikui   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   math-ACC   study-do-tough   thing
      '(that) It is tough for Ken to study math.'

When their complement clauses are intransitive, as in (18a), only one nominative nominal appears and it behaves as the subject, as shown in (18b), which means that they are intransitive.

(18) a. Ken-ga   yoku   korobu   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   often   fall.down thing
      '(that) Ken often falls down.'
    b. Yamada-sensei-ga/*-ni   korobi-yasukute-irasyaru (koto)
      Yamada-teacher-NOM/-DAT   fall.down-easy-HON   thing
      '(that) Teacher Yamada falls down easily.'

In the tough constructions, several derivational suffixes, such as –*nikui* 'tough,' –*durai* 'hard,' *-gatai* 'difficult,' and –*yasui* 'easy' are used, as shown in (19).

(19) a. gakusei-ni-wa   kono   zisyo-ga   tukai-yasui.   (Inoue 1986:123)
       students-DAT-TOP   this   dictionary-NOM   use-easy
       'This dictionary is easy for students to use.'
    b. saikin   watasi-wa   netuki-nikui.
       recently   1.SG-TOP   get.to.sleep-hard
       'It has been hard for me to get to sleep recently.'

Inoue (1986) classifies the tough constructions into four types[6] depending on their syntactic properties[7], but it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss them in detail here.

The third type of the derived non-canonical constructions, the desiderative construction[8], takes a NOM-NOM case frame when it takes a transitive complement clause. In other words, syntactically it is the double nominative construction. The desiderative constructions are formed either by a desiderative suffix *-tai* 'want' or a desiderative adjective *hosii* 'want.' The desiderative suffix *-tai* occurs with an equi-subject complement clause and denotes a desire to perform the action or the event described in the complement clause, as shown in (20).

(20) [Ken$_i$-ga   [ϕ_i mizu-o   nomi]-ta-i]   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   water-NOM/ACC   drink -DES-PRES   thing
      '(that) Ken wants to drink water'

On the other hand, the adjectival desiderative predicate *hosii* appears with a complement clause that takes a different subject from the matrix subject and expresses a desire towards the realization of the event, as shown in (21). The experiencer is realized as a matrix subject which is different from the underlined subject in the complement clause.

(21) a. [Ken-ga   [<u>Ziroo-ni</u> mizu-o   nonde] hosii]   (koto)
       Ken-NOM   Jiro-DAT water-ACC   drink   want   thing
       '(that) Ken wants Jiro to drink water'

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6 For example, Type 1 expresses the speaker's judgment about the ease or difficulty of a certain action, as in (19a), and Type 2, the subject's judgment about the ease or difficulty of the action, as in (19b).
7 See also Ikeya (1996) for discussions of several approaches to the tough constructions.
8 The desiderative construction imposes a person restriction on the subjects, in the same way that sentences with psychological predicates do, discussed in Chapter 2. Only the first person can be the subject in the present tense, as shown in (i), but in certain clauses other persons can be the subject, for example in the *koto*-clause.
   (i) watasi/*anata/*kare-wa   hon-ga   yom-i-ta-i.
      1.SG/*2.SG/*3.SG-TOP   book-NOM   read-INF-DES-PRES
      I/*You/*He want(s) to read a book.

b. [watasi-wa   [hayaku <u>ame-ga</u>   yande] hosii]   (koto)
   1.SG-TOP   soon   rain-NOM   stop   want   thing
   '(that) I hope that it will stop raining soon.'

It should be noted that the potential and tough constructions must take complements with equi-subjects, as in (22a). Even when the complement clause is a causative that takes a causee, the equi-subject is not overt, as in (22b).

(22) a. [Ken$_i$-ga [ϕ_i/ (*Mari-ga)   Hanako-to   a]-eru]   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Mari-NOM   Hanako-with meet-POT   thing
     '(that) Ken can meet Hanako.'
   b. [Ken$_i$-ga   [ϕ_i [Hanako-o   Mari-to aw]-asera]-reru]   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Hanako-ACC Mari-with meet-CAUS-POT   thing
     '(that) Ken can make Hanako meet Mari.'

Desiderative constructions with transitive complement clauses take a NOM-NOM case frame[9], as in (23b), though they also allow the canonical transitive case frame, NOM-ACC. It should be noted that the canonical transitive case frame tends to be more acceptable in the desiderative construction (See Section 4.3 for more data).

(23) a. Ken-ga   sake-o   nom-u   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   alcohol-ACC drink-PRES   thing
     '(that) Ken drinks alcohol'
   b. Ken-ga/*-ni   sake-ga/-o   nom-i-ta-i   (koto)
     Ken-NOM/-DAT   alcohol-NOM/-ACC drink-INF-DES-PRES   thing
     '(that) Ken want to drink alcohol'

However, the desiderative construction cannot take a dative subject, as shown in (23b), unlike other derived non-canonical constructions such as the potential and tough constructions. It is the first nominative nominal that behaves as the subject in the desiderative construction, because only the first nominative nominal can be the target of honorification, as shown in (24).

(24) a. Yamada-sensei-ga   osake-ga/-o   nomi-takute-irassyaru (koto)
     Yamada-teacher-NOM   alcohol-NOM/-ACC drink-DES-be.HON   thing
     '(that) teacher Yamada wants to drink alcohol'
   b. *Ken-ga   Yamada-sensei-ga/-o   nagusame-takute-irassyaru   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   Yamada-teahcer-NOM/-ACC comfort-DES-be.HON   thing
     '(that) Ken wants to comfort teacher Yamada'

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[9] There are arguments about whether it should be called the object or the subject. We will use the term "object" to mean the object of the desire, but we will not discuss the problem in this thesis.

When the complement clause is intransitive, the sole nominative argument appears and behaves as the subject, as shown in (25), which means that the sentence is intransitive.

(25) Yamada-sensei-wa   o-dekake-ninari-takat-ta-yooda.
Yamada-teacher-TOP   HON-go.out-HON-DES-PAST-seem
'Teacher Yamada seem to have wanted to go out.'

In summary, the potential and tough constructions with the transitive complement clauses are construed as dative subject constructions, and the desiderative constructions as double nominative constructions. It should be noted that all types of these derived non-canonical constructions allow the canonical transitive case frame as well as the non-canonical ones, while only limited types of the non-derived non-canonical constructions (the double nominative construction) allow both. From now on, we will call the derived constructions with non-canonical case frames observed in (26a) and (27a) the "nominative variant" and the ones with the transitive case frame in (26b) and (27b) the "accusative variant."

(26) a. Ken-ga/-ni   huransugo-ga   hanas-eru   (koto)   (nominative variant)
    Ken-NOM/-DAT   French-NOM   speak-POT   thing
    '(that) Ken can speak French.'
    b. Ken-ga   huransugo-o   hanas-eru   (koto)   (accusative variant)
    Ken-NOM   French-ACC   speak-POT   thing
    '(that) Ken can speak French.'
(27) a. Ken-ga   huransugo-ga   hanasi-tai   (koto)   (nominative variant)
    Ken-NOM   French-NOM   speak-DES   thing
    '(that) Ken wants to speak French.'
    b. Ken-ga   huransugo-o   hanasi-tai   (koto)   (accusative variant)
    Ken-NOM   French-ACC   speak-DES   thing
    '(that) Ken wants to speak French.'

4.2.2. Semantic properties of the derived non-canonical constructions

We have shown that these derived non-canonical constructions with transitive complement clauses share syntactic structures with the non-derived non-canonical constructions, but what about their semantic properties? It will be shown that the derived ones also share semantic properties such as stativity, un-controllability and non-volitionality with the non-derived ones, even though they may take complement clauses that describe volitional and controllable non-stative events, e.g. a "hitting event," in (28b).

(28) a. Ken-ga   hannin-o   naguru   (koto)
    Ken-TOP   criminal-ACC   hit   thing
    '(that) Ken hits the criminal'

b. Ken-wa   hannin-o   naguri-takat-ta.
   Ken-TOP criminal-ACC hit-DES-PAST
   'Ken wanted to hit the criminal.'

The stativity of the derived non-canonical constructions is supported by equi-predicate substitution, a test for stativity. The equi-predicate substitution makes a stative-non-stative distinction: *soo da* 'so be x,' is used for stative sentences, as in (29), while *soo suru* 'so do x,' is used for non-stative sentences, as in (30).

(29) inu-wa   kawaii,   neko-mo {soo da/*soo   suru}.
     dog-TOP   cute   cat-too   so be/ so   do
     'Dogs are cute, so are cats.'
(30) inu-wa   hasit-ta,   neko-mo {soo si-ta/*soo dat-ta}.
     dog-TOP   run-PAST cat-too   so do-PAST/so be-PAST
     'The dog ran, so did the cat.'

All types of the non-canonical constructions, including derived ones, are compatible with the *soo da* 'so be x' substitution but not the *soo suru* 'so do x' substitution, as in (31), which shows that they all describe stative events.

(31) a. Hanako-wa   hayaku   hasi-re-ta,   Ken-mo {soo dat-ta/*soo si-ta}.
        Hanako-TOP   fast   run-POT-PAST Ken-also   so be-PAST/so do-PAST
        'Hanako could run fast, (and) so could Ken.'
     b. Hanako-wa   pasokon-ga   tukai-nikukat-ta,   Ken-mo {soo dat-ta/*soo si-ta}.
        Hanako-TOP   pc-NOM   use-difficult-PAST   Ken-also   so be-PAST/so do-PAST
        'Hanako had difficulty using a computer, (and) so did Ken.'
     c. Hanako-wa   hon-ga   yom-i-takat-ta,   kare-mo   {soo dat-ta/*soo si-ta}.
        Hanako-TOP   book-NOM   read-INF-DES-PAST   3.SG-also   so be-PAST/so do-PAST
        'Hanako wanted to read books, so did he.'

Next, these constructions describe uncontrollable states because they do not allow imperative sentences with the basic imperative meaning, which can be formed from predicates that describe controllable events[10], as shown in (32).

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[10] Controllable events include events that can be prevented by the agent here. (ia) describes an event that we can prevent from happening, but (ib) is not.
(i) a.   siai-mae-ni   onaka-o   kowasu-na.
          game-before-at stomach-ACC   break-IMP
          'Don't get an upset stomach before the game.'
    b.   *siai-mae-ni   onaka-ga   itaku   naru-na.
          game-before-at   stomach-NOM   painful   become-IMP
          'Don't have a stomachache before the game.' (OK in the reading 'I hope not to have a stomachache before the game.')

(32) a. hasir-e,　Ken!　　　　　　　b. Ken-o　　　mir-o
　　　 run-IMP　Ken　　　　　　　　　Ken-ACC　watch-IMP
　　　 'Run, Ken!"　　　　　　　　　　'Watch Ken!'

Note, however, that some imperative sentences seem to be acceptable even with predicates that describe uncontrollable events if they express a desiderative meaning, as in (33).

(33) a. *onaka-ga　　　　　itaku　　　nare.
　　　 stomach-NOM　　　painful　　become.IMP
　　　 'Have a stomachache.' (OK in the reading 'I hope to have a stomachache'/ 'I hope that (the person)
　　　　 will have a stomachache.')
　　 b. *netu-o　　　　dase.
　　　 fever-ACC　　give.out.IMP
　　　 'Develop a fever!' (OK in the reading 'I hope that (the person) will develop a fever.')

Therefore, we limit our discussion to the imperative sentences with the former, basic interpretation, because it distinguishes the controllability of sentences. Non-derived non-canonical constructions[11] do not allow imperative sentences with the basic imperative meaning, as shown in (34), which means that they describe uncontrollable states.

(34) a. *hayaku　hasir-e-ro.
　　　 fast　　　run-POT-IMP
　　　 'Be able to run fast!' (OK in the reading 'I hope that (the) person runs fast/ I hope to run fast.')
　　 b. *hayaku　hasir-eru-na.
　　　 fast　　　run-POT-NEG.IMP
　　　 'Don't be able to run fast!' (OK in the reading 'I hope (the) person does not run fast.')

Lastly, we will examine the volitionality of the derived predicate. Though we used volitional adverbs as the test in Chapter 2, it is problematic for the derived constructions that have syntactically complex structures. The derived non-canonical constructions seem to co-occur with a volitional adverb *wazato* 'deliberately', as in (35), though non-derived non-canonical constructions do not, as shown in (36).

(35) a. Ken-wa　wazato　　　uso-o　　tuki-takat-ta.
　　　 Ken-TOP deliberately　lie-ACC　tell-DES-PAST
　　　 'Ken wanted to lie deliberately.'
　　 b. Ken-wa　wazato　　　uso-o　　tuk-eru.
　　　 Ken-TOP deliberately　lie-ACC　tell-POT
　　　 'Ken can tell a lie deliberately.'

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[11] We can examine only the potential constructions in which the predicates take verbal inflections, since the predicates in other derived non-canonical constructions take adjectival inflections, which lack imperative forms.

(36) Ken-wa   (*wazato)   kuruma-ga   hosii.
     Ken-TOP   deliberately   car-NOM   want
     'Ken wants a car deliberately.'

However, we should not conclude that these derived constructions express volitional states, because the volitional adverb is allowed only when the complement clause expresses a non-volitional event, as shown in (37). If the derived predicates express volitional events, then this will not happen.

(37) a. Ken-wa   (*wazato)   hatati-ni   naru   (koto)
        Ken-TOP   deliberately   twenty-DAT   become   thing
        '(that) Ken (*deliberately) becomes twenty'
     b. Ken-wa   (*wazato)   hatati-ni   nari-takat-ta.
        Ken-TOP   deliberately   twenty-DAT   become-DES-PAST
        'Ken (*deliberately) wanted to become twenty.'

Hence, this behavior shows that the volitional adverb modifies the complement clause and not the matrix clause, and thus this test cannot show the volitionality of the matrix clause. Rather, it expresses its non-volitionality, because the desiderative adjectival predicate is taken as non-volitional, as shown in (38), and (35) does not have the interpretation where the volitional adverbs modify the desiderative predicate.

(38) watasi-wa   (*wazato)   okasi-ga   hosii.
     1.SG-TOP   deliberately   sweets-NOM   want
     'I (*deliberately) want sweets.'

These three tests show that the derived non-canonical constructions describe non-volitional uncontrollable stative events, just like the non-derived non-canonical constructions do.

     The thematic structures of derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions are also similar. The thematic roles—possessor, reference point of evaluation (which we call just "reference"), and experiencer—are assigned to the first nominals of the potential, tough, and desiderative constructions, respectively. For instance, (39) illustrates that different thematic roles are assigned to the first nominals in the derived constructions (39b-d), and the thematic role of the embedded predicate is suppressed though their complement predicates take a different thematic role, agent, as in (39a).

(39) a. Ken-ga   hayaku   hasiru   (koto)   (complement clause)
        Ken-NOM   fast   run   thing
        [Agent]
        '(that) Ken runs fast.'
     b. Ken-ga   hayaku   hasir-eru (koto)   (potential construction)
        [Possessor]   fast   run-POT thing
        '(that) Ken can run fast

c. Ken-ga   hayaku   hasiri-tai (koto)   (desiderative construction)
[Experiencer] fast   run-DES   thing
'(that) Ken wants to run fast'

d. Ken-ga   kega-de   hayaku   hasiri-durai (koto)   (tough construction)
[Reference]   injury-because fast   run-difficult   thing
'(that) it is difficult for Ken to run fast because of his injury'

In addition, the type of thematic role for the second nominal is determined by the complement predicate; for example, it is the target of desire in the desiderative construction and the possessum in the potential, but usually it is a theme, as in (40b-c) and (41b-c).

(40) a. Ken-ga   hana-o   kat-ta   (koto)   (complement clause)
        Ken-NOM   flower-ACC   buy-PAST thing
        [Agent]   [Theme]
        '(that) Ken bought a flower'

    b. Ken-ga   hana-ga/-o   ka-itakat-ta   (koto)   (desiderative construction)
        [Experiencer] [Theme]-NOM/-ACC   buy-DES-PAST   thing
        '(that) Ken wanted to buy a flower'

    c. Ken-ga   hitoride   hana-ga/-o   ka-e-ta   (koto)   (potential construction)
        [Possessor]   alone   [Theme]   buy-POT-PAST thing
        '(that) Ken could buy flowers by himself'

(41) a. Ken-ga   otooto-o   naguru   (koto)   (complement clause)
        Ken-NOM   younger brother-ACC   hit   thing
        [Agent]   [PATIENT]
        '(that) Ken hits his younger brother'

    b. Ken-ga   otooto-ga/-o   nagur-itakat-ta (koto)   (desiderative construction)
        [Experiencer] [Theme]-NOM/-ACC   hit-DES-PAST thing
        '(that) Ken wanted to hit his younger brother'

    c. Ken-ga   otooto-ga/-o   nagur-e-ru   (koto)   (potential construction)
        [Possessor]   [Theme]   hit-POT-PRES thing
        '(that) Ken can hit his younger brother'

The discussion above shows that the derived non-canonical constructions do have semantic properties in common with the non-derived non-canonical constructions.

4.2.3. Problems concerning derived non-canonical constructions

It has been suggested that the derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions share syntactic and semantic properties, but the complex structures of the derived constructions raise some issues concerning their nominative and accusative variants. In fact, various studies have examined these variants and suggested how they are structurally different. Sugioka (1984), for instance, argues that the difference in

the case frames comes from the possibility of restructuring[12] the verbal predicate and the derivational suffix, as shown in (42).

(42) a. watasi-wa   [gohan-o   tabe]-tai.
        1.SG-TOP   rice-ACC   eat-DES
        'I want to eat rice.'
     b. watasi-wa   gohan-ga   [tabe-tai].
        1.SG-TOP   rice-NOM   eat-DES
        'I want to eat rice.'

In case of the nominative variant, the verb and the suffix can be restructured into a single predicate, but in the accusative variant no restructuring takes place[13]. She also claims that the accusative variant is tied to more temporary and circumstantial meaning than the nominative variant, which expresses more permanent and inherent meaning. As shown in (43a) and (44a), the accusative variants are not as acceptable as the nominative ones when permanent abilities are expressed. However, the accusative ones are acceptable when temporal abilities are described, as in (43b) and (44b).

(43) a. Ken-wa   umaretuki   koe-ga/*-o   das-e-nai.   (Sugioka 1984:175)
        Ken-TOP   from.birth   voice-NOM/-ACC   utter-able-not
        'Since birth, Ken has not been able to utter a word since birth.'
     b. odoroki-no   amari   koe-ga/-o das-e-nakatta.
        surprise-GEN   too   voice   utter-able-not-PAST
        'With too much surprise, I could not utter a sound.'
(44) a. kare-wa   sake-ga/*?-o   nom-e-nai.
        he   TOP sake   drink-able-not
        'He cannot drink sake.'
     b. kyoo-wa   sukinadake   sake-ga/-o   nom-eru.
        today TOP   at.will   sake   drink-able
        'Today we can drink as much sake as we want.'

She posits different structures for the two variants[14]: [NP-*o* V]-*reru* for the accusative variant and [NP-*ga*] [V-*reru*] for the nominative variant. In the former, a potential derivational suffix -*reru* takes a complement

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[12] Matsumura (1957) shows that both accusative and nominative objects have been observed in the desideratives since the Muromachi period. The alternation is not recent a phenomenon, but it has a long history.
[13] We assume that for the desiderative constructions the nominative case marking on the object occurs through restructuring, but it is also possible to assume the opposite direction. With regard to the potential constructions, the opposite one might have more support, since Shibuya's (1993) historical study on the potential constructions shows that the potential constructions originally took a DAT-NOM case frame and came to acquire the canonical case frames, NOM-NOM or NOM-ACC during the end of Edo-go period. Further research is necessary with regard to this issue.
[14] Other studies also distinguish the two variants structurally or semantically. See Ooe (1973), Tamura (1969), Shibatani (1978), Takezawa (1987), Tada (1992), Kishimoto (2005), for example.

clause, and in the latter the verb and the suffix are reanalyzed into a single predicate. It should be noted that such a structural distinction is only possible in the derived non-canonical constructions, since the non-derived one cannot be reanalyzed in two. One of the biggest questions in this restructuring analysis is: What makes restructuring possible? Because both variants are not equally acceptable, we need to discuss the conditions imposed on the reanalysis, or restructuring.

The second issue concerning derived non-canonical constructions is their modal meanings. It is interesting that all of the derived non-canonical constructions in Japanese express certain modalities. The desiderative constructions with –tai, which mainly describe the speaker's desires, are taken as modal sentences, since they expresses the speaker's attitude toward the propositional event or state (Teramura 1982, Nitta 1991, Masuoka 1991). In addition, the potential and tough constructions also express modal meanings[15], and all of these expressed modal meanings are the modalities classified as Agent-oriented modality (that expresses obligation, necessity, ability, desire, willingness, and root possibility) (Bybee et al. 1994), or Event modality (expressing Abilitive, Volitive, Permissive, and Obligative) (Palmer 2001). Let us now briefly review their definitions and classifications. First, with regard to Agent-oriented modality Bybee et al. (1994) state:

> Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. As a report, the agent-oriented modality is part of the propositional content of the clause and thus would not be considered a modality in most frameworks…. Speaker-oriented modalities do not report the existence of conditions on the agents, but rather allow the speaker to impose such conditions on the addressee. (Bybee et al. 1994:177)

Palmer's (2001) Event modality includes dynamic modality, Volitive and Abilitive, which correspond to the meanings expressed by desiderative and potential constructions, as well as deontic modality, Permissive and Obligative. Palmer states:

> Deontic and dynamic modality refer to events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but merely potential, and may, therefore, be described as 'event modality.' The basic difference between deontic and dynamic modality is that with dynamic modality the conditioning factors are external to the person indicated as the subject, whereas with deontic modality they are internal. (Palmer 2001:70)

The derived desiderative, potential, and tough constructions can semantically express these types of modal meanings, i.e. Agent-oriented modality in Bybee et al. (1994) and Event modality in Palmer's (2001) (we will call this types of modality "Event modality" following to Palmer (2001) for convenience).

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[15] The potential and tough constructions have not been considered modal sentences in Japanese grammar, since they do not necessarily express the speaker's attitude toward the propositional events.

Moreover, non-canonical constructions in other languages also seem to have a tendency to express this type of modal meanings. As we reviewed in Chapter 2, the non-canonical constructions tend to appear with the following semantic types of predicates (cf. Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001), and some of which express Event modality.

(45) Predicate types that tend to appear in non-canonical constructions
   a. Possession, existence
   b. Psychological states
   c. Physiological states
   d. Visual / auditory perceptions, including the notion of appearance / seeming
   e. Modal states of necessity and wanting, including the notion of obligation ('must')
   f. Modal states of potentiality, including ability and the notion of permission ('may')

A question arises: Why do these types of modal meanings tend to be expressed by non-canonical constructions? It will be argued in Section 4.4. that this is not accidental but a consequence of their semantic properties.

This section has shown that the derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions share basic properties and point out two issues to be argued for the derived non-canonical constructions. Our major goal is to show the explanations for these two issues. To this end, we focus on one of the derived non-canonical constructions, the desiderative construction, in the following section.

4.3. Desiderative constructions

Desiderative constructions are constructions that express desires toward an occurrence of events expressed by the complement clauses. Japanese has two ways to make the desiderative constructions, as shown in Section 4.2.2, but we limit our discussion to those with –*tai*, which take equi-subjects in complement clauses. Assuming that the nominative and accusative variants have different structures, we will show that if the desiderative suffix is reanalyzed to make a unitary predicate together with a verb, the nominative variant results, and if not, the accusative variant results. Given both syntactic and semantic aspects of this reanalysis, the tendencies of each variant will be explained. We also show the mechanism for how the desiderative meaning, which is an Event modality, imposes non-canonical case frames on the construction.

4.3.1. Previous studies

As shown in Section 4.2.2, the desiderative construction with a transitive complement clause allows two case frames: NOM-NOM (a nominative variant) and NOM-ACC (an accusative variant), as shown in (46), but they are not in free variation. According to Iori (1995a), the nominative variant is more marked than the accusative variant in the desiderative construction.

(46) watasi-ga   tumetai   <u>mizu-ga/-o</u>   nomi-tai   (koto)
     1.SG-NOM cold   water-NOM/-ACC drink-DES   thing
     '(that) I want to drink cold water.'

The nominative variant is subject to some restrictions and also has its own tendencies. The following summarizes restrictions on the nominative variant in the desiderative construction pointed out by some past studies[16]. Conditions a) to d) are considered semantic restrictions, and those in e) to h) are morphosyntactic restrictions.

a)   Nominative variants are less acceptable if the transitivity of the complement verb is high, such as *koros-u* 'kill,' as in (47) (Iori 1995a, b).

   (47) naze ore-o/*ga   koros-ita-i-nda.   (Iori 1995a)
      why 1.SG-ACC/*NOM   kill-DES-PRES-COP.Q
      'Why do you want to kill me?'

b)   Nominative variants are rarely used if the thematic role of the second nominal in the complement clause is not a theme, as in (48) (Shibatani 1978).

   (48) watasi-wa   amerika-ni/*ga   ik-i-ta-i.
      1.SG-TOP   America-DAT/*NOM   go-INF-DES-PRES
      'I want to go to America.'

c)   Nominative variants tend not to be allowed in fixed expressions, including idioms (Ooe 1973, Iori 1995a, b), as in (49), whose predicate is *ki-o tuke-ru* (mind-ACC put-PRES) 'pay attention to.'

   (49) watasi-wa   motto   ki-o/*ga   tuke-tai.
      1.SG-TOP   more   conscious-ACC/*NOM   put-DES
      'I want to pay more attention.'

d)   When the verb describes a directional motion toward the speaker, a nominative variant is preferred (Ooe 1973, Iori 1995b) (Inoue 1976). *Ka-u* 'buy,' which expresses an event directed toward the speaker, tends to allow a nominative variant more often than *ur-u* 'sell,' which describes a motion directed away from the speaker. (51) is an exception since both *osie-ru* 'teach' and *osowar-u* 'be taught' are acceptable with the nominative variant.

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[16] See each reference for detailed discussions.

(50) boku-wa   kuruma-ga   {ka-/?*ur-}i-ta-i.   (Iori 1995b[17])
     1.SG-TOP car-NOM   buy-/sell-INF-DES-PRES
     'I want to buy/sell a car.'
(51) eigo-ga   {?osowari/osie}-tai.
     English-NOM   ?be.taught-/ teach-DES
     'I want to teach/be taught English.'

e)   Sino-Japanese verbs do not, on the whole, take nominative variants, as in (52b), while native
     Japanese verbs do, as in (52a) (Tamura 1969, Kuno 1973).

(52) a. watasi-wa   atarasii   kaban-o/-ga   kai-tai.   (native Japanese verb)
        1.SG-TOP   new   bag-ACC/-NOM   buy-DES
        'I want to buy a new bag.'
     b. watasi-wa   atarasii   kaban-o/??-ga   koonyuu-si-tai.   (Sino-Japanese verb)
        1.SG-TOP   new   bag-ACC/-NOM   buy-do-DES
        'I want to buy a new bag.'

f)   If the object nominal is not next to the predicate, the accusative variant is preferred: the nominative
     variant in (53) is not acceptable, but the accusative variant in (54) is acceptable (Tamura 1969,
     Shibatani 1978). If the object nominal is next to the predicate, both cases are possible, as in (55).

(53) *?atasi,   <u>ohanasi-ga</u>   anata-to   yukkuri si-takat-tano.   (Shibatani 1978)
        1.SG   talk-NOM   2.SG-with   slowly   do-DES-PAST
        'I wanted to talk with you at leisure.'
(54) atasi,   <u>ohanasi-o</u>   anata-to   yukkuri   si-takat-tano.
     1.SG   talk-ACC   2.SG-with   slowly   do-DES-PAST
     'I wanted to talk with you at leisure.'
(55) atasi,   anata-to   yukkuri ohanasi-ga/-o   si-takat-tano.
     1.SG   2.SG-with   slowly   talk-NOM/-ACC   do-DES-PAST
     'I wanted to talk with you at leisure.'

g)   In the case of compound verbs, accusative variants are preferred, as in (56) (Inoue 1976, Iori
     1995a, b).

(56) ano   hon-o/*ga   yonde-simai-ta-i.   (Iori 1995a)
     that book-ACC/*NOM   read-finish-DES
     I want to finish reading that book.

h)   The nominative variant is rarely allowed with aspectual expressions, e.g. *-te iru* 'being' (PROG),
     as shown in (57) (Iori 1995a).

(57) watasi-wa ano hon-o/*-ga   yon-dei-ta-i.
     1.SG-TOP that book-ACC/-NOM   read-PROG-DES-PRES
     I want to be reading that book.

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[17] These two examples in (50) and (51) are cited from Iori (1995b), but they are originally from Ooe (1973).

These show that the choice of the two variants may be affected by various factors. However, the issue is whether these tendencies are independent from each other or caused by one underlying factor.

4.3.2. Their structural and semantic differences

We have suggested above that the following structural differences can be posited between the nominative and accusative variants of desiderative constructions, following previous studies (cf. Tamura (1969) and Sugioka (1986))[18].

(58) a.   NP-NOM   [V-tai].
      b. [NP-ACC   V]-tai.

(58a) is the structure for the nominative variant, in which its verbal predicate and the desiderative suffix form a single predicate, and (58b) is the one for the accusative variant, in which the desiderative suffix taking a complement clause behaves like a modal element[19].

Our claim is that these structural differences lead to differences in meaning: the accusative variant expresses a desire related to the propositional event as a whole, as modals do, while the nominative variant takes a desiderative predicate that expresses a desire of an action expressed by the root verb. (59) summarizes their different structures and meanings: the one in (59a) is similar to the sentence with a modal element that takes a propositional event as its complement, while the one in (59b) is similar to a monoclausal construction just like non-derived non-canonical constructions, in which the predicate takes a nominative argument.

(59) a. Accusative variant:
          [NP-ACC   V]-*tai*
          A desiderative, *-tai*, takes a whole propositional clause and expresses a desire to do the propositional event.
      b. Nominative variant:
          NP-NOM   [V-*tai*]
          A unitary predicate (Verb+-*tai*) takes a nominative nominal as the target of the desire.

Given these semantically and syntactically different structures, we can re-examine the tendencies reviewed

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[18] We will not touch upon the theoretical issues. For example, in transformational grammar, the desiderative construction is considered to be derived by transformations (Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1978). Since the nominative case marking is not obligatory in this construction, the application of the rules is also considered optional. See also Ooe (1973), Tamura (1969), Takezawa (1987), Tada (1992), Kishimoto (2005) for more detailed discussions on the distinguished structures.

[19] It should be noted that there are also some studies that assume movement of the noun phrase, such as Tada (1992) and Takezawa (1987), but we adopt Sugioka's (1984) analysis of restructuring.

in the previous section from the following perspectives:

- A. Whether the verb and the desiderative suffix can be restructured as a unitary predicate or not.
- B. Whether the second argument is interpretable as a theme—a target of desire—or not.

Before examining this further, we want to show, using suffix insertion and quantifier scope, that the different structures in (59) receive support syntactically. For the former phenomenon, we expect that no constituent can be inserted between the complement predicate and the desiderative suffix in the nominative variant because of their forming a unitary predicate, as shown in (59b), and for the latter, it is expected that the nominative nominal will be out of the scope of the desiderative. In contrast, we expect that insertion is possible between the verb and the desiderative suffix in the accusative variant and that the accusative nominal is within the scope of the desiderative, since they do not constitute a unitary predicate, as shown in (59a).

First we will review an argument on scope from Tada (1992). He shows the structural differences between the two variants by suggesting that object nominals behave differently in scope depending on their case markings in the potential construction, another derived non-canonical construction. As quantifiers such as *-dake* 'only' must have a clausal scope, their scopes differ between the two variants.

(60) a. John-ga migime-dake-<u>o</u> tumur-e-ru.   (Tada 1992:94)
   -NOM right.eye-only-ACC close-POT-PRES
  'John can close only his right eye. (John can wink his right eye.)'
  (i) can > only (John can wink his right eye.)
  (ii) ?*only > can (It is only his right eye that he can close.)
 b. John-ga migime-dake-ga   tumur-e-ru.
   -NOM right.eye-only-NOM   close-POT-PRES
  'John can close only his right eye. (It is only his right eye that he can close.)'
  (i) *can > only
  (ii) only > can

In the accusative variant, as in (60a), the potential *-rare* takes scope over the object with *-dake* 'only,' which means that the accusative nominal is in the potential predicate. On the other hand, a nominative nominal with *-dake* takes scope over the potential *-rare* in the nominative variant, as in (60b), which means the nominative nominal is outside of the potential clause, just like the structure in (59b). Hence, the two variants show structural differences, as shown in (59).

Similar scope differences are observed in the desiderative construction. As shown in (61), an accusative nominal with *-dake* takes scope over the desiderative *-tai*. However, a nominative nominal with

-dake must be outside the scope of the desiderative, as in (61b).

(61) a. watasi-wa   yasai-dake-<u>o</u>   tabe-taku-na-i.
        1/SG-TOP   vegetable-only-ACC   eat-DES-NEG-PRES
        'I do not want to eat only vegetables (but other foods as well).'
            (i)   want > only
            (ii) ?*only > want
      b. watasi-wa   yasai-dake-<u>ga</u>   tabe-taku-na-i.
        1/SG-TOP   vegetable-only-NOM   eat-DES-NEG-PRES
        'I do not want to eat only vegetables (It is vegetables that I do not want to eat.)'
            (i) *want > only
            (ii)   only > want

This shows that the nominative nominal with *-dake* is outside the (desiderative) predicative clause, while the accusative nominal is inside it, just as shown in (59a-b). This reveals, hence, that in the nominative variant the desiderative suffix makes a unitary predicate with the verb, and that the nominative nominal is outside of the clause.

Another piece of evidence for their different structures comes from an insertion of *-sae* 'even.' If two elements form one constituent in the nominative variant, it should be hard to insert *-sae* between them. In fact, Kishimoto (2005) observes that it cannot be inserted into the complex predicate in the nominative variant, as shown in (62), because the verb and the suffix are acting as a single predicate[20].

(62) watasi-wa   {kono   biiru-o/?*kono biiru-ga}   nomi-<u>sae</u>-si-tai.   (Kishimoto 2005:55)
     1.SG-TOP   this   beer-ACC/this beer-NOM   drink-even-do-DES
     'I even want to drink this beer.

Since the insertion is possible in the accusative variant, also illustrated in (62), this also supports the structures in (59).

4.3.3. Tendencies reconsidered

We have shown that the two variants have different structures, shown in (59), and this section will show that these structural differences, along with semantic differences, explain the tendencies of each variant shown in Section 4.3.1. Previous studies tend to argue from a syntactic perspective, asking whether the verb and the desiderative suffix can be restructured as a unitary predicate or not, but not all of the tendencies can be explained syntactically. We will show that the semantic reanalysis of the target of desire

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[20] Matsumoto (1996) shows the different possibility of modifications in the two structures, which also shows their difference in structure.

also plays an important role there.

Some tendencies can only be explained based on their syntactic structures, for example, the tendency that fixed expressions prefer the accusative variant. Fixed expressions such as *mie-o haru* 'act up' generally do not usually allow the nominative variant, as shown in (64) (cf. (63)).

(63) a. otoko-wa miai-no   seki-de   [[mie-o   hari]-tai]-rasii. [Kookuu]
        man-TOP arranged.introduction-GEN setting-LOC ostentation-ACC act.up-DES-seem
        'Men seem to act up in the meeting of the arranged (marriage) introduction.'
    b. misosiru-no   nioi-de   [[me-o   samasi]-tai].   [Koukuu]
        miso soup-GEN   smell-INST   eye-ACC/-NOM   awake-DES
        'I want to wake up by the smell of miso soup.'
(64) a. *otoko-wamiai-no   seki-de   [[mie-ga   hari]-tai]-rasii.
                                        -NOM
    b. *misosiru-no   nioi-de   [[me-ga   samasi]-tai].
                                        -NOM

It should be noted that the fixed expression consisting of a nominal and a verb constitutes a predicate together, and it is difficult to break them up. Though the underlined fixed expression can retain constituency in the accusative variant, as in (65), it breaks up in the nominative variant because of restructuring that makes the verb and the desiderative suffix a unitary predicate, as in (66), in which the nominative nominal *asi* 'foot' is unlikely to be interpreted as a part of the fixed expression. Therefore, the nominative variant is not usually accepted.

(65)   [NP-ACC   V]-tai.   e.g. [*asi-o   arai*]-*tai*   'want to quit'
                                            foot-ACC   wash-DES
(66)   NP-NOM   [V-tai]   e.g. *asi-ga*   [*arai-tai*]   'want to quit'
                                            foot-NOM   want-DES

Moreover, this analysis can predict that the nominative variant may be acceptable when the reanalyzed predicate can keep the constituency of the fixed expression, and this seems to be true. The nominative variant—though it is less acceptable than the accusative variant—is much more acceptable in (67b) than in (64), since the fixed expression as a whole is restructured into a predicate unit with the desiderative suffix without breaking up the underlined fixed expression, as shown in (68).

(67) a. Danhumi-no   gotoki   nizyuuzinkaku-o   [[mi-ni tuke]-tai].   [Kookuu]
        Danhumi-GEN like   double.personality-ACC   flesh-DAT put-DES
        'I want to have a double personality like Danhumi.'
    b. ?Danhumi-no   gotoki   nizyuuzinkaku-ga   [[mi-ni tuke]-tai].
                                                -NOM

(68) NP-NOM   [[<u>NP-DAT   V</u>]-tai]
                      predicate unit

Other tendencies, however, may not be explained syntactically, so we need semantic analyses. We will first look at Sino-Japanese verbs. While the desiderative constructions with native Japanese verbs often take the nominative variant, as in (69a), those with Sino-Japanese verbs tend not to allow the nominative variant, as in (69b), even though both of them express similar meanings. The nominative marking can be assigned on the verbal noun itself, as in (69b').

(69) a. watasi-wa   sinsya-o/-ga   {kai/sirabe}-tai.
         1.SG-TOP   new.car-ACC/-NOM   buy/inspect-DES
         'I want to buy/inspect a new car.'
     b. watasi-wa   sinsya-o/??-ga   {koonyuu/tenken}-si-tai.
         1.SG-TOP   new.car-ACC/-NOM   buy(購入)/inspect(点検)-do-DES
         'I want to buy/inspect a new car.'
     b'. watasi-wa   sinsya-no   {koonyuu/tenken}-ga   si-tai.
         1.SG-TOP   new.car-GEN   buy(購入)/inspect(点検)-NOM do-DES
         'I want to buy/inspect a new car.'

There are some Sino-Japanese verbs that can take the nominative variant, however, as shown in (70), which are similar to the ones in (69b)[21].

(70) a. watasi-wa   eigo-o/-ga   benkyoo-si-tai
         1.SG-TOP   English-ACC/-NOM   study(勉強)-do-DES
         'I want to study English.'
     b. watasi-wa   kuruma-o/-ga   unten-si-tai.
         1.SG-TOP   car-ACC/-NOM   drive(運転)-do-DES
         'I want to drive a car.'

Kuno (1973a) and Iori (1995a, b) state that the acceptability of the nominative variant depends on how the Sino-Japanese verb is established as a colloquial expression, but they do not show how this can be determined.

Our claim is that the differences in acceptability are caused by their structural and semantic differences. It should be noted that Sino-Japanese verbs are claimed to be formed by incorporation of a verbal noun (VN) into a light verb *-suru* 'do' (Kageyama 1993). What is important here is that there is a semantic relationship between the second nominal and the verbal noun, as confirmed in the structure in (71b). The structures for the accusative and nominative variants are shown in (71a) and (71b), respectively.

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[21] See Kageyama (1993) for discussion on the types of verbal nouns.

The one for (69b') is assumed to be the one in (71c).

(71) a. [NP-ACC [VN-suru]]-tai
    b. NP-NOM [[VN-suru]-tai]
    c. [[NP-GEN VN]-ACC [suru]]-tai

Since there is a semantic relation between the NP and the verbal shown in (69b'), it is expected that the NP and the verbal noun are not broken up. This is actually the case for the nominative variant in (71b), and the nominative variant with Sino-Japanese verbs results in unacceptable, as in (69b).

The nominative variant is allowed in the desiderative constructions with some Sino-Japanese verbs, as shown in (70), however, and we will show that there is an interesting correspondence between the acceptability of the nominative variant and the acceptability of intransitive uses of the verbs. The Sino-Japanese verbs that do not allow the nominative variant tend to be transitive, which become elliptical with one argument, as in (72), while the ones that allow the nominative variant tend to allow intransitive uses, as shown in (73).

(72) #watasi-wa kinoo   *(hondana-o)   {koonyuu/tenken}-si-ta.
     1.SG-TOP   yesterday bookshelf-ACC   buy(購入)/inspect(点検)-do-PAST
     'I bought/inspected a bookshelf yesterday.'
(73) a. watasi-wa   kinoo   (eigo-o)   benkyoo-si-ta.
     1.SG-TOP   yesterday English-ACC   study(勉強)-do-PAST
     'I studied (English) yesterday.'
    b. watasi-wa   kinoo   (kuruma-o)   unten-si-tai.
     1.SG-TOP   yesterday   car-ACC   drive(運転)-do-DES
     'I drove a car yesterday.'

The fact that these verbs *unten/benkyoo-suru* can be intransitive without having any object arguments that relate to the verbal noun leads to the nominative variant, because it will be easier to fix the desire to the action expressed by the predicate and restructure them into a unitary desiderative predicate, as in (71c). Further research is necessary, however, but this at least confirms that both the semantic and syntactic analyses are indispensable.

The tendency observed in the desiderative construction taking compound predicates in the complement clause should be also explained semantically, as shown in (74).

(74) ano hon-o/*ga   yonde-simai-tai.   (Iori 1995a)   (=(56))
     that book-ACC/*NOM   read-finish-DES
     I want to finish reading that book.

Iori (1995a) explains that nominative variants are not allowed in the desiderative constructions that take compound predicates because of their syntactic complexities. Complexity can be one of the factors, but the situation is not so simple; the nominative variant is acceptable in the desiderative that takes a benefactive construction as a complement clause, which also has a compound predicate, as shown in (75).

(75) watasi-wa   sono seito-ga/-o   homete-yari-takat-ta.
      1.SG-TOP   that student-NOM/-ACC praise-give-DES-PAST
      'I wanted to praise that student.'

We will show that a semantic explanation is more plausible. First, we will review Matsumoto's (1996) analysis of causatives which also take complex complement clauses with derived predicates. Matsumoto (1996: 148) shows that some of the desideratives with the causative complement clauses can take nominative variants, as in (76a), and suggests that the desideratives with nominative objects force the coercive causative interpretation: the causer is interpreted as controlling the event, as if it is the agent of the whole event.

(76) a. boku wa kodomo ni konna hon {ga/o}   yom-ase-takat-ta. (Matsumoto 1996:148)
         I   TOP child   DAT like.this book   NOM/ACC read-CAUS-want-PAST
         'I wanted to make my child read this kind of books.'/'I wanted to buy (borrow) this kind of book for my child to read.'
     b. boku wa John ni wa   manzoku ga   iku made   sono hon {*ga/o}
         I   TOP John DAT FOC satisfaction NOM   go   till   the book NOM/ACC
         yom-ase-takat-ta.
         read-CAUS-want-PAST
         'I wanted to let John read the book till he got satisfied.'

This interpretation shows that the causative predicates are monoclausal[22], since the causer controls the event and seems to take an object directly, in spite of the existence of the agent of the event. On the other hand, the desideratives that cannot be interpreted as coercive meaning do not allow the nominative variant, as in (76b), which suggests that the causative predicates are difficult to be monoclausal in this case. This shows that that their semantic properties play an important role in the choice of the structure.

The semantic approach will be also supported by the fact that the desiderative constructions that take passive complement clauses[23] do not allow the nominative variant, as shown in (77). The underlined

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[22] He also shows differences in reflexive bindings, which also support their monoclausal nature.
[23] Japanese passives are mainly divided into two types, the direct passive and the indirect passive, we will review them briefly. The passives in (77a, b) are classified as direct passives (though (78a) is sometimes distinguished as

nominals in the active sentences (78) correspond to the experiencer subjects of the desiderative constructions with passive complement clauses, as shown in (77).

(77) a. Ken-wa   Ziroo-ni ronbun-o/*-ga   homer-are-takat-ta.   (Possessor passive)
         Ken-TOP Jiro-DAT thesis-ACC/*-NOM praise-PASS-DES-PAST
         'Ken wanted his thesis to be praised by Jiro.'
     b. watasi-wa   Ken-ni   tegami-o/*-ga   okur-are-takat-ta.   (Direct passive)
         1.SG-TOP   Ken-DAT letter-ACC/-NOM   send-PASS-DES-PAST
         'I wanted to be sent a letter by Ken.'
     c. watasi-wa   Ken-ni   gohan-o/*-ga   tabe-rare-takat-ta.   (Indirect passive)
         1.SG-TOP   Ken-DAT rice-ACC/-NOM   eat-PASS-DES-PAST
         'I wanted Ken to eat rice.'
(78) a. Ziroo-ga   Ken-no   ronbun-o   home-ta
         Jiro-NOM   Ken-GEN thesis-ACC   praise.PAST
         Jiro praised Ken's thesis.'
     b. Ken-ga   watasi-ni   tegami-o   okut-ta.
         Ken-NOM   1.SG-DAT   letter-ACC   send-PAST
         'Ken sent me a letter.'
     c. Ken-ga   gohan-o   tabe-ta.
         Ken-NOM   rice-ACC eat-PAST
         'Ken ate rice.'

The point is that the subjects of the passive constructions express the participants that are affected by the whole events expressed by the complement passive clauses. Therefore, the subjects can have desires as to the completion of the event but not to the object. This leads to a difficulty in restructuring a unitary predicate consisting of the desiderative suffix and the passive predicate, which is just a part of the passive clause, so the nominative variant is unacceptable, as shown in (77).

A similar explanation can be provided for the aspectual expressions that also take compound predicates and prefer the accusative variant, as shown in (57).

(79) watasi-wa ano hon-o/*-ga   yon-dei-ta-i.
     1.SG-TOP   that book-ACC/-NOM   read-PROG-DES-PRES
     'I want to continue reading that book.'

The aspectual expressions, such as *-te iru* in (57), provide aspectual information concerning the event

a possessor passive, because there is a possessive relation between the nominals, which are observed between *Ken* and *ronbun* in (77a)). The experiencer subject in (77c) is a participant mentally affected by other person's action or event, but it is not an argument of the predicate, as shown in (78c). This type of the passive sentences is called an indirect passive, or an adversity passive.

expressed by the complement clause, e.g. expressing that the event is in progress, so they usually take scope over the complement clause, e.g. [[NP-ACC V]-*te iru*]. This prevents the desiderative suffix and the complement predicate from restructuring into a unitary predicate, which results in the structure: [NP-NOM [[V-*te iru*]-*tai*], in which the *-te iru* cannot modify the whole complement clause. Therefore, the nominative variant is less acceptable.

The relationship between word order and the choice of the variant should be also explained semantically. Tamura (1969) and Shibatani (1978) point out that the accusative variant is preferred if the object nominal is not adjacent to the predicate, as in (80a), while the nominative variant is possible when it is immediately adjacent to the predicate, as in (80b).

(80) a. *?atasi, <u>ohanasi-ga</u> anata-to yukkuri s-i-takat-tano. (=(53))
   1.SG talk-NOM 2.SG-with slowly do-INF-DES-PAST
   'I wanted to talk with you at leisure.'
  b. atasi, anata-to yukkuri <u>ohanasi-ga</u> s-i-takat-tano.
   1.SG 2.SG-with slowly talk-NOM do-INF-DES-PAST
   'I wanted to talk with you at leisure.'

However, there are some cases where the nominative marking is possible even though there are some elements between the nominal and the predicate, as shown in (81) and (82).

(81) watasi-wa K-no sinigao-**ga** hitome mi-takat-ta-no-desu. [Kokoro]
  1.SG-TOP K-GEN dead.face-NOM one.glance see-DES-PAST-COP-POL
  I wanted to take a look at K's dead face.
(82) watasi-wa K-no sinigao-**ga** mouitido mi-takat-ta-no-desu.
  1.SG-TOP K-GEN dead.face-NOM once.more see-DES-PAST-COP-POL
  I wanted to look at K's dead face once again.

We can explain the differences observed in (80a) and (81)-(82) by assuming the semantic and syntactic properties in (59). It is expected that the element modifying the whole event described by the complement clause appears more easily in the accusative variant, because of its structure, [NP-ACC V]-*tai*, which takes the whole event as the target of the desire. On the other hand, the structure of the nominative variant is NP-NOM [V-*tai*], which takes an entity expressed by the nominal as the target of the desire instead of the whole event. In fact, temporal adverbials that modify the complement events can appear in the accusative variant, but not in the nominative variant, as in (83).

(83) watasi-wa e-o/*-ga *kinou* kaki-takat-ta.
  1.SG-TOP picture-ACC/-NOM yesterday draw-DES-PAST
  I wanted to draw a picture yesterday.

Moreover, the elements that appear between the nominative nominal and the predicate in (81) and (82) can modify only the action expressed by the predicate, or the desiderative predicate[24]. *hitome* 'one glance' expresses the manner of action expressed by the verb, and *mouitido* 'once more' the number of times the action occurred; both of them can modify only the predicates. Given (59b), the structure is considered to be [*sinigao-ga* [[*hitome mi*]-*takat-*]-*ta*]. The element that intervenes between the nominative nominal and the verb is semantically restricted in this way, which also shows us the necessity of a semantic analysis for word order.

The transitivity of the complement verb is also reported to affect the case marking of the second nominal: the accusative variant is preferred to the nominative one when the transitivity of the verb is high, as shown in (84).

> (84) naze ore-o/*-ga   koros-ita-i-nda.   (Iori 1995a)   (=(47))
>   why 1.SG-ACC/-NOM   kill-DES-PRES-COP.Q
>   'Why do you want to kill me?'

Especially the thematic role of the nominal seems to play an important role, though several elements are related to the transitivity of the sentence (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980). The desiderative construction takes an experiencer and a theme, but the thematic role assigned by the complement verb affects its case marking. The nominative variant is rarely allowed if the thematic role of the second nominal in the complement clause is not a theme (Shibatani 1978), e.g. a patient in (85), a goal in (86), a source in (87), and a path in (88).

> (85) musyakusya-s-ite,   Taroo-o/??-ga   nagur-itakat-ta.   (Iori 1995a)
>   irritated-do-te   Taro-ACC/-NOM   hit-DES-PAST
>   'I was irritated, and I wanted to hit Taro.'
> (86) watasi-wa   amerika-ni/*ga   iki-tai.   (=(48))
>   1.SG-TOP   America-DAT/*NOM   go-DES/PRES
>   'I want to go to America.'
> (87) Hanako-wa sono eki-de   densya-o/??-ga   ori-takat-ta.
>   Hanako-TOP the station-LOC   train-ACC/-NOM   alight.from-DES-PAST
>   'Hanako wanted to alight from the train at the station.'
> (88) a. totyuu-de   Nagoya-o/-??-ga   toori-takat-ta.
>   on.the.way-LOC   Nagoya-ACC/-NOM   pass-DES-PAST

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[24] Matsumoto (1996:115) states that "the adjunct that cannot occur between the nominative object and the desiderative predicate (i.e., *ashita kara* 'from tomorrow' and *tonari no heya de* 'in the next room') are modifiers of the base verb, whereas the one that can intervene (i.e., *hontoo ni* 'truly') is a modifier of the desiderative as a whole." In addition to this, an adjunct that expresses the manner of the action (i.e., *hitome* 'one glance') seems to intervene, while an adjunct that modifies the whole event is not acceptable.

'I wanted to pass Nagoya on the way.'
b. miti-o/??-ga   aruki-tai.
   road-ACC/-NOM   walk-DES.PRES
   'I want to walk on the road.'

Iori (1995a) claims that the definiteness of the second nominal also affects the choice of the case marking on the second nominal, which relates to one of the transitivity parameters—individuation of the object. He points out that the nominative variant is more acceptable when the second argument in the desiderative construction is indefinite, as in (89), than when it is definite in (85), even though its thematic role is not a theme (e.g. a patient in (89)).

(89) musyakusya-s-ite,   dareka-o/ga   naguri-takat-ta.   (Iori 1995a)
     irritated-do-te   someone-ACC/NOM   hit-DES-PAST
     'I was irritated, and I wanted to hit someone.'

He claims that the nominative marking is allowed because the indefinite noun phrase decreases the transitivity of the sentence. However, the choice of variant is not determined solely by the definiteness, either, because the nominative variant in (90)[25] is more acceptable than the one in (85a), though both sentences have definite noun phrases that are patients.

(90) watasi-wa   Ken-no-koto-ga   naguri-tai.
     1.SG-TOP   Ken-GEN-thing-NOM   hit-DES
     'I wanted to hit Ken'

It follows that the thematic role and definiteness of the nominal cannot always determine the variant.

Our claim is that what is important for the choice of the variant is whether the second nominal can be reanalyzed as the target of desire, i.e., a theme. The nominative variant is rarely used if the thematic role of the second nominal in the complement clause is not a theme, but this is not impossible. Interestingly, the nominative marking is acceptable when the nominal expresses a highly specific meaning, as observed in (91) and (92) (though the thematic roles of these nominals in the complement clauses are a path. cf. (88)).

(91) watasi-wa   oyoi-de   doobaakaikyoo-ga/-o   watari-tai.   (Sugimoto 1986)
     1.SG-TOP   swim-by   Straits.of.Dover-NOM/-ACC pass-DES
     'I want to swim across the Straits of Dover.'
(92) watasi-wa   sensei-to   issyoni   asukoira-ga   sanpo-site-mi-tai.   [Kokoro]
     1.SG-TOP   teacher-with together around.there-NOM take.a.walk-do-try-DES
     'I want to take a walk around there together with Teacher.'

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[25] Sasaguri (1996, 2000) suggests that the *no koto* insertion observed in (90) abstracts a meaning of the definite noun phrase, which he calls a "nominal modality."

The specificity of the nominal seems to make reanalysis of the nominal as the theme of the desire easier, because it can be conceptualized as if it is an entity and not just a path.

In sum, we reconsidered the tendencies of the variants in desiderative constructions and tried to explain them by assuming that their choice depends on the difficulty of restructuring as a single predicate and reanalysis of the second nominal as a theme. Some tendencies relate to the difficulty of restructuring the desiderative suffix and the verb as a unitary predicate, e.g. fixed expressions, but some of them are related to the semantic reanalysis. In this way, the desiderative constructions should be analyzed from semantic and syntactic perspectives, which helps us to capture their case frames. It should be noted that the Event modality such as desiderative seems to affect the structure of the complement clause more than other types of modality, which will be discussed more in detail in the following section.

4.3.4. Event modality and derived non-canonical constructions

Now we will go back to another issue raised in Section 4.2.3: why do Event modality expressions, such as the desiderative, tend to impose non-canonical case frames? We will show that only this type of modality has a tendency to take non-canonical case frames, and the reason is that it often changes the agentivity of the subject argument in the complement clause.

The desiderative construction is considered to expresses Event modality, since it describes the subject's (which is an agent in the complement clause), but not the speaker's, desire toward a realization of the event, as shown in (94), which imposes a person restriction if it is in present tense, as in (93).

(93) {watasi/*Ken}-wa   keeki-ga   tabe-tai.
     1.SG/KEN-TOP   cake-NOM   eat-DES
     'I/Ken want(s) to eat a cake.'

(94) Ken-ga   eiga-ga/o   mi-takat-ta   (koto)
     Ken-NOM   movie-NOM/ACC   see-DES-PAST   thing
     '(that) Ken wanted to watch a movie.'

This is why the desiderative is considered a modal element in traditional Japanese grammar (Teramura 1982, Nitta 1991, Masuoka 1991) and as Event modality in Palmer (2001). On the other hand, (95b) takes the suffix *-yooda* 'seem,' which adds the speaker's and not the subject's attitude to the propositional event expressed by the complement clause, i.e. it expresses a Propositional modality.

(95) a. Ken-ga   natto-o   tabe-ru (koto)
        Ken-NOM   natto-ACC   eat-PRES thing

'(that) Ken eats natto.'

b. [Ken-ga   natto-o   tabe-ru]-yooda.
   Ken-NOM   natto-ACC   eat-PRES-seem
   'Ken seems to eat natto.'

The case frame in (95b) is the same as that of (95a), taking a transitive NOM-ACC case frame. The -*yooda* suffix appears outside the proposition and expresses the speaker's attitude or evaluation toward the propositional event, for example, the degree of the speaker's confidence in the occurrence of the Propositional event. The difference in the case frame between (94b) and (95b) shows one of the differences between Event modalities and Propositional modalities

The next question, then, is why only Event modality expressions like (94b) tend to have non-canonical case frames. Our claim is that this results from a reanalysis of the thematic structure of the complement clause, since the agent of the complement verb counts as an experiencer in cases like the desiderative construction. What is more important is that the change in the thematic role of the first argument in the complement clause into an experiencer leads to a lack of volitional controllability toward propositional events; this, in turn, makes it possible for the original agent to be interpreted as DOMAIN instead. In addition, the desiderative suffix imposes stative interpretation to the sentence, since the desire is taken a psychological state. These processes make the derived construction have the same semantic properties as the non-derived non-canonical constructions. That is why the desiderative construction tends to appear in non-canonical case frames. On the other hand, (95b), which expresses Propositional modality, neither changes the thematic structure of the complement clause, nor the meaning of the propositional event; it does not take non-canonical case frames but retain its original case frame.

Let us show their differences structurally. The sentences that express Event modalities take a complement clause as theme and an agent in the complement clause, which is analyzed as a DOMAIN. In contrast, the ones that express Propositional modalities take the whole complement clauses as theme, as shown in (96). In (96b), the case frame of the complement clause is not changed.

(96) a. [NP-NOM   [NP-ACC   verb]-modal suffix]   (Event modality)
        [DOMAIN]   [THEME]

   b.[[NP-NOM   [NP-ACC   verb]]-modal suffix]   (Propositional modality)
              [THEME]

It should be noted that the derived non-canonical constructions that express Event modalities come closer structurally to the non-derived ones when they are reanalyzed as taking a unitary predicate consisting of the

verb and the modal suffix, as in (97b).

(97) a. [NP-DAT/-NOM   [[NP-NOM]   PRED]]   (non-derived construction)
         [DOMAIN]   [THEME]

   b. [NP-DAT/-NOM   [[NP-NOM]   [verb-modal suffix (DES/POT/TOUGH)]]]   (derived)
         [DOMAIN]   [THEME]   PRED

(97a) is the structure of the non-derived non-canonical constructions in which one argument is interpreted as DOMAIN and the other THEME. (97b) is the structure of the reanalyzed derived non-canonical constructions, which also take two argument interpreted as DOMAIN and THEME.

In this section, we examined the two variants of the desiderative construction, and showed that their differences should be explained from both semantic and syntactic perspectives. The more easily the complement predicate is reanalyzed as a unitary predicate with the desiderative suffix both semantically and syntactically, the more acceptable the nominative variant is. We have suggested a process for how the Event modality expressions tend to take non-canonical case frames, showing that they change the thematic structures and the semantic properties of the complement clauses. On the other hand, the Propositional modality expressions neither change them nor take non-canonical case frames, keeping the original case frames taken by the complement predicates.

4.4. Derived non-canonical constructions and their scopes

Now we will examine our hypotheses with respect to the derived non-canonical constructions. Recall that derived non-canonical constructions are classified into three types: the desiderative, the potential, and the tough constructions.

First, we will examine the thematic hierarchy and show the syntactic realizations of the nominals with different thematic roles and their conceptualizations in derived non-canonical constructions, which are summarized in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. The thematic hierarchy, conceptualizations, and realizations of each thematic role in derived non-canonical constructions

TR: Agent > [Experiencer > Possessor > Reference] > Location [+HUM] > Location [-HUM]
GR: Subject ──────────────────────────────────►

CM: NOM   ──────────────────────────────────►

                      ◄────────────────────────── DAT
SS: ◄── DOMAIN
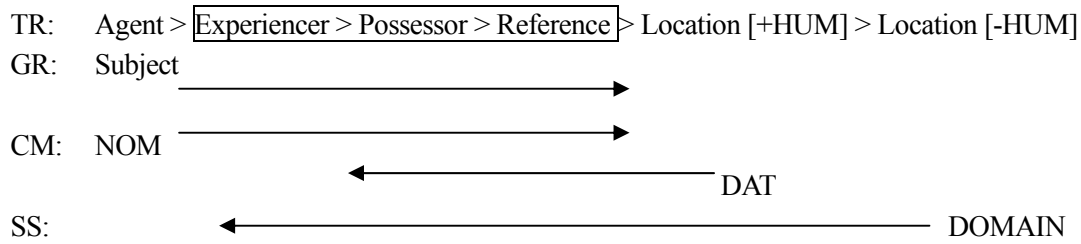
The thematic roles of the subject arguments in the derived non-canonical constructions are experiencer, possessor, and reference, all of which are taken as DOMAIN in which certain states such as desires or abilities exist, without control and volitionality. Since the subjects cannot be agents in these constructions, the scope of DOMAIN only expands as far as the experiencer. However, locations cannot appear as subjects, even though they may be humans. (98b) shows that the locative nominal in the tough construction cannot be the target of honorification, which means that it does not behave as the subject.

(98) a. Yamada-sensei-no-tokoro-ni   seito-ga   {ki/*irassyat}-ta   (koto)
        Yamada-teacher-GEN-place-DAT   student-NOM   come /come.HON-PAST thing
        '(that) a student came to teacher Yamada's place.'
     b. Yamada-sensei-no-tokoro-ni   seito-ga   {ki/*irassyari}-yasui   (koto)
        Yamada-teacher-GEN-place-DAT   student-NOM   come/come.HON-easy   thing
        '(that) students easily come to teacher Yamada's place.

Regarding the case marking, since the desiderative construction cannot take a dative subject, the scope of the dative case goes as far as possessor. Recall that the potential and tough constructions take dative subjects. Therefore, the derived non-canonical constructions appear in the squared domain in Figure 4.1.

The distributions of the derived constructions on the conceptual space are also similar to those of non-derived constructions. The two parameters of the conceptual space will be examined one by one. First, with regard to the number of arguments, recall that only the derived constructions with transitive complement clauses are considered to be non-canonical constructions (the ones with intransitive complement clauses cannot take non-canonical case frame). In other words, the derived non-canonical constructions must take two arguments, as the non-derived constructions do. The derived non-canonical constructions show some variety in whether or not they allow intransitive variants, however. The potential and tough constructions allow intransitive use, but the desiderative construction does not. Generally the potential construction, as shown in (99b), and the tough construction, as shown in (100b), allow intransitive

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uses, though their complement verbs, *taberu* and *kaku,* are transitive.

(99) a. kono ringo-wa   tabe-rareru.
     this apple-TOP   eat-POT
     'This apple is edible.'
   b. watasi-ni-wa   konoringo-ga   tabe-rareru.
     1.SG-DAT-TOP   this apple-NOM   eat-POT
     'I can eat this apple.'
(100) a. kono   kudamono-wa   tabe-nikui.
     this fruit-TOP   eat-tough
     'This fruit is difficult to eat.'
   b, watasi-ni-wa   kono kudamono-ga   tabe-nikui.
     1.SG-DAT-TOP   this fruit-NOM   eat-tough
     'This fruit is difficult for me to eat.'

On the other hand, the desiderative construction cannot be used intransitively, as shown in (101). The examples in (101) are acceptable only when they are interpreted as taking two arguments, experiencer and theme.

(101) a. *kono   kudamono-wa   tabe-tai.
      this   fruit-TOP   eat-DES
      '(lit.) This fruit wants to eat.' (OK in the reading 'I want to eat this fruit.')
    b. *kono   pen-wa   uri-tai.
      this   pen-TOP sell-DES
      '(lit.) This pen wants to sell.' (OK in the reading 'I want to sell this pen.')

Assuming the thematic hierarchy outlined in Figure 4.1, we can say that the possessor or reference nominal, whose thematic role is lower in the hierarchy, can be backgrounded, which results an intransitive use shown in (99a) and (100a), but the experiencer nominal cannot, as in (101). Therefore, we can say that the desiderative construction has a narrower distribution than the potential and tough constructions, as in Figure 4.2, lacking the possibility to be used as an intransitive. Note, however, that all of the derived non-canonical constructions must take two arguments, though they differ in the possibility of intransitive usage.

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Figure 4.2. The derived non-canonical constructions in Japanese

	Temporal Stability
	Low ← → High
2	NOM-NOM DAT-NOM
	Desiderative Potential
	Tough
1	

Second, we will examine another parameter, temporal stability, and show that the desiderative construction expresses states that are less temporally stable than the potential and tough constructions. Since they can take complement clauses that express instantaneous or long-lasting states, it is hard to determine the temporal stability from the temporal adverbials, as shown in (102), where we cannot find any differences.

(102) a. watasi-wa   issyun/sibaraku   mizu-ga   nomi-takat-ta.
         1.SG-TOP   for.a.moment/for.a.while   water-NOM   drink-DES-PAST
         'I wanted to drink water for a moment/for a while.'
    b. watasi-wa   issyun/sibaraku   oto-ga   kiko-e-ta.
         1.SG-TOP   for.a.moment/for.a.while   sound-NOM   hear-POT-PAST
         'I could hear some sound for a moment/for a while.'
    c. watasi-wa   issyun/sibaraku   me-ga   aki-nikukat-ta.
         1.SG-TOP   for.a.moment/for.a.while   eye-NOM open-difficult-PAST
         'I had difficulty opening my eyes for a moment/for a while.'

However, their semantic types help us to determine their difference. The desiderative construction only describes psychological states, which are less temporally stable than abilities or evaluations expressed by the potential and tough constructions, as we confirmed in the non-derived constructions. If this is the case, the desiderative construction will be placed to the right of the potential and tough constructions, as shown in Figure 4.2.

This is supported by the possible interpretations of the derived non-canonical constructions. We will show that the desiderative construction must describe psychological states and cannot describe any

properties that are more temporally stable. In fact, the desiderative constructions cannot express properties of the theme arguments as generic sentences, even though they take kind-referring NPs, as shown in (103).

(103) a. neko-wa ugoku-mono-o oikake-tai-*(mono-da).
   cat-TOP move-thing-ACC chase-DES-thing-COP
   'Cats want to chase moving things.'
  b. kodomo-wa itazura-o si-tai-*(mono-da).
   child-TOP trick-ACC do-DES-thing-COP
   'Children want to act up/play tricks.'

As shown in (103), the desiderative construction is not interpreted as expressing generic properties of the kind referring subject nominals without -*monoda*, which imposes generic meaning on the sentence. However, the potential and tough constructions can, as shown in (104).

(104) a. neko-wa nezumi-o tukamaer-areru.
   cat-TOP mouse-ACC catch-POT
   'Cats can catch mice.'
  b. kodomo-wa iroirona-koto-o oboe-yasui.
   child-TOP various-thing-ACC remember-easy
   'Children easily remember various things.'

This shows that the desiderative constructions are temporally less stable than the potential and tough constructions, only describing psychological states. In addition, the desiderative construction can take an indefinite nominal as theme, as shown in (105), but not all of the potential or tough constructions can, as shown in (106) and (107).

(105) Hanako-wa nanika-ga/o tabe-takat-ta.   (Desiderative)
  Hanako-TOP something-NOM/ACC eat-DES-PAST
  Hanako wanted to eat something.
(106) ??Hanako-wa nanika-ga/o tabe-rare-ta.   (Potential)
  Hanako-TOP something-NOM/ACC eat-POT-PAST
  Hanako could eat something.
(107) ??Hanako-wa nanika-o/-ga tabe-yasukat-ta.   (Tough)
  Hanako-TOP something-ACC eat-easy-PAST
  'Something is easy for Hanako to eat.'

This also shows that the desiderative construction describes the desire of the experiencer argument instead of describing some property of the theme argument. On the other hand, the potential and tough constructions describe properties of the theme argument to some extent, so indefinite noun phrases might

not be acceptable, as in (106) and (107)[26], since one cannot describe its properties without knowing what it is. This seems to be true, because the theme argument can be an indefinite NP when the potential construction expresses the possibility of an occurrence of the event and not a property of the theme, as shown in (108).

(108) asoko-ni   ike-ba,   itumo   nanika-ga/?o   tabe-rare-ta.   (Possibility)
       the.place-DAT   go-if always   something-NOM/?ACC   eat-POT-PAST
       'If I went to the place, I could eat something always.'

In summary, the scope of the desiderative construction is mapped to the left of the potential and tough constructions in the conceptual space, depending on their temporal stabilities, as in Figure 4.2. It is important that the scopes of derived non-canonical constructions occupy the same regions on the conceptual space as the non-derived non-canonical constructions shown in Chapter 3.

In this chapter we have claimed that derived non-canonical constructions are also captured by our hypotheses, and that their distributions are the same as those of the non-derived constructions shown in Chapter 3. Examining structures of the desiderative construction from both syntactic and semantic perspectives, we have shown that the tendencies of the variants reflect their semantic and structural differences shown in (59). The reason why the Event modality expressions take non-canonical case frames is also made clear: they change the thematic structures and the meanings of the complement clauses into the same ones the non-derived non-canonical constructions have. The derived constructions result in a semantic structure, DOMAIN and THEME, expressing non-volitional and uncontrollable states. The derived and non-derived non-canonical constructions can be conceived as stative transitive constructions, which differ from both non-stative transitive constructions and stative intransitive constructions. Figure 4.3 shows the prototypical distributions of these constructions with four different semantic structures, in which they are mapped on the four corners of the space.

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[26] It is interesting to see the behaviors of lexical non-canonical constructions. Some of them do not allow the indefinite noun phrase, but some of them do, as shown below.

  (i)   Hanako-ni-wa   {kono   hon/??nanika}-ga   iru.   (Evaluation)
        Hanako-DAT-TOP   this   book/something-NOM   need.
        'Hanako needs this book/ something.'
  (ii) Hanako-wa   {Ken/?dareka}-ga   sukida.   (Psychological state)
        Hanako-TOP   Ken/someone-NOM like
        'Hanako likes Ken/someone.'
  (iii) Hanako-wa   {kono   inu/nanika}-ga   {hosikat/kowakat}-ta.   (Psychological state)
        Hanako-TOP   this   dog/something-NOM   want.INF/fear.INF-PAST
        'Hanako {wanted/was scared of} this {dog/something}.'

Figure 4.3. The conceptual space for canonical and non-canonical constructions

Temporal stability / No. of arguments	LOW← Temporal Stability →HIGH (Event) (State)	
2	transitive event (AGENT-PATIENT)	transitive state (DOMAIN-THEME)
1	intransitive event (AGENT)	intransitive state (THEME)

In the next chapter, we will examine another type of non-canonical construction, which takes a body part as the second argument and describes physiological states, and which shows different behavior from other non-canonical constructions.

Chapter 5. External possessor construction

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines one problematic case of non-canonical constructions, which is the type that expresses physiological states. The non-canonical predicates expressing physiological states seem to take two varieties of case frames: NOM-NOM (double nominative) and DAT/NOM-NOM (dative subject), as shown in (1) and (2), while other non-canonical predicates choose only one of them (see Chapter 2).

(1) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   me-ga   kayui   (koto)   (NOM-NOM)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   eyes-NOM   itchy   thing
        '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'
     b. Ken-ga/*-ni   atama-ga   itai   (koto)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   head-NOM   painful   thing
        '(that) Ken's eyes are itchy'

(2) a. Ken-ga/-ni   keito-no   seetaa-ga   kayui   (koto)   (DAT/NOM-NOM)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   wool-GEN   sweater-NOM itchy   thing
        '(that) woolen sweater is itchy for Ken'
     b. Ken-ga/-ni   kono   toge-ga   itai   (koto)
        Ken-NOM/-DAT   this   thorn-NOM   painful   thing
        '(that) this thorn is painful for Ken'

Therefore, it is difficult to classify their construction types depending only on their predicates; such predicates are listed in (3).

(3) Adjectives: *itai* 'painful,' *kayui* 'itchy,' *tumetai* 'cold'

We will claim that these predicates basically take a DAT-NOM case frame, but they must take a NOM-NOM case frame when they occur in the external possessor construction. The double nominative constructions in (1)—but not the dative subject constructions in (2)—can be interpreted as external possessor constructions, since the first nominals in (1) are interpreted as possessors of the second nominals and they appear external to the possessum noun phrase.

We will propose that there is one restriction imposed on the external possessor constructions, which is shown in (4), by comparing various types of external possessor constructions.

(4) When the effect is directly experienced by the possessor through the possessum, the possessor is considered to be an experiencer and appears as the subject external to the possessum noun phrase.

Double subject constructions[1] in (5) and the possessor passives are also members of the external possessor construction. All of the external possessor constructions must have the possessors expressed as subject, outside the possessum noun phrase, when the possessor is taken as the experiencer.

(5) a. Ken-ga   ie-ga   hiroi   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   house-NOM   roomy   thing
        '(that) Ken's house is roomy'
     b. Ken-ga   atama-ga   ookii   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   head-NOM   large   thing
        '(that) Ken's head is large'

This restriction is plausible for our thematic hierarchy, since an experiencer is higher than a possessor in the hierarchy and the experiencer, being higher on the hierarchy, is more likely to be the subject of the sentence. Moreover, it will be shown that the semantic type of the sentence also plays an important role, since the possessor cannot be interpreted as experiencer when the sentence expresses a property description.

This chapter consists of four sections. Section 5.2. show the varieties of external possessor constructions and points out some issues concerning them, and in Section 5.3. we will examine the restriction imposed on the external possessor constructions, demonstrating that the restriction explains some syntactic behaviors, including the existence of the internal possessor counterparts and backgrounding of the possessor. Section 5.4. will examine the case frames of the physiological state predicates and show our conclusion.

5.2. Varieties of external possessor constructions and their behaviors

Our proposed analysis is that the different case frames observed in the physiological state predicates are caused by restrictions imposed on the external possessor construction. In this section, we will show what kinds of external possessor constructions are observed in Japanese and show their properties and issues concerning them.

5.2.1. Varieties of external possessor constructions

External possessor constructions are the constructions in which a possessor is expressed as a core argument such as a subject or direct object outside the noun phrase which considered to be the possessum

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[1] There are several different views on the double subject constructions. Some include all non-canonical constructions in the double subject construction, but some do not. See, for example, Kuno (1973a), Sugimoto (1995), Onoe, Kimura, Nisimura (1998), Onoe (2004), and Shibatani (2000a, 2001).

(cf. Heine 1999)[2]. Given this, Japanese seems to have at least three kinds of external possessor constructions: double nominative, double subject, and possessor passive constructions[3].

The double nominative constructions expressing physiological states are considered to be external possessor constructions, as shown in (6), in which the two nominals hold a possessor relation to each other and the possessor nominal is expressed as subject, being the target of honorification.

(6)   Yamada-sensei-ga   me-ga   kayukute-irassyaru-yooda.
       Yamada-teacher-NOM eyes-NOM   itchy-be.HON-seem
       'Teacher Yamada seems to feel itchy in his eyes.'

Some of the double subject constructions, as shown in (7), are also the external possessor construction, in which the two nominals show a possessor relation to each other and the possessor nominal appears external to the possessum noun phrase as subject.

(7)   Ken-ga   me-ga   ookii   (koto)
      Ken-NOM   eye-NOM   large   thing
      '(that) Ken's eyes are large'

The predicates observed in double subject constructions generally require only one participant, which is usually the theme; in such a case, the predicate and the theme constitute a predication unit necessary to license the first nominal that is not required by the predicate, as in (7). The predicate *ookii* 'big' is a one-place predicate, as in (8).

(8)   kono   zyagaimo-wa ookii.
       this   potato-TOP   big
      'This potato is big.'

This is one of the biggest differences from the double nominative construction that expresses physiological states, and whose predicate requires two arguments: the experiencer and the theme, as in (6). But both the double nominative constructions and the double subject constructions take external possessors as subjects.

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[2] Payne and Barshi (1999) summarize issues to be discussed on external possessor constructions, as shown in (i).
   (i) a. the grammatical relation of the EPR (external possessor)
      b. the grammatical relation of the PM (possessum) both in the EPC (external possessor construction) and in the analogous IPC (internal possessor construction) counterparts
      c. the range of the participating predicate types
      d. the semantic range of nouns which can be construed as possessed
      e. the semantics of the PR (possessor)
[3] Though various relationships are observed between the two nominals in double subject constructions, we limit our discussion to the ones that have possessive relationships between the nominals, which we call the "double subject constructions with external possessor." See Amano (1990), Sugimoto (1995), Noda (1996), and Nishiyama (2003) for the double subject constructions.

We will briefly review the studies on the double subject construction, which, along with the double nominative construction, has received a lot of attention in Japanese linguistics. Both of the nominals in this construction are taken to be subjects. Shibatani (2000a, 2001) claims that the predicate and the second nominal in the double subject construction, which are called a "small subject," constitute a predicate unit, and it predicates on the first nominal, the so-called "large subject." The structure is summarized as in (9).

(9) [NP1   [NP2   PRED]]
     large subject   <u>small subject</u>
                            Predicate

The predicate of the double subject constructions generally requires one argument, whose thematic role is usually a theme, as in (7a). The predicate and the theme nominal constitute a predication unit necessary to license an extra nominal that is not required by the predicate, as in (7b). Japanese has various types of double subject constructions[4], but not all of them are considered to be the external possessor construction. The double subject constructions in (10) are outside of our target of study, since the nominals do not have possessive relations with each other.

(10) a. sakana-wa   tai-ga   ii.
        fish-TOP   sea.bream-NOM   good
        '(lit.) As for fish, sea bream is good.'
     b. zisyo-wa   atarasii-no-ga   ii.
        dictionary-TOP   new-NML-NOM   good.
        '(lit.) As for dictionaries, new ones are good.'

Hence, we must limit our target to the double subject constructions in which the two nominals show possessive relations and the possessor nominal appears external to the possessum noun phrase as subject, as shown in (7b), which we call an "external possessor type double subject construction."

Thirdly, there are some passive sentences, which are called "possessor passives" (cf. Suzuki 1972, Nitta 1997), that can be considered as members of the external possessor construction. In possessor passives, the subject and the object stand in a possessive relationship as shown in (11a), and the possessor nominal appears in the possessum noun phrase in their active counterparts, as in (11b). Note that we cannot have the direct passive with the possessum subject in (11c).

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[4] Many studies have been done to account for the relationships observed between the first nominal and the second nominal (Kuno 1973a, Amano 1990, Kikuchi 1990, Noda 1996, Sugimoto 1995, Nishiyama 2003, and a lot more). Kuno (1973a) claims that there should be an "aboutness relationship" between the two nominals in these double subject constructions, for example, a part-whole relationship or a kinship relationship.

(11) a. watasi-wa   Ken-ni   te-o   tatak-are-ta.
       1.SG-TOP   Ken-DAT hand-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST
       'I was hit on the hands by Ken.'
     b. Ken-ga   watasi-no   te-o   tata-ita.
       Ken-NOM   1.SG-GEN   hand-ACC   hit-PAST
       'I was hit on the hands by Ken.'
     c. *watasi-no   te-wa   Ken-ni   tatak-are-ta.
        1.SG-GEN   hand-TOP   Ken-DAT   hit-PASS-PAST
        'My hands were hit on by Ken.'

Since the possessor nominal appears externally from the possessum noun phrase and behaves as the subject in the possessor passive sentence, the possessor passive can be taken as the "external possessor construction" (Shibatani (1994) calls it "possessor raising" without derivational operations). The structure of the possessor passive is summarized in (12a), in which the underlined NPs hold a possessive relationship: the NP2 is the possessor and the NP3 is the possessum. If the possessor NP is expressed internally as a modifier to the possessum NP, the structure will be (12b), which is a direct passive; (12c) is the active counterpart, in which the possessor NP appears in the possessum NP.

(12) a. Possessor passive: <u>NP2</u>-NOM   NP1-DAT/-*niyotte* 'for' <u>NP3</u>-ACC   V-PASS
     b. Direct passive: [NP2-GEN   NP3]- NOM   NP1-DAT/-*niyotte* 'for' V-PASS
     c. Active: NP1-NOM   <u>[NP2-GEN   NP3]-ACC</u>   V

5.2.2. External possessor constructions and their internal possessor counterparts

When we examine these constructions with the assumption that they are all external possessor constructions, some issues arise. One of them is the existence of internal possessor counterparts: some of the external possessor constructions have internal possessor counterparts, but some do not. The double subject constructions, for example, allow a genitive alternation in the first nominal, as observed in (13b), in which the possessor noun phrase appears within the possessum noun phrase, i.e. they have the internal possessor counterparts.

(13) a. watasi-wa   te-ga   ookii.
       1.SG-TOP   hand-NOM   large
       'My hands are large.'
     b. watasi-no   te-wa   ookii.
       1.SG-GEN   hand-TOP   large
       'My hands are large.'

However, not all double nominative constructions expressing physiological states allow a genitive case

marking on the possessor, as in (14b)[5], though the two nominals hold a possessive relationship just like the double subject constructions do in (13b).

(14) a. watasi-wa te-ga kayui.
   1.SG-TOP hand-NOM itchy
   'My hands are itchy.'
  b. *watasi-no te-wa kayui.
   1.SG-GEN hand-TOP itchy
   'My hands are itchy.'

The question of what causes these differences concerning the existence of internal possessor counterparts cannot be explained merely by examining the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessum, since (13) expresses exactly the same relation as (14), despite their different syntactic behaviors. It cannot be explained by looking at their predicates in isolation either, since the same predicate allows the alternation in (15) but not in (14b). How, then, can we explain them?

(15) watasi-no te-ga kayui (koto)
  1.SG-GEN hand-NOM itchy thing
  '(that) my hands are itchy'

Some possessor passives also allow internal possessor counterparts, in which the possessor appears in the possessum noun phrase, which means they are expressed as the direct passives. Some, however, do not. Look at the differences observed in (16) and (17). The possessor passives (16a) and (17a) are acceptable, though the internal possessor counterpart is not acceptable in (16b) but more acceptable in (17b).

(16) a. Ken-wa Hanako-ni te-o tatak-are-ta.
   Ken-TOP Hanako-DAT hand-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
   'Ken was hit on the hand by Hanako.'
  b. *Ken-no te-wa Hanako-ni tatak-are-ta.
   Ken-GEN hand-TOP Hanako-DAT hit-PASS-PAST

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[5] Even within double subject constructions that express possessive relationships, some distinct types exist. Takahashi (1975) distinguishes second nominals into two types: *sokumen go* (the word that expresses some aspects of the possessor) and *bubun go* (the word that expresses some parts of the possessor). The former expresses which aspect of the property the predicate describes, and the latter describes the parts of the possessor and works as the secondary element to make a predicate unit. The following sentences exemplify each type.
 (i) a. Kare-wa syokugyoo-ga untensyu-da.
   3.SG.M-TOP job-NOM driver-COP
   'His job is a driver.'
  b. zoo-wa hana-ga nagai.
   elephant-TOP nose-NOM long
   'The nose of the elephant is long.'
Sawada (2003) proposes cognitive explanations for these double subject constructions.

'Ken's hands were hit by Hanako.'

(17) a. Ken-wa   Hanako-ni   tegami-o   home-rare-ta.
        Ken-TOP Hanako-DAT letter-ACC   praise-PASS-PAST
        'Ken had his letter praised by Hanako.'

     b. ?Ken-no   tegami-wa   Hanako-ni   home-rare-ta.
         Ken-GEN   letter-TOP   Hanako-DAT   praise-PASS-PAST
        'Ken's letter was praised by Hanako.'

(17b) is also problematic in another way, since it is acceptable in spite of it. (16b) also violates one semantic restriction observed in the passive, which is suggested by Inoue (1976). The restriction is that the subjects of passive sentences in modern Japanese should be *uzyoosya* 'emotive entity' when the agent is marked by dative case (see also Kinsui 1991). This is a relatively strict constraint, though (17b) is the exception, in which an inanimate nominal appears as subject, though the agent is marked by the dative.

It seems that whether they allow internal possessor counterparts, i.e. the direct passive counterparts, or not depends on the possessive relationship[6] held between the possessor and the possessum nominals. If the relation is inalienable[7], the possessor passive tends to lack the internal possessor counterpart, while the internal possessor counterpart is rather acceptable if it is alienable. For example, in the possessor passive expressing inalienable possessions (18a) and (19a), the direct passive counterparts are not acceptable, as shown in (18b) and (19b). In the possessor passive expressing an alienable possession, however, the internal possessor counterpart is naturally allowed, as shown in (20).

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[6] "Inalienability" is suggested to be one of the important notions concerning possessive relations, because alienability affects various syntactic phenomena. For example, the sentences in (i) and (ii) show that syntactic differences arise depending on the (in)alienability of the possessum in attributive possessives and external possessor constructions respectively. In German, the external possessor construction can be used when the possessum is inalienably possessed by the possessor, as in (i). In English, as shown in (ii), the external possessor is not allowed when the possessor is alienable, as in (iic).

(i) German   (Heine 1997:17)
    a. Ich   wasche   mein   Auto.
       I   wash   my   car
       'I wash my car.'
    b. Ich   wasche   mir   die   Hände.
       I   wash   to.me   the   hands
       'I wash my hands.'
(ii) English
    a. I hit John on the head.
    b. I hit John's head.
    c. *I hit John on the desk.
    d. I hit John's desk.
Heine (1997:10) shows that the domain of inalienable possession tends to include kinship roles, body parts, relational spatial concepts, parts of other items, physical and mental states, and nominalization where the 'possessee' is a verbal noun (e.g. his singing).
[6]. The question is whether the phenomena can be captured by the notion of inalienability or not. If they can, the boundary between the possessor passive and other passives should be made clear.
[7] We take body parts as prototypical examples of inalienable possession, in that they cannot be separated from the possessor physically.

(18) a. Ken-ga   Ziroo-ni te-o   mitume-rare-ta.
         Ken-NOM   Jiro-DAT hand-AC stare-PASS-PAST
         'Ken's hands were stared at by Jiro.'
    b. ??Ken-no   te-ga   Ziroo-{ni/niyotte}   mitume-rare-ta.
         Ken-GEN   hand-NOM   Jiro-DAT/by   stare-PASS-PAST
         'Ken's hands were stared at by Jiro.'
(19) a. Ken-ga   Ziroo-ni seikaku-o   home-rare-ta.
         Ken-NOM   Jiro-DAT personality-ACC   praise-PASS-PAST
         'Ken's personality was praised by Jiro.'
    b. ??Ken-no   seikaku-ga   Ziroo-{ni/niyotte}   home-rare-ta.
         Ken-GEN   personality-NOM   Jiro-DAT/by   praise-PASS-PAST
         'Ken's personality was praised by Jiro.'
(20) a. Ken-ga   dorobo-ni kuroma-o   nusum-are-ta.
         Ken-NOM   thief-DAT car-ACC   steal-PASS-PAST
         'Ken had his car stolen by a thief.'
    b. Ken-no   kuruma-ga   dorobo-ni/-niyotte nusum-are-ta.
         Ken-GEN   car-NOM   thief-DAT/-by   steal-PASS-PAST
         'Ken's car was stolen by a thief.'

Inalienability is not enough to characterize the phenomena, however, because the direct passive counterpart is allowed regardless of its inalienability when it describes a property (cf. Section 3.6). For example, both the possessor passive and the direct passive are allowed, though the nominals hold an inalienable possession relationship in (21); it should be noted that the sentence describes a property of the player, *Tanaka*.

(21) a. Tanaka-sensyu-wa   hitobito-ni   asi-o   hyoka-s-are-teiru.
         Tanaka-player-TOP   people-DAT   foot-ACC evaluate-do-PASS-PROG
         'Player Tanaka's feet are evaluated by people.'
    b. Tanaka-sensyu-no   asi-wa   hitobito-ni   hyoka-s-are-teiru.
         Tanaka-player-GEN foot-TOP people-DAT   evaluate-do-PASS-PROG
         'Player Tanaka's feet are evaluated by people.'

The sentences in (18) and (19), which do not allow direct passive counterparts, all describe events but not properties. This suggests that the semantic type of the sentence may also play an important role in the choice of construction type, but this is yet to be revealed.

5.2.3. The possessor passive

Next issue concerns the classification of the possessor passive. Just as the non-canonical constructions expressing physiological states cannot be subcategorized as one of the major types of non-canonical constructions—the dative subject construction or the double nominative construction—the

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possessor passive is not easily classified as one type of passive, either direct or indirect.

Before entering discussion, we should briefly review previous studies of the possessor passive. It is well known that Japanese has both direct and indirect passives; indirect passives differ from direct passives in that the former have an extra participant as subject that is not required by the predicate. The sentence in (22b) is an indirect passive that has an extra participant, *Ken*, as subject, which does not exist in its active counterpart (22a). In other words, the indirect passive introduces an extra argument not present in the active counterpart.

(22) a. ame-ga   hut-ta.
      rain-NOM   fall-PAST
      'It rained.'
   b. Ken-wa   ame-ni   hur-are-ta.
      Ken-TOP   rain-DAT fall-PASS-PAST
      'It rained on Ken.'/'Ken was rained on.'
   c. *Ken-wa   hur-are-ta.
      Ken-TOP   fall-PASS-PAST
      'It was fallen on Ken.'

More interestingly, the indirect passive expresses an adversative meaning. This is why it is sometimes called "*meiwaku ukemi* (adversative passive)" in Japanese linguistics. Note that in the indirect passive (22b) the arguments required by the predicate cannot be omitted, as shown in (22c), because the relationship between the event described by the predicate and the adversative subject cannot be established without the logical subject of the predicate. The direct passive, on the other hand, does not express an adversative meaning, nor does it require extra participants, as shown in (23b); moreover the agent can be deleted, as shown in (23b).

(23) a. Mari-wa   Ken-o   home-ta.
      Mari-TOP   Ken-ACC   praise-PAST
      'Mari praised Ken.'
   b. Ken-wa   (Mari-ni)   home-rare-ta.
      Ken-TOP Mari-DAT   praise-PASS-PAST
      'Ken was applauded by Mari.'

Some studies distinguish the possessor passive from other kinds of passives, calling *motinusi-no ukemi* "a possessor passive" (Suzuki 1972, Nitta 1997) or a *syoyuu-ukemi* "possessive passive" (Moriyama 1988). An example is shown in (24b) with its active counterpart (24a).

(24) a. Mari-wa   <u>Ken-no</u>   atama-o   tatai-ta.
      Mari-TOP   Ken-GEN   head-ACC   hit-PAST
      'Mari hit Ken's head.'

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b. Ken-wa   Mari-ni   atama-o   tatak-are-ta.
   Ken-TOP   Mari-DAT   head-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST
   'Ken was hit on the head by Mari.'

The possessor passive adds an extra argument, the possessor, to the active counterpart, just like the indirect passive does, but it does not express any adversative meaning. For instance, in (24b), the possessor *Ken*, which is marked with genitive case and modifies the possessum nominal in the active counterpart (24a), appears externally from the possessum noun phrase and is marked with nominative case, but it does not show any adversative meaning.

Because the possessor passive shows these characteristics, there are three views on it. The first view, taken by Nitta (1991, 1997), suggests that the possessor passive forms one independent class because of its different behaviors. Moriyama (1988) further distinguishes possessor passives from *bubun ukemi* 'part passive' depending on whether the possessum is alienable or not. He also differentiates them from indirect and direct passives, because they do not always have an adversative meaning. The second view considers it to be one of the indirect passives (Inoue (1976) and Teramura (1982), for example), because they add an extra participant as indirect passives do. The third view, however, considers the possessor passive to be one type of the direct passive, as in Shibatani (2000b) and Masuoka (2000). We will also adopt this theory, because the possessor passive does not express any adversative meaning except for the one implied by the meaning of the verb. This is the same as the direct passives, as shown in (25), in which the adversative meaning depends on the meaning of the predicate.

(25) a. [Ken-ga   [Hanako-ni   atama-o   nagur-are-ta]].   (Shibatani 2000b:185)
        Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   head-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was hit on the head by Hanako.'
     b. [Ken-ga   [Hanako-ni   atama-o   nade-rare-ta]].
        Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   head-ACC   pat-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was patted on the head by Hanako.'
     c. [Ken-ga   [Hanako-ni   kami-no-ke-o kir-are-ta]].
        Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   hair-ACC   cut-PASS-PAST
        'Ken had his hair cut by Hanako.'
     d. [Ken-ga   [Hanako-ni   koyubi-o   name-rare-ta]].
        Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   pinkie-ACC   lick-PASS-PAST
        'Ken had his pinkie licked by Hanako.'

Moreover, some of the possessor passives, but not all of them (we will discuss later in Section 5.3 in more detail), are similar to direct passives concerning reflexive binding, since only the possessor subject can be the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, *zibun* 'self,' as shown in (26). The indirect passive (26a) has two possible antecedents: the affectee and the patient of the propositional event. On the other hand, the direct

passive (26b) and the possessor passive (26c) have only one, the passive subject.

(26) a. indirect passive

Ken$_i$-wa Hanako$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de sin-are-ta.
Ken-TOP Hanako-DAT self-GEN room-LOC die-PASS-PAST
'Ken was adcversely affected by Hanako's dying in his room.'

b. direct passive

Ken$_i$-wa Hanako$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de nagur-are-ta.
Ken-TOP Hanako-DAT self-GEN room-LOC hit-PASS-PAST
'Ken was hit by Hanako in his room.'

c. possessor passive

Ken$_i$-wa Hanako$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de atama$_i$-o nagur-are-ta.
Ken-TOP Hanako-DAT self-GEN room-LOC head-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
'Ken was hit on the head by Hanako in his room.'

We will come back to this issue in Section 5.3. in order to clarify how the possessor passive is captured in relation to the direct and indirect passives.

These two issues are yet to be answered, and we will suggest that these are caused by the properties shared by the external possessor constructions. We will claim that the properties and restrictions shared by the external possessor constructions explain what makes their behavior distinct from other related constructions.

5.3. Discussion

As we showed in Section 5.2.2, not all the external possessor constructions allow internal possessor counterparts, and this cannot be explained by examining the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessum or the meanings of the predicates involved.

We will suggest that there is the following restriction imposed on the external possessor construction:

(27) When the effect is directly experienced by the possessor through the possessum, the possessor is considered to be an experiencer and appears as the subject, external to the possessum noun phrase.

The possessor should appear external to the possessum noun phrase, i.e., as the external possessor construction, when the sentence expresses an event in which the possessor is involved and is affected through its possessum, such as its body part, i.e., in which the possessor is considered as the experiencer. Then the experiencer, which is higher than the possessor in the thematic hierarchy, must be expressed as the subject, externally to the possessum noun phrase. We will examine this restriction in this section.

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5.3.1. The semantic type of the sentences

The restriction shown in (27) seems to exist in the double nominative and double subject constructions. The possessor nominal in (28) is considered to be the experiencer of the physiological state, and the possessor must appear as the subject external to the possessum nominal, as shown in (28a). (28b) shows that the possessor cannot appear internally. On the other hand, the possessor nominal in (29) is not understood to be an experiencer, and so both variants are acceptable, though the possessive relationship holding between the nominals is the same as the one in (28).

(28) a. Ken-ga   atama-ga   {itai/kayui}-yooda   (Double nominative construction)
      Ken-NOM   head-NOM   painful/itchy-seem
      'Ken seems to have a headache/itchy head.'
    b. ??Ken-no   atama-ga   {itai/kayui}-yooda
      Ken-GEN   head-NOM   painful/itchy-seem
      'Ken's head seems to be aching/itching.'
(29) a. Ken-ga   atama-ga   ookii/marui.   (Double subject construction)
      Ken-NOM   head-NOM   big/round
      'Ken has a big/round head.'
    b. Ken-no   atama-ga   ookii/marui.
      Ken-GEN head-NOM   big/round.
      'Ken's head is big/round.'

It should be noted that the semantic types of the sentences are also different: the sentences in (28) describe physiological states, i.e. event descriptions, while those in (29) describe properties, i.e. property descriptions. It will be demonstrated that the semantic type of the constructions also plays an important role, because a sentence describing properties does not usually mention the affectedness of the participant.

Even though the sentence allows both variants, only the external possessor construction expresses events as being experienced by the possessor, or the experiencer. (30b) and (31b) allow internal possessor counterparts. However, these internal possessor counterparts are only interpreted as describing the properties of *te* 'hand,' while the external possessor constructions can express physiological states experienced by the possessor, as shown in (31a).

(30) a. watasi-wa   te-ga   tumetai.   (Property/physiological state)
      1.SG-TOP   hands-NOM   cold
      'My hands are cold.'/'My hands feel cold.'
    b. watasi-no   te-wa   tumetai.   (Property/*physiological state)
      1.SG-GEN   hands-TOP   cold
      'My hands are cold.'

(31) a. Ken-wa   te-ga   tumetai.   (Property/*physiological state)
       Ken-TOP hands-NOM   cold
       'Ken's hands are cold.'
     b. Ken-no   te-wa   tumetai.   (Property/*physiological state)
       Ken-GEN   hands-TOP   cold
       'Ken's hands are cold.'

The reason why the physiological state description is not acceptable in (31a) is due to a person restriction observed in Japanese: only the first person can be the subject of an adjectival sentence that expresses psychological and physiological states in present tense[8]. Since (31a) takes a third person subject, it only allows a property reading.

It should be noted that both variants are usually allowed in the case of alienable possessions, since they do not always describe physiological or psychological states experienced by the possessor. (32b) and (33a-b) show that they allow internal possessor counterparts that describe properties.

(32) a. Ken-ga   kutu-ga   tumetai   (koto)
       Ken-NOM   shoes-NOM   cold   thing
       '(that) Ken feels cold in the shoes'
     b. Ken-no   kutu-ga   tumetai   (koto)
       Ken-GEN shoes-NOM   cold   thing
       '(that) Ken's shoes are cold'
(33) a. Ken-ga   e-ga   subarasii   (koto)
       Ken-NOM   picture-NOM   great   thing
       '(lit.) (that) Ken's pictures are great'
     b. Ken-no   e-ga   subarasii   (koto)
       Ken-GEN picture-NOM   great   thing
       '(that) Ken's pictures are great'

Note that (32a), however, can be interpreted as expressing a physiological state only when *Ken* is understood to be wearing the shoes, which means that the two nominals show inalienable possession and not alienable possession.

The same phenomenon is also observed in double subject constructions with verbal predicates. The external possessor constructions in (34a) and (35a) express the possessors as the experiencer of psychological or physiological states, while the internal possessor counterparts in (34b) and (35b) describe the events objectively and not as the possessor's subjective experience.

(34) a. Ken-ga   nodo-ga   tumat-ta   (koto)
        Ken-NOM   throat-NOM   stuck-PAST   thing
        '(that) Ken's throat got stuck'

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[8] See Chapter 3, and also Kinsui (1989).

b. #Ken-no nodo-ga tumat-ta (koto)
Ken-GEN throat-NOM stuck-PAST thing
'(that) Ken's throat was got stuck'

(35) a. Ken-ga mune-ga itan-da (koto)
Ken-NOM chest-NOM ache-PAST thing
'(that) Ken had an ache in his chest'

b. #Ken-no mune-ga itan-da (koto)
Ken-GEN chest-NOM ache-PAST thing
'(that) Ken's chest ached'

Moreover, when a possessor is inanimate, this difference is not observed, because an inanimate entity cannot experience psychological or physiological states. This also supports our claim. When psychological and physiological predicates occur with inanimate subjects, they are only interpreted as property descriptions, as shown in (36).

(36) a. kuruma-wa tumetai.   (property/*physiological state)
car-TOP cold
'Cars are cold.'

b. toge-wa itai.   (property/*psychological state)
thorn-TOP painful
'Thorns are painful.'

The same is true for the possessor passive: both the possessor passive and its internal possessor counterpart, i.e., the direct passive, are available when the possessor is inanimate, since the inanimate possessor cannot be the experiencer. (37a) and (38a) are possessor passives with inanimate possessors, and their direct passive counterparts (37b) and (38b) are acceptable, despite holding an inalienable possession relationship.

(37) a. konpyuutaa-ga wirusu-ni sisutemu-o kowas-are-ta.
computer-NOM virus-DAT system-ACC break-PASS-PAST
'The computer's system was broken by a virus.'

b. konpyuutaa-no sisutemu-ga wirusu-ni kowas-are-ta.
computer-GEN system-NOM virus-DAT break-PASS-PAST
'The system of the computer was broken by a virus.'

(38) a. suika-wa kokku-ni tane-o torinozok-are-tei-ta.
watermelon-TOP cook-DAT seeds-ACC get.rid.of-PASS-PROG-PAST
'The watermelon had its seeds removed by a cook.'

b. suika-no tane-wa kokku-ni torinozok-are-tei-ta.
watermelon-GEN seeds-TOP cook-DAT get.rid.of-PASS-PROG-PAST
'The seeds of the watermelon were removed by a cook.'

However, when the possessor is animate and must be considered an experiencer that is affected on the

possessum, the internal possessor counterparts are not acceptable, as shown in (39).

(39) a. Ken-wa inu-ni te-o kam-are-ta.
Ken-TOP dog-DAT hand-ACC bite-PASS-PAST
'Ken was bitten on the hand by a dog.'
b. ??Ken-no te-wa inu-ni kam-are-ta.
Ken-GEN hand-TOP dog-DAT bite-PASS-PAST
'Ken's hand was bitten by a dog.'

It shows that the affectedness on the possessor triggers the external possessor constructions. When the sentence describes an event in which the possessor must get affected and experiences the event, it should take the form of an external possessor construction, not the internal possessor construction, as in (28) and (39). Their possession relationship is crucial here; for example, when an inalienable possessum, such as a body part, gets affected in the events, the possessor must be interpreted as experiencing the effect, i.e. as an experiencer.

5.3.2. Reflexive binding

We will examine reflexive bindings in the possessor passive in this section and claim that the possessor is not necessarily interpreted as an experiencer when the alienable possessum gets affected, i.e., the interpretation is optional, while it must be the experiencer when an inalienable possessum that cannot exist independently from the possessor, such as a body part, is affected.

As we have pointed out in Section 5.2, the possessor passive behaves differently from the direct and indirect passives. In some aspects, it is similar to the direct passive, and in other cases, it is similar to the indirect passive. Reflexive binding shows us differences observed among the possessor passives. Both (40) and (41) are thought to be the possessor passive, but they show different behaviors in reflexive binding: only one argument can be the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun in (40), but there are two possible antecedents in (41).

(40) a. Ken_i-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/*j}$-no heya-de $atama_i$-o tatak-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Hanako-DAT oneself-GEN room-LOC head-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
'Ken was hit on the head by Hanako in his room.'
b. Ken_i-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/*j}$-no heya-de kao_i-o home-rare-ta.
Ken-NOM Hanako-DAT oneself-GEN room-LOC face-ACC praise-PASS-PAST
'Ken's face was praised by Hanako in his room.'
(41) a. Ken_i-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/j}$-no heya-ni $haha_i$-o yob-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Hanako-DAT oneself-GEN room-LOC mother-ACC call-PASS-PAST
'Ken's mother was called to his/her room by Hanako.'

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b. Ken$_i$-ga　　Hanako$_j$-ni　zibun$_{i/j}$-no　heya-de　　tegami$_i$-o　yom-are-ta.
　Ken-NOM　　Hanako-DAT　onself-GEN　room-LOC　letter-ACC　read-PASS-PAST
　'Ken had read his letter in his/her room by Hanako.'

Shibatani (2000b) claims that the bindability of reflexives in the possessor passives depends on whether or not the event caused by the agent and the event cognized by the subject is independent. In the case of possessor passives with inalienable possession, especially those expressing body part relation, there is one possible antecedent, as only the subject, *Ken*, can be the antecedent of *zibun* 'oneself' in (40). In the case of alienable possession, such as in a kinship relationship[9], two possible antecedents are available, as shown in (41). The passive sentence can be interpreted as describing two events, since the possessor can exist physically independent from the possessum, and it is possible that only the possessum is involved in the event. The event caused by the agent can be considered one independent event, and another event is the one in which the possessor gets affected by the event caused by the agent. The fact that the sentence can describes two independent events causes ambiguous interpretations of the antecedents in reflexive binding in (41). This conceptualization is similar to the one for indirect passives, because two independent events exist.

Shibatani's proposal relates to the restriction that we suggested. For example, in a sentence expressing inalienable possession such as (40), especially with body parts, the possessor is involved in the event in which the possessum gets affected, which means that the sentence expresses only one event. Then only the subject of the passive, which is the possessor, can be the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, and it has a syntactically similar structure to the direct passive that describes one event and also takes the subject as sole antecedent. Since the possessor is recognized as the experiencer of the effect through the inalienable possessum, as in (40), it must appear external to the possussum noun phrase, lacking the internal possessor counterparts, as shown in (42).

(42) a. ??Ken-no　　atama-wa　　Hanako-ni　　tatak-are-ta.
　　　Ken-GEN　head-TOP　　Hanako-DAT　hit-PASS-PAST
　　　'Ken's head was hit by Hanako.'
　b. ??Ken-no　　kao-wa　Hanako-ni　　home-rare-ta.
　　　Ken-GEN　face-TOP　Hanako-DAT　praise-PASS-PAST
　　　'Ken's face was praised by Hanako.'

Moreover, the possessor passives with alienable possession show stronger adversative meaning than

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[9] 'Kinship' differs from other types of inalienable possession in one aspect. Though the kinship itself is inalienable, the person who holds the relationship can exist independently from the possessor, which is important for conceptualizing the event as independent.

the ones with inalienable possession, as shown in (42) and (43).

(43) a. Ken$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/j}$-noheya-de   Ziroo-no atama-o   tatak-are-ta.
     Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   self-GEN room-LOC   Jiro-GEN head-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST
     '(lit.) Ken experienced that Jiro's head was hit by Hanako in his/her room.'
    b. Ken$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de   Ziroo-no kao-o   home-rare-ta.
     Ken-NOM Hanako-DAT self-GEN   room-LOC   Jiro-GEN face-ACC praise-.PASS-PAST
     '(lit.) Ken experienced that Jiro's face was praised by Hanako in his/her room.'

(44) a. Ken$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-ni   Ziroo-no haha-o   yob-are-ta.
     Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT self-GEN room-LOC   Jiro-GEN mother-ACC   call-PASS-PAST
     '(lit.) Ken experienced that Jiro's mother was called by Hanako in his/her room.'
    b. Ken$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de   Ziroo-no tegami-o   yom-are-ta.
     Ken-NOM Hanako-DAT self-GEN   room-LOC   Jiro-GEN letter-ACC   read-PASS-PAST
     '(lit.) Ken experienced that Jiro's letter was read by Hanako in his/her room.'

This supports Shibarani's analysis, since the former takes a conceptualization similar to the indirect passive. The degree of the adversative meaning will be made clear when we compare the possessor passives with the indirect passive counterparts that must show adversative meanings. We can feel that the indirect passives in (43) express adversative meanings more strongly than the possessor passive counterparts with inalienable possession in (40), but the differences in the adversative meanings between the indirect passives in (44) and the possessor passive counterparts with alienable possession in (41) are not so clear. It follows that we conceptualize that the events in which two nominal with alienable possession relationship are involved are possibly two independent events, but the events in which two nominals with inalienable possession relationship can be considered to be one event. This supports our claim, since it assumes that the experiencer is involved in the event in which the possessum is affected.

5.3.3. Covert affected participant

We have shown that the restriction imposed on external possessor constructions is that the possessor must appear externally as the subject when it is considered to be an experiencer. This section will suggest that the restriction is plausible in our thematic hierarchy, in which the experiencer is higher than the possessor. We will demonstrate that the possessor is lower than the experiencer in the hierarchy by showing that the possessor is more likely to be backgrounded than the experiencer. The so-called "passive with a covert affected participant" (Masuoka 1987, 2000) will be examined here as well.

There are passive sentences that are acceptable though they violate the semantic restriction that an inanimate entity cannot be the subject in passive sentences when an animate one appears as a dative-marked agent. Masuoka (1987, 2000) illustrates such sentences, as shown in (45).

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(45) taisetuna   okane-ga   doroboo-ni   nusum-are-ta.   (Masuoka 2000:63)
important/precious   money-NOM thief-DAT   steal-PASS-PAST
'The precious money was stolen by a thief.'

He claims that (45) is acceptable, since we can easily imagine the existence of a potential affectee, and he calls it a "passive with a covert affected participant." He regards the following passive (46) as a case in which a potential affectee appears overtly.

(46) Suzuki-san-wa   doroboo-ni taisetuna okane-o   nusum-are-ta.   (Masuoka 2000:63)
Suzuki-Mr(s).-TOP thief-DAT   important money-ACC   steal-PASS-PAST.
'Mr(s). Suzuki had his important money stolen by a thief.'

However, one problem with his analysis is that the sentence with an overt affectee corresponding to (45) should be (47), since (45) is a direct passive. (46) is an indirect passive with a different structure from (45), while (47) is the same direct passive.

(47) Suzuki-san-no   taisetuna   okane-ga   doroboo-ni   nusum-are-ta.
Suzuki- Mr(s).-GEN   important   money-NOM thief-DAT   steal-PASS-PAST.
'Mr. Suzuki's important money was stolen by a thief.'

In Amano's (2001) analysis, covert affected participants can be assumed to exist when the event describes a psychological change of state. The nominative noun phrase can provide a clue to the existence of the affectee, since it is usually an inalienable body part or eventive noun. She claims that the passive sentence is more acceptable in such a case, even though it has an inanimate subject and an animate noun in the dative, as shown in (48)[10].

(48) ??osiri-ga siranai   otoko-ni   sawar-are-ta.   (Amano 2001:5)
hip-NOM unknown   man-DAT   touch-PASS-PAST
'The hip was touched by an unknown man.'
(49) *mizutamari-no doromizu-ga   kodomo-ni   hane-rare-ta.
puddle-GEN   muddy water-NOM child-DAT   splash-PASS-PAST
'The water in the puddle was splashed by children.'

She states that (48) is more acceptable than (49), though neither of them sounds entirely natural. We agree with her on the point that the presence of a body part helPASTo assume the possessor, but the reason is different.

We will suggest that the passive with a covert affected participant represents one of the direct passives in which the possessor nominal is backgrounded. Our proposed suggestion expects that the

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[10] * and ?? have been added by the author following the points shown by Amano (2001).

sentence will not be acceptable if the covert possessor is considered to be the experiencer that gets affected in the event, because the experiencer is more difficult to background than the possessor. In fact, (48) expresses the events in which the possessor experiences the direct affect through the inalienable possessum, so the direct passive is not allowed as in (50).

(50) ??Tanaka-san-no   osiri-ga siranai   otoko-ni   sawar-are-ta.
       Tanaka- Mr(s).-GEN   hip-NOM unknown   man-DAT   touch.PASS.PAST.
       'Ms.Tanaka's hip is touched by an unknown man.'

Since the overt counterpart (50) is also unacceptable, the covert one (48) is, too. This is supported by the fact that a passive with a covert affected participant is more acceptable than (48), when the possessor is not the experiencer. The direct passive (51a) is acceptable, since the possessum is alienable and the possessor does not always get affected by the event happening to the possessum. In addition, the one with a covert affected participant is also acceptable, as shown in (51b). Amano's analysis does not explain the difference between (48) and (51b).

(51) a. Tanaka-san-no   taisetuna hei-ga   kodomo-tati-ni   ker-are-ta.
         Tanaka- Mr(s).-GEN   important wall-NOM   child-PL-DAT   kick-PASS-PAST
         'Tanaka's important wall was kicked by children.'
     b. taisetuna   hei-ga   kodomo-tati-ni   ker-are-ta.
         important   wall-NOM   child-PL-DAT   kick-PASS-PAST
         'The important wall was kicked by children.'

One more support for the existence of the covert possessor is that passive sentences with a topicalized possessum nominal are less acceptable, as seen in (52), though the ones without a topic marker are acceptable as shown in (45) and (51b)[11].

(52) a. ??taisetuna   okane-wa   doroboo-ni   nusum-are-ta.
           important   money-TOP   thief-DAT   steel-PASS-PAST
           'The important money was stolen by a thief.'
     b. *osiri-wa siranai   otoko-ni   sawar-are-ta.
        hip-TOP unknown   man-DAT touch-PASS-PAST
        'The hip was touched by an unknown man.'
     c. * mizutamari-no   doromizu-wa   kodomo-ni   haner-are-ta.
        puddle-GEN   muddy water-TOP   child-DAT   splash-PASS-PAST
        'The muddy puddle water was splashed by children.'

The reason for these differences is that the possessor covertly exists as the topic outside of the sentence. Therefore, if the sentence has an overt topic, the covert possessor cannot be interpreted as the hidden topic.

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[11] It is acceptable with a contrastive meaning, such as "the head is rather painful/big."

The existence of the covert possessor as a topic is supported by the meaning of the *-wa* marked nominal. Kuno (1973b) points out that when there are two nominals marked by *-wa*, the second one must have a contrastive meaning in Japanese, as in (53).

(53) a. Ken-wa   taisetuna   okane-wa   doroboo-ni   nusum-are-ta.
       Ken-TOP important   money-TOP   thief-DAT   steal-PASS-PAST
       'Ken had his important money stolen by a thief (but, other things were safe.)'
    b. Ken-wa asi-wa   itai.
       Ken-TOP foot-TOP painful
       'Ken has a pain in his foot (, but not in other places.)'

The fact that the sentences in (52) can be acceptable with contrastive meanings though there is one *-wa* marked nominal supports the existence of the covert topic, just like (53).

We have demonstrated that the restriction suggested in (26) explains the behaviors of the varieties of external possessor constructions. The possessor must be the subject external to the possessum nominal when it is interpreted as an experiencer that gets affected through its possessum. The semantic type of the sentence and the possession relation are related to the restriction, since they reflect the different conceptualizations of the event.

5.4. The non-canonical construction of physiological states and conclusion

We have argued that an external possessor is recognized as an experiencer. Now we come back to the issue concerning the case frames of the non-canonical constructions expressing physiological state. We will claim that the double nominative case frame appears when the construction is considered an external possessor construction. The sentences in (54) are external possessor constructions, while those in (55) are not.

(54) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   me-ga   kayui   (koto)
       Ken-NOM/-DAT   eyes-NOM   itchy   thing
       '(That) Ken's eyes are itchy.'
    b. Ken-ga/*-ni   atama-ga   itai   (koto)
       Ken-NOM/-DAT   head-NOM   painful   thing
       '(That) Ken's eyes are itchy.'
(55) a. Ken-ga/-ni   keito-no   seetaa-ga   kayui   (koto)
       Ken-NOM/-DAT   wool-GEN   sweater-NOM itchy   thing
       '(that) woolen sweater is itchy for Ken.'
    b. Ken-ga/-ni   konotoge-ga   itai   (koto)
       Ken-NOM/-DAT   this thorn-NOM   painful   thing
       '(that) this thorn is painful for Ken.'

Our proposal is as follows: the physiological predicates are basically non-canonical predicates that take dative subjects, but they are external possessor constructions at the same time, when the experiencer gets affected through its possessum as in (54). The external possessor constructions force the possessor to appear as the subject, especially in the nominative case as in other external possessor constructions, such as the possessor passives and double subject constructions. Then the case frame must be a double nominative case. Whether the sentence is considered the external possessor or not depends on the reference of the theme nominal. If the nominal can be interpreted as a stimulus, which is not a possessum of the experiencer nominal, the dative case is acceptable. (56a) takes an inalienable possessum as the second argument, and it takes a double nominative case frame. (56b) takes a stimulus, or a cause, and it allows a dative subject.

(56) a. watasi-{wa/*ni-wa}   okuba-ga   itai   (koto) .
         1.SG-TOP/-DAT-TOP   molar   painful   thing
         '(that) I have a pain in my molar.'
     b. watasi-{wa/?ni-wa}   oku-no   musiba-ga   itai   (koto)
         1.SG-TOP/-DAT-TOP   back-GEN   decayed.tooth-NOM   painful   thing
         '(that) I have a pain in my decayed tooth in the back (of my mouth).'

More interestingly, these predicates are also used intransitively when they describe properties of the theme nominals, but the intransitive uses are allowed only when they take stimulus subjects, as in (57a) and (58a), but not with body part subjects, as in (57b) and (58b).

(57) a. zutuu-wa   itai.
         headache-TOP   painful
         'Headaches are painful.'
     b. *atama-wa   itai.
         head-TOP   painful
         (My) head hurts.'
(58) a. mizumusi-wa   kayui
         athlete's.foot-TOP   itchy
         'Athlete's foot is itchy'
     b. *asi-wa   kayui.
         foot-TOP   itchy
         '(My) foot is itchy.'

With regard to the classification of the possessor passive, we can also suggest that the possessor nominal must appear as the subject because of the restriction imposed on the external possessor construction. When the possessor has to be seen as an experiencer, the possessor passive will come close to the direct passive, because the sentence expresses that both nominals are involved in the same event. The boundary of the obligatoriness of the possessor passive seems to be its physical inalienability. The possessor experiences

the affectedness directly when physically inalienable possessum such as the body part gets affected; therefore, it should be expressed by the external possessor construction, i.e., the possessor passive. We can assume two possible situations for physically alienable possessions: one is the situation in which the possessor experiences the affectedness indirectly, and another is the situation in which it does not experience it at all. Hence, the choice of construction depends on the conceptualization of the event; it is not necessarily expressed using the external possessor construction. We observed the same mechanism in the double subject and the double nominative constructions. It is important that the experienced entity is the experiencer, which has a higher thematic role than possessor in the thematic hierarchy suggested.

In this chapter we suggest the restriction imposed on the external possessor construction, which explains the differences observed among the external possessor constructions, including the double nominative and double subject constructions, and the possessor passive. The external possessor constructions express that the possessor is affected through the possessum. If the possessum is inalienable, such as a body part, the possessor must be get affected through it. This interpretation forces the affected possessor, i.e., the experiencer, to appear as the subject of the sentence, which is plausible for our thematic hierarchy. This approach has two advantages. This enables us to capture the phenomena that cannot be explained only by the possessive relationship between the two nominals or the semantic properties of the predicate; it also gives us a unified explanation for three different constructions.

Chapter 6. Typological study of non-canonical constructions —case studies—

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine non-canonical constructions in other languages. We have examined various non-canonical constructions observed in Japanese in the previous chapters, and now we will demonstrate the cross-linguistic applicability of our hypotheses. Though the target languages are limited in this study, we will show some case studies on them and suggest that our hypotheses also explain these phenomena. The scope and the properties of non-canonical constructions differ from language to language, but it will be shown that they reflect the same conceptualization.

Before examining non-canonical constructions in other languages, we should confirm the definition of non-canonical constructions and our hypotheses again. We defined non-canonical constructions as constructions in which the predicates require non-canonically marked subjects, including constructions in which the predicates require more than one canonically marked nominal. Our hypotheses are shown again in (1), and its predictions are shown in (2).

(1) Hypotheses for non-canonical constructions
   1. The semantic structure taken by non-canonical constructions is DOMAIN-THEME, and the specific thematic roles for the participants are determined by the states the sentences describe.
   2. The thematic hierarchy in Figure 6.1 shows the likelihood to appear as AGENT or DOMAIN. The lower the thematic role, the more likely to appear as a DOMAIN. (Case marking might change in parallel with the change of the semantic structure.)
   3. The grammatical relation is related to the thematic hierarchy. The higher the thematic role of the domain is, the more likely it behaves as the subject of the sentence, as shown in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1. Thematic hierarchy with other parameters

Thematic role:	AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]
Semantic structure:	AGENT→ ←DOMAIN
Grammatical relation:	Subject→

(2) Predictions arising from the hypotheses:
   1. If a participant with a higher thematic role can be captured as DOMAIN, one with a lower role should also be captured as DOMAIN. For example, if an experiencer is taken as DOMAIN in the language, a possessor should be taken as DOMAIN, but not vice-versa.
   2. If a participant with a lower thematic role behaves as subject, one with a higher thematic role also does.

We will demonstrate that these hypotheses are also valid to capture non-canonical constructions in other languages.

One of the biggest problems in explaining non-canonical constructions cross-linguistically is that their scopes and structures are different across languages. Though non-canonical constructions tend to have limited semantic types (see Chapter 2), the scopes or structures, such as the case frame, are different across languages. Moreover, various non-canonical case frames are observed cross-linguistically. (3)-(10) show some of these.

(3) NOM-NOM type
    Myoungsuk-ka   sonsen-i   tetta.
    Young-suk-NOM teacher-NOM become.PAST
    'Myounsook became a teacher.'

(4) DAT-NOM type
    a. na-eykey-nun ku iyaki-ka   sulphe-ta.   (Korean)
       I-DAT-TOP   the   story-NOM   sad-DEC
       'I am sad about the story.' or 'The story is sad for me.'
    b. le-John   kaava   ha   yad.   (Hebrew)
       DAT-John hurt   DF hand.NOM
       'John has a pain in his hand.'

(5) DAT-ACC
    le-John   hayu   et   ha   sfarim.   (Hebrew)
    DAT-John   were.PL ACCDF book.PL
    'John had the books.'

(6) GEN-NOM
    ama-r   baba   achen.   (Bengali: Onishi 2001)
    1.SG-GEN   father   be/have+PRES+2/3HON
    'I have a father. [lit. Father is to me.]'

(7) LOC-NOM type
    U Peti   est' mašina.   (Russian: Lizotte 1983)
    at Peter-GEN   exist car
    'Peter has a car.'

(8) DAT
    le-John   atsuv.   (Hebrew)
    DAT-John   sad
    'John is sad.'

(9) ACC
    Mich   hungert.   (German)
    1.SG.ACC hunger
    'I am hungry.'

(10) GEN
    Henner   var aknað.   (Icelandic: Zaenen et al.1990)
    her.GEN   was missed
    'She was missed.'

Some of previous studies have pointed out a few semantic properties of the non-canonical constructions, for example, stativity, non-volitionality, and uncontrollability (see Chapter 2); however, the crucial properties triggering the occurrence of non-canonical constructions seem to vary from language to language. All Japanese non-canonical constructions seem to have these three semantic properties, but the appearance construction in Japanese lacks stativity. One type of Korean non-canonical construction actually seems to express a controllable event, which we will examine later in this chapter). It is important to show a framework that can capture both varieties of non-canonical constructions and their different properties and unique characteristics in each language. These are two sides of the same coin.

How can we account for these varieties? What causes the non-canonically marked nominal to behave as the subject? Why do they appear in limited semantic types? We will try to answer these questions using our hypotheses, in which we can explain the varieties of the case frames using the thematic hierarchy, examining some parameters concerning properties of the relevant constructions.

This chapter consists of five sections. Section 6.2. will examine Korean non-canonical constructions and Section 6.3. will look at Hebrew non-canonical constructions, showing that both are also explained by our hypotheses. Section 6.4. will deal with some issues of our hypotheses raised by non-canonical constructions of Hindi and Nepali. The summary will then be presented in Section 6.5.

6.2. Non-canonical constructions in Korean

First, we will start with Korean, which shares various syntactic properties with Japanese. Korean is a language isolate, and it is also an accusative agglutinative language that has case particles like Japanese. This section examines non-canonical constructions in Korean, which are similar to the ones in Japanese in several respects. We will focus especially on their different properties, showing that our hypotheses can explain them as well as the Japanese ones.

6.2.1. Varieties of non-canonical constructions

We will claim that non-canonical constructions in Korean share properties with and have similar scopes to the Japanese non-canonical constructions. Furthermore, we believe they are mapped to the similar area on the conceptual space. One of the properties distinguishing Korean non-canonical constructions from Japanese is that Korean has more non-stative non-canonical constructions.

Korean has two types of non-canonical constructions: the dative subject construction and the double nominative construction, as shown in shown in (11) and (12). (13) shows a list of predicates that take a

DAT-NOM case frame (cf. Kim 1990, Song 1993, Yeon 1999, 2003), which are similar to the ones observed in Japanese. They are semantically divided into five classes as shown in (13).

(11) Myounsook-ka   sonsen-i   tetta.   (=(3))
     Young-suk-NOM   teacher-NOM   become.PAST
     'Myounsook became a teacher.'

(12) na-eykey-nun   ku   iyaki-ka   sulphe-ta.   (=(4a))
      I-DAT-TOP   the   story-NOM   sad-DEC
      'I am sad about the story.' or 'The story is sad for me.'

(13) DAT/NOM-NOM predicates:
     Possession : *iss ta* ' have/exist,' *mocala ta* 'lack,' *manh ta* 'have many,' *po-i-ta* 'visible,' *tul li ta*
            'audible,' *cek ta* 'have little,' *nam ta* 'remain, still have,' *pwucokha ta* 'lack'
     Psychological state : *kulip ta* 'miss, be longing,' *coh ta* 'good, like,' *musep ta* 'fear,' *twelyep ta*
            'fear,' *silh ta* 'dislike,' *cikyep ta* 'be bored,' *culkep ta* 'be enjoyable'
     Physiological state: *aphu ta* 'ache'
     Evaluation: *pwunmyong hata* 'clear,' *kantan hata* 'easy,' *elyep ta* 'difficult,' *philyo hata* 'need,'
            swip ta 'be easy'
     Process (Appearance) : *sayngki ta* 'happen, come to exist' (V), *na ta* 'break out' (V), *teci ta* 'break
            out' (V)

(14) NOM-NOM predicates[1]:
     Process (change of state): *toy ta* 'become' (V), *tul ta* 'cost (money)' (V)

It should be noted that most of the predicates here are adjectives, except for the predicates that are followed by (V), which are verbs. The non-canonical constructions seem to occur with non-stative predicates also, such as appearance or change of state predicates that express some kinds of processes, as shown in (11) and (14). The double nominative constructions are limited to the predicates in (14), but it should be noted that these process verbs do not appear with non-canonical constructions in Japanese. The thematic roles observed in these Korean non-canonical constructions are possessor, experiencer, reference point of evaluation, agent (for the first nominals), and theme (for the second nominals).

6.2.2. The syntactic structures

       Previous studies show that the first nominals in both types of non-canonical constructions behave as the subjects in the constructions (Hong 1991, Song 1993, Ura 1999, Yeon 1999, 2003). We will summarize their observations briefly below.

       First, the dative nominal and the first nominative nominal in the dative subject construction and the

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[1] Korean also has double nominative constructions as in (i), but they are not required by predicates.
  (i) Suni-ga   emeni-ka   yeppu-si-ta.   (Yeon 2003: 50)
     Suni-NOM   mother-NOM   beautiful.HON-DEC
     'It is Suni, and only her, whose mother is beautiful.'

double nominative construction behave as subjects, binding the reflexive pronouns, as shown in (15) and (16). However, the second nominative nominals cannot, as shown in (16).

(15) Young-suk$_i$-eykey-nun chashin$_i$-ui   chayk-i   piryoha-ta.
     Young-suk-DAT-TOP REFL-GEN   book-NOM   necessary-Dec
     'Young-suk needs her book.'

(16) Young-suk$_i$-nun   ai$_j$-ka   chagiw$_{i/*j}$-ui   yodonsen-boda   manh-ta.
     Young-suk-TOP   child-NOM   REFL-GEN   sister-than   many-Dec
     'Young-suk has more children than her sister.'

The first nominals can be the target of honorification, which means that they also show a subject property regarding the honorification process, as shown in (17). It is the first nominative nominal in the non-stative non-canonical constructions that behaves as the subject, as in (18), which we know because it is the target of honorification.

(17) a. na-eykey/-ka   halapeci-ka   musep-(*si)-ta.   (Yeon 1999:156)
        I-DAT/ NOM   grandfather-NOM   fear-(*HON)-Dec
        'I am afraid of grandfather.'
     b. halapeci-eykey/-ka   ton-i   philyoha-si-ta.
        grandfather-DAT/NOM   money-NOM   need-HON-Dec
        'Grandfather needs money.'
     c. na-eykey/-ka   halapeci-ka   philyoha-(*si)-ta.
        I-DAT/ NOM   grandfather-NOM   need-(*HON)-DEC
        'I need a grandfather.'

(18) Sensayngnim-i/?-eykey   sako-ka   na-si-ess-ta.   (Kim 1996:248)
     teacher-NOM/-DAT   accident-NOM   occur-HON-PAST-DEC
     'Teacher had an accident.' or 'An accident befell the teacher.'

Additionally, the first nominal controls a gap, as shown in (19) and (20), and the same is true for process verbs. All of these show that the first nominals in these non-canonical constructions behave as the subject in Korean.

(19) Young-suk$_i$-nun   ai$_j$-ka   manh-ase,   (ø$_{i/*j}$)   hayngpokha-yess-ta.
     Young-suk-TOP   child-NOM   many and   happy-was-DEC
     'Young-suk$_i$ had many children, so she was happy.'

(20) Young-suk$_i$-nun   Taro$_j$-ka   philyoha-yese, (ø$_{i/*j}$)   cenhwaha-yess-ta.
     Young-suk-TOP   Taro-NOM   necessary-and   called.on.the.phone-was-DEC
     'Young-suk needed Taro, and she called him on the phone.'

Their distribution and syntactic behavior are very similar to the Japanese non-canonical constructions, but they are not exactly the same. In the following section, we will focus on their differences in light of our hypotheses and show the scope of non-canonical constructions in Korean.

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6.2.3. The scopes of the non-canonical constructions in Korean

We will examine the distribution of non-canonical constructions on our thematic hierarchy in this section, and demonstrate that the hierarchy can capture their scopes and variations. The discussion focuses on the different points between Korean and Japanese, since the distributions of their non-canonical constructions are very similar. We will argue the scope of each parameter in the thematic hierarchy in order to clarify the scopes of each non-canonical construction, and then propose the scope of non-canonical constructions in Korean, as in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2. Thematic hierarchy in Korean

Thematic role: AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]

Case marking: NOM ⟶

                         ⟵   DAT   LOC

Grammatical relation: Subject⟶

Semantic structure: ⟵   DOMAIN
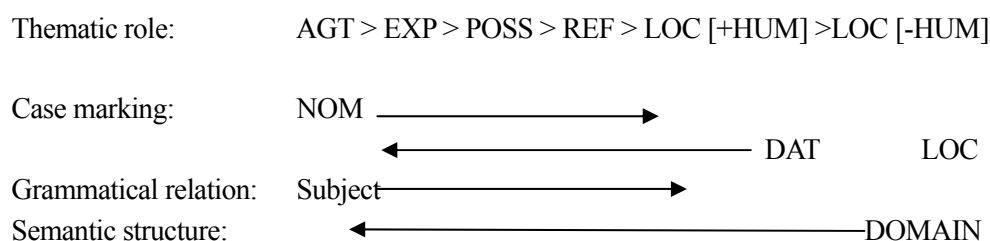
First, we will define their case marking. Most of the non-canonical constructions in Korean take a DAT/NOM-NOM case frame, and only the limited predicates in (14) take a NOM-NOM case frame. The scope of the dative case goes as far as the experiencer, since the predicates that take a DAT/NOM-NOM case frame, as shown in (13), take an experiencer, possessor, reference, or locative nominal for their first argument, and the agent nominal is only taken by the predicates that require a NOM-NOM case frame. The scope of the nominative case goes as far as the location, since it appears in the appearance constructions.

With regard to their semantic structure, it should be noted that the scope of the thematic roles considered to be a DOMAIN seems to expand to include agents in Korean. The non-canonical constructions in Korean express non-volitional and uncontrollable states, which can be tested by whether or not they allow imperative forms or co-occur with volitional adverbs[2]. The predicate, *toy ta* 'become' can express volitional and controllable change of state, however, and can therefore be used in an imperative sentence, as in (21). Moreover, the thematic role of the first nominal is agent.

(21) zowun sensayngnim-i toye-zwuseyyo.
     good   teacher-NOM   become.IMP
     'Be a good teacher.'

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[2] See Yeon (1999, 2003) and Ura (1999) for discussion of non-volitionality of non-canonical constructions.

Does this mean that Korean can recognize even an agent as the DOMAIN, or that not all non-canonical constructions share the DOMAIN-THEME semantic structure we hypothesized? Song (1993) considers *toy ta* 'become' an intransitive verb, showing that the intransitive sentence (22) is perfectly acceptable.

(22) kum-i   toy-essta.   (Song 1993:73)
      gold-NOM   become-PAST.
      'Gold was made.'

He also claims that a NOM-DAT case frame, in which the first nominative nominal is the subject, is observed if the theme nominal loses its identity and changes into a totally different entity, as in (23) (cf. (11), where the theme nominal just changes its status).

(23) hopak-i   salam-ulo   toy-essta.   (Song 1993:77)
      pumpkin-NOM   man-to   become-PAST
      'The pumpkin turned into a man.'

toy ta in this sentence means 'is completed, come to exist,' as Song points out, and the change of condition is cognized as 'come to existence.' His argument supports the theory that the agent is interpreted as the DOMAIN in this sentence, even though it is the agent that volitionally controls the event. It should be noted that this type of non-canonical construction is very limited and that other agent nominals cannot be conceptualized as the DOMAIN. Then we can arrive at the result for the scope of the DOMAIN shown in Figure 6.2. The scope of the DOMAIN expands as far as an agent (but not to the end of the hierarchy, since not all agents can be considered the DOMAIN).

Now we will examine which thematic role can appear as the subject of the sentence. It has been shown that the experiencer, possessor, and reference nominal can appear as the subject of non-canonical constructions in Section 6.2.2, but we should also look at the appearance type that seems to take a locative nominal as the DOMAIN. In fact, the appearance predicate takes a dative subject in Japanese when the locative nominal is interpreted to be a possessor, as we have shown in chapter 3. In Korean, however, the locative nominal in the appearance construction behaves as the subject, even though it is not interpreted as a possessor. (24) and (25) show that the locative arguments can be the target of honorification, which means that they behave as the subjects.

(24) Kim-sensayngnim-eykey   nappun   il-i   sayngkisiessta
      Kim-teacher-DAT   bad   thing-NOM   happen.HON.PAST
      'Something bad happened to teacher Kim.'
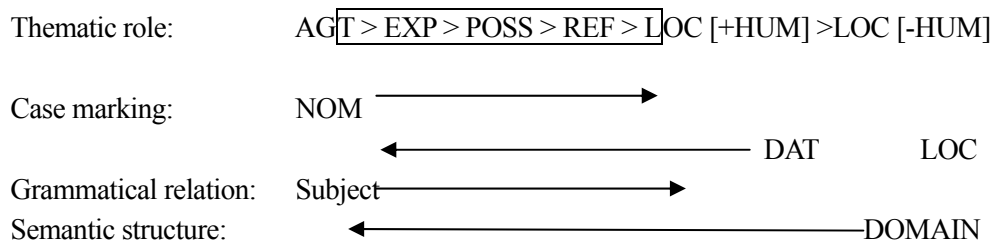
(25) Kyouswunim-eykey   pulsangsa-ka   sayngki-si-ess-ta.   (Kim 2001:46)
    professor-DAT   misfortune-NOM   happen-HON-PAST-IND
    'An unfortunate accident happened to the professor.'

It seems that even the locative nominal can be the subject of the sentence in Korean. However, note that these sentences express meanings that are somehow malfactive, which psychologically affects the person. This might require the locative nominal to be interpreted as an experiencer, which is higher in the hierarchy, but further research is necessary on this point. For now, we conclude that some of the locative nominals behave as the subject in Korean, in which case the scope of the subject expands to encompass part of the human location.

According to these situations, the scope of each parameter can be summarized as in Figure 6.2, which we show again below as Figure 6.3. The distribution of non-canonical constructions in Korean is represented by the boxed domain, which is broader than that of Japanese non-canonical constructions. This is because Korean has non-canonical constructions with agent or location subjects.

Figure 6.3. Revised thematic hierarchy in Korean

Thematic role: AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]

Case marking: NOM

                                                                    DAT   LOC
Grammatical relation: Subject
Semantic structure: DOMAIN

This shows that the thematic hierarchy can also explain the scopes of non-canonical constructions in Korean without having any counterexamples. When a nominal with a certain thematic role behaves as the subject, so do all the ones with higher thematic roles; when a nominal with a certain thematic role is considered the DOMAIN, so are all the ones with lower thematic roles.

6.2.4. The thematic hierarchy and mapping on the conceptual space

We have confirmed the scopes of non-canonical constructions in Korean, so now we will examine whether the hierarchy is valid or not, and then we will map the distributions of the non-canonical constructions onto the conceptual space.

First, we will examine the intransitive uses of non-canonical predicates, which will show us which arguments can be backgrounded. Non-canonical predicates that allow intransitive uses, taking only one

argument, are limited to predicates expressing psychological states[3] and evaluations, as in (26) and (27), but not possession, as in (28b)[4].

(26) a. halapeci-nun   museu-sin-kesskathta.   (Experiencer)
     grandfather-TOP   scary-HON-seem.DEC
     'Grandfather seems to be scared.'

     b. halapeci-nun   museu-si-ta.   (Theme)
     grandfather-TOP   scary-HON-DEC
     'Grandfather is scary.'

(27) a. Suni-nun elypta-ta.   (Theme)
     Suni-TOP difficult-DEC
     '*Suni thinks something is difficult.'/'Suni is hard to please.'

     b. i   swukcye-nun   elyep-ta   (Theme)
     this   homework-TOP   difficult-DEC
     'This homework is difficult.'

(28) a. Suni-ka/-eykey   kutu-ka   iss-ta
     Suni -NOM/-DAT   shoes-NOM   be-DEC
     'Suni has shoes.'

     b. Suni-ka/*eykey   iss-ta.   (*Possessor, Theme with existential meaning)
     Suni -NOM/DAT   be-Dec
     '*Suni has.'/'Suni exists (there).'

Note that only the experiencer or the theme nominal can appear as the subject of the intransitive sentences with non-canonical predicates, as shown in (26) and (27), while the reference and possessor nominal cannot. This supports the thematic hierarchy, in which the experiencer is higher than the possessor or the reference.

In addition, predicates that allow intransitive uses allow complex case marking on the dative nominal, which is *hanthey-iss-e-se* 'for' corresponding to *ni totte* 'for' in Japanese. It can alternate with dative case if the nominal's thematic role is either the experiencer or the reference but not the possessor, as shown in (29)-(31).

(29) Possessor
     a. na-{eykey/??hatheyissese}(-nun)   san-i   poin-ta.
     1.SG-DAT/-for(-TOP)   mountain-NOM   visible-DEC
     '(lit.) Mountain is visible to me.'

     b. ku   namca-{eykey/*hatheyisse}-se   chayk-i   iss-ta
     the man-DAT/-for   book-NOM.   exist-DEC
     'The man has a book.'

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[3] *Kulip ta* 'miss,' which expresses a psychological state, is exceptional, however. It does not allow an intransitive use, as shown in (i).
   (i) *kohyang-un   kulipta.
     hometown-TOP   miss/long for
     'Hometown is missing.' (OK in the reading 'I miss (my) hometown.')

[4] It is only accepted as an existential sentence expressing no possessive meaning.

(30) Experiencer

    a. nay-{eykey/ hatheyissese}   oppa-ka   coh-ta
      I –DAT/for   brother-NOM good-DEC
      'I like my brother.'

    b. na-{eykey/ hatheyissese}(-nun)   ku   iyaki-ka   sulphe-ta.
      I-DAT/for(-TOP)   the story-NOM   sad-DEC
      'The story is sad for me.'

(31) Reference

    a. [Suni-{eykey/ hatheyissese}(-nun) i   muncey-ka   oryowoyo]   (ket-un)
       Suni-DAT/ for(-TOP)   this problem-NOM difficult   thing-TOP.
      '(that) this problem is difficult for Suni.'

    b. Suni-{eykey/ hatheyissese}(-nun)   ku chayk-i   piryoha-ta.
      Suni-DAT/for-(TOP)   the book-NOM   necessary-DEC
      'Suni needs the book.'

Here we showed that the experiencer is thought to be higher than the reference nominals in the thematic hierarchy, and that the non-canonical construction expressing possession must take two arguments.

Another phenomenon that supports the hierarchy is that only the dative subject constructions expressing psychological states have transitive counterparts, which express volitional and controllable events. Some psychological predicates have lexically derived transitive verbs, *-e ha(-nta),* as in (32a).

(32) a. nay-ka   Minho-lul   cohaha-n-ta.   (Yeon 2003:56)
      1.SG-NOM   Minho-ACC   like-PRES-DEC
      'I like Minho.'

    b. halapeci-ka   ton-ul   manhi   kackoiss-ta.
      grandfather-NOM   money-ACC   many   possess-DEC
      'Grandfather has a lot of money.'

    c. sensayng-i   haksayng-ul   philyo-lo   ha-n-ta.
      teacher-NOM   student-ACC   need-with   do-PRES-DEC
      'Teachers are in need of students.'

Other semantic types of predicates also have transitive counterparts, but not lexically related ones. This again shows that the experiencer is higher than the possessor and the reference in the hierarchy, by merit of having the potential for controllability, as we showed in Chapter 3.

Now we will map the distribution of each non-canonical construction in Korean onto the conceptual space depending on their syntactic behaviors, as shown in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4. The non-canonical constructions on the conceptual space in Korean

	Temporal Stability		
	LOW←		→HIGH
2	N-N 'become'	DAT-NOM 'miss'	DAT-NOM Possession/ability
	D-N 'appear'	psycho/physio-logical state	DAT-NOM Evaluation
1	NOM	psychological state	

First, all of the non-canonical constructions in Korean must take two arguments, but they exhibit different behaviors in whether they allow intransitive uses or not, in other words, in the possibility of backgrounding the arguments. As we showed above, the dative subject constructions that express possessions and one psychological predicate ('miss') both lack the intransitive use, requiring two arguments; so do the double nominative constructions that express a change of state. These types must be placed on the upper part of the conceptual space. Next, in terms of the temporal stability, non-canonical constructions that describe non-stative process events, such as appearance, should be mapped on the left side, since they are temporally less stable, expressing the event developing in the spatiotemporal domain. When we compare the sentences expressing psychological states and the ones expressing possession or evaluation, the former are temporally less stable, as we argued in Chapter 3.

As a consequence of this, the scopes of the non-canonical constructions are mapped onto the upper right corner, as in Figure 6.4, just like those of the Japanese non-canonical constructions.

6.3. Hebrew[5]

Now we will move on to Hebrew, which is an accusative inflecting language that belongs to the Semitic language family. The basic word order is SVO, but the word order is rather flexible. Hebrew has

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[5] Hebrew has an ethical dative which is not required by the predicate and therefore is not the target of this study.
(i) rak še-hi   lo   taxle   l-i   šuv   axšav.   Berman (1981)
    only that-she NEG will-get-sick to.me again now
    'Just so she doesn't go and get sick on me again now.'

three types of non-canonical constructions, and their distributions are different from those of Korean and Japanese non-canonical constructions. We will demonstrate that our hypotheses capture the differences without problem, and that the Hebrew non-canonical constructions can be mapped onto the conceptual space, though they show different scopes than Korean and Japanese.

6.3.1. Varieties of non-canonical constructions

As we showed in Chapter 2, there are three types of non-canonical constructions, all of which take at least one dative nominal (as the subject of the sentence). The sentences in (33)-(35) show each type of non-canonical construction: a DAT-NOM type, a DAT-ACC type, and a DAT type. The predicates that require each type of non-canonical case frame are shown in (36)-(38).

(33) DAT-NOM type
    a. ba   li   tapuax.
       come   1.SG.DAT   apple.NOM
       'I want an apple.'
    b. le-John kaava   ha   yad.
       DAT-John hurting   DF   hand
       'John's hand hurts.'

(34) DAT-ACC type
    le-John   hayu   et   ha   sfarim.   (=(5))
    DAT-John   were.PL   ACCDF books
    'John had the books.'

(35) DAT type
    a. kar   lo.
       cold   3.SG.M.DAT
       'He is cold.'
    b. lo   yihe   la-nu   noax.   (Berman 1981:154)
       not   will-be   to-us   comfortable
       'We won't feel at ease.'

(36) DAT-NOM type:
    Possession: *zaxur* 'remember' (A)
    Psychological states: *lavo* 'want' (V)
    Physiological states: *lixov* 'hurt' (V)
    Evaluation: *kaše* 'hard, difficult' (A), *xašyv* 'important' (A), *lehiraot* 'seem' (V)

(37) DAT-ACC[6] type:
    Possession: *lehiot* 'have/exist' (V),

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[6] Hebrew has an accusative case marker, *et*, only when the noun phrase is definite. When it is indefinite, there is no marking on the noun phrase. It should be noted that *yesh* does not have agreement in the present tense. Examples include:
(i) a.   yesh   li   shlosha sfarim.   b. yesh li   et   ha   sfarim.
        have   1.SG.DAT 3   books   have 1.SG.DAT   ACCDF books
        'I have three books.'   'I have the books.'

(38) DAT type:

Psychological state: *kal* 'sad' (A), *noax* 'comfortable' (A), *tov* 'good' (A),

Physiological state: *kar* 'cold' (A), *xam* 'hot' (A)

One of the most remarkable characteristics is that Hebrew allows a non-canonical construction that takes one argument: a DAT type. It should be noted that the dative nominal cannot be marked by the nominative case in Hebrew, unlike the dative subject constructions in Japanese and Korean. The semantic types of the predicates that appear in non-canonical constructions are similar to those in Japanese and Korean.

There seem to be two non-canonical case frames used by predicates that require two arguments: DAT-NOM and DAT-ACC. However, these two types of non-canonical constructions cannot be clearly divided, as they are continuous. Berman (1981) points out that "there is a strong tendency for younger, or less careful speakers to insert the object-marker *?et*[7] before the nominatively zero-marked NP." Gil (1982: 122) also states, "… the use of *et* before subject NPs is in the process of spreading from possessives through existentials to other intransitive clauses...," as in the following hierarchy: possessives > existentials > other intransitive clauses. Though it might be difficult to distinguish between them, we will consider only the possessive construction to have DAT-ACC case frame, since it is the possessive construction that takes the DAT-ACC case frame the most often according to Gil (1982) and the accusative markers appeared rather consistently in our data, too.

Gil (1982) considers the accusative nominal the subject of the sentence in a DAT-ACC type, but the behaviors of the two nominals are very complicated and it is not easy to determine which nominal is the subject of the sentence. With regard to the behavioral and control properties of the subject[8], with which we

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[7] This corresponds to *et* in our transcription.

[8] We do not use coding properties to determine the subject, but it is interesting that the second nominals—but not the first dative nominals—tend to show the properties. (i) shows some examples of the DAT-NOM and DAT-ACC types, in which the underlined predicates agree with the second nominals in number.

  (i) a. <u>kaav</u>   li   ha   rosh
                hurt.PAST.3.SG.M   1.SG.M/F.DAT DF head.SG.M
                'I had a headache.'

        a'. <u>kaava</u>   li   ha   beten.
                hurt.PAST.3.SG.F.DAT   DF stomach.SG.F.
                'I had a stomachache.'

        b. <u>haya</u>   li   et   ha   sefer.
                be.PAST.3.SG.M.   1.SG.M/F.DAT ACC   DF book.SG.M.
                'I had the book.'

        b'. <u>hayu</u>   li   et   ha   sfarim.
                be.PAST.3.PL. 1.SG.M/F.DAT ACC   DF books.PL.M.
                'I had the books.'

It should be noted that the dative nominals precede the accusative or nominative nominals, as shown in (i), which means that the dative nominals are the subjects with regard to word order. The distribution of the coding properties is summarized in Table i.

determine the subject, the dative nominal seems to behave as the subject in terms of reflexive binding, as shown in (39), in which the dative nominal can bind the reflexive pronoun. However, it is the accusative nominal that behaves as the subject in pronoun binding, as shown in (40).

(39) le   John$_i$ hayu   tmunot   shel atsmo$_i$.
     DAT   John   had   pictures   GENREFL.M.
     'John had pictures of himself.'

(40) le   John$_i$ yesh   <u>ax</u>$_j$,   ve   *(hu$_{*i/j}$)   nexmad.
     DAT   John   have   brother   and   he.NOM   kind
     'John has a brother, and he (his brother) is kind.'

However, it is always the dative nominal in the DAT-NOM type and the DAT type that behaves as the subject, as shown in (41) and (42).

(41) kashe   la$_i$ lilmod   be atsma$_i$.
     difficult   3.SG.F.DAT   to study   be REFL.F.
     'It is difficult for her to study by herself.'

(42) le   John$_i$ kaav   ha rosh, ve (ø$_i$)   lo   higia   le-beithasefer.
     DAT   John   hurt   DF head and   NEG   arrive   DAT-school
     'John has a headache, and he is absent from school.'

Table 6.1 summarizes the distribution of the subject properties in non-canonical constructions. Except for the DAT-ACC type, the dative nominal behaves as the subject.

Table 6.1. The distribution of behavior and control properties in Hebrew non-canonical constructions

NP / subject properties	DAT-ACC		DAT-NOM		DAT
	DAT (POSS)	ACC (THM)	DAT (EXP, REF)	NOM (THM)	DAT (EXP)
reflexive binding	✓	*	✓	*	✓
pronoun binding/gap control	*	✓	✓	*	✓

We will not elaborate on this problem concerning the subject of the DAT-ACC type here because of our limited data.

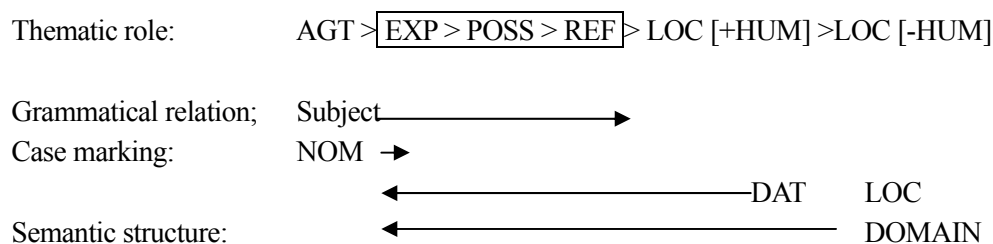Table i. The distribution of coding properties in Hebrew non-canonical constructions

NP / properties	DAT-ACC		DAT-NOM		DAT
	DAT (POSS)	ACC (THM)	DAT (EXP, REF)	NOM (THM)	DAT (EXP)
word order	✓	*	✓	*	✓
case marking	*	*	*	✓	*
agreement	*	✓	*	✓	*

6.3.2. The scopes of non-canonical construction on the thematic hierarchy

Now we will examine each parameter on the thematic hierarchy, and show the distribution of the non-canonical constructions in Hebrew, as in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5. Thematic hierarchy and situations in Hebrew

Thematic role: AGT > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] > LOC [-HUM]

Grammatical relation; Subject ⟶
Case marking: NOM →
⟵ DAT LOC
Semantic structure: ⟵ DOMAIN

When we examine the semantic types of the predicates in (36)-(38), the thematic roles up until the experiencer seem to be interpreted as DOMAIN[9]. In fact, the experiencer nominal in these non-canonical constructions lacks the controllability of the event, as shown in (43), which is acceptable as expressing an attitude but not physiological state.

(43) heie   kar.
     be.IMP   cold
     'Be cold.'

With regard to the case marking, the DOMAIN argument in the DAT-NOM and DAT-ACC type non-canonical constructions in Hebrew is always marked with the dative case, not with the nominative case, which is different from the dative subject constructions in Korean and Japanese in which the nominal expressing the DOMAIN can be marked with either the dative or the nominative case. It should be noted that the DAT type non-canonical constructions are different, as the nominal can be marked by the nominative case, as shown in (44) and (45). The difference between them is that the adjective agrees with the nominative argument but not with the dative one.

(44) ani   atsuva.
     1.SG   sad.F.
     'I am sad.'
(45) atsuv   li
     sad   1.SG.DAT

---

[9] Berman (1981:156) suggests that "the use of the dative marker *le-* likewise makes it possible for speakers to present an event as agentless, or to make it impersonal." He considers these constructions intransitive.

'I am sad.'

Since the DAT type is limited to psychological and physiological predicates that require an experiencer nominal, the scope of the nominative case goes as far as the experiencer on the hierarchy. The dative case also goes as far as the experiencer, since it is also marked with the dative case.

Finally, the scope of the subject extends as far as the reference, which behaves as the subject in the DAT-NOM type non-canonical constructions, as shown in (41). As a consequence, the non-canonical constructions in Hebrew appear between the experiencer and the reference represented by the boxed domain, as shown in Figure 6.5. The result does not show any counterevidence to the proposed hierarchy. A nominal with a higher thematic role is more likely to appear as the subject, while a nominal with a lower semantic role is more likely to be considered a DOMAIN and therefore be marked with the dative case. Hence, the Hebrew data also supports our hypotheses.

6.3.3. Mapping of non-canonical constructions in Hebrew

Now we will examine the thematic hierarchy in order to know differences observed within the non-canonical constructions. As noted before, Hebrew has a dative subject construction with one argument[10]. It is interesting to note that the subject of the DAT type is always the experiencer[11] and not other thematic roles, as in (38). Some of the other types of non-canonical constructions allow intransitive uses with a theme as the subject, but it is not marked with the dative case but with the nominative case instead, as in (46).

(46) a. *kal li   (Reference)
        easy   1.SG.DAT.
        'I feel easy.'/ '(lit.) (it) is easy for me.'
     b. ba   sefer   kal.   (Theme)
        DF   book   easy   .
        'The book is easy.'

Others do not allow intransitive uses, as shown in (47)-(49), which means these predicates require two arguments.

(47) a. *le   John   kaav.   (*Experiencer)
         DAT John   hurting
         '(lit.) John is in pain.'

---

[10] Shibatani (1978) shows that there must be a nominative element in a finite clause in Japanese, which seems to be extended to Korean but not to Hebrew.
[11] It should be noted that the Hebrew has an ethical dative, in which an experiencer can be added to the sentence, thereby expressing its affectedness, which might relate to the existence of the non-canonical construction with one argument, the experiencer.

b. *ha yad   kaav.   (*Theme)
   DF hand   hurting
   '(lit.) The head is hurting.'

(48) a. *ba   li.   (*Experiencer)
    come   1.SG.DAT
    'I want (something).'

b. *ba   tapuax.   (*Theme)
   come   apple.NOM
   'An apple is wanted.'/'(lit.) An apple is coming.'

(49) Possession

a. *yesh   lo.   (*Possessor)
   be/have   3.SG.M.DAT
   'He has.'

b. #yesh   et   ha   sefer.   (Theme)
   be/have ACCDF   book
   'The book is in possession.' (OK in the reading 'The book is (here).')

Oblique case alternation is observed only in the reference nominal. This together with the fact that the reference nominal can be backgrounded in the intransitive use in (46) supports the theory that reference is lower in the thematic hierarchy.

(50) Possession
   yesh   li/ *bishvili   et   ha   sefer.
   have   DAT/ for.me   ACCDF   book
   'I have the book.'

(51) Psychological state
   a. atsuv   li/*bishvili.   b. ba   li/*bishvili   tapuax.
    sad (A)   1.SG.DAT/ for.me   come   1.SG.DAT/for.me   apple.NOM.
    'I am sad.'   'I want an apple.'

(52) Evaluation
   a. kashe   li/ bishvili   likro   et-ha-sefer.
    difficult   DAT/for.me   to read   ACC-DF-book
    'It is difficult for me to read the book.'

b. ha   sefer   haze   exrexi   li/ bishvili.
   DF   book   this   necessary 1.SG.DAT/ for.me
   'This book is necessary for me.'

Now we can map the scope of each non-canonical construction in Hebrew as in Figure 6.6. Since Hebrew non-canonical constructions are not limited to two arguments, their scopes are different from the ones in Japanese and Korean.

Figure 6.6. Hebrew non-canonical constructions on the conceptual space

	Temporal stability LOW← →HIGH		
2		DAT-NOM psycho/physiologic al state (want, hurt)	DAT-ACC/ (possession) DAT-NOM (remember)
			DAT-NOM Evaluation
1	NOM	DAT psycho/ physio-logical state	

The DAT type will be mapped onto the bottom, because it takes only one argument. On the other hand, other types of non-canonical constructions are mapped onto the upper part, because they take two arguments, though the ones that do not allow intransitive uses are mapped higher than the ones that do allow intransitive uses. With regard to the temporal stability, just like Japanese and Korean, the ones that describe the psychological states are mapped to the left of the possession type, since the psychological states are temporally less stable. This shows that the non-canonical constructions in Hebrew are mapped onto a similar area to the ones for Japanese and Korean, though there are some differences. In conclusion, our hypotheses can also explain the distribution of non-canonical constructions observed in Hebrew.

6.4. South Asian languages and problems

Lastly, we will review previous studies on South Asian languages in this section, which are considered problematic for our hypotheses.

The non-canonical constructions in Hindi raise complications for our hypothesis. Kachru (1990) provides a list of predicates that appear in non-canonical constructions (see also Kachru 1976). There are four types of non-canonical constructions in Hindi: the dative subject, the instrumental subject, the genitive subject, and the locative subject constructions; the predicates of each construction are shown in (53)-(56). (57) gives examples of each non-canonical construction.
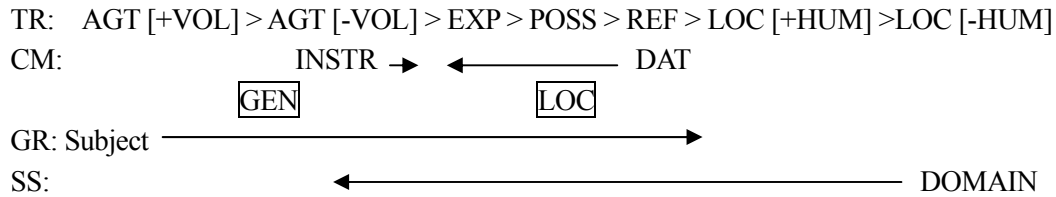
(53) Dative subject: perception, liking, need, transient physical and mental states[12]: *dikhaaii denaa* 'to be visible,' *pasand aanaa* 'to like,' *gussaa honaa/aanaa* 'to be/become angry,' *cintaa honaa* 'to be/become worried,' *buxaar honaa* 'to have a fever,' *vishvaas honaa* 'to believe,' *maaluum honaa* 'to come to know,' *pataa honaa/calnaa* 'to become aware,' *milnaa* 'to obtain,' s*viikaar honaa* 'to be acceptable,' (derivational: have to, should)

(54) Instrumental subject: eventive non-volitional, non-active intransitive and transitive verbs: *girnaa* 'to fall,' *TuuTnaa* 'to break,' *honaa* 'to happen,' *khona* 'to lose'

(55) Genitive subject: verbs of intention, belief, claim etc, denoting permanent states: *iraadaa honaa* 'to intend,' *vicar honaa* 'to think,' *daavaa honaa* 'to claim,' *janm honaa* 'to be born,' *mritya honaa* 'to die,' *shaadii honaa* 'to be married'

(56) Locative subject: inherent properties: *utsaah* 'enthusiasm,' *dhairy* 'patience,' *himmat* 'courage'

(57) a. ramesh   ko   kaafii   pasand   nahii.   (Dative)   (Kachru 1990:60)
    Ramesh   dat. coffee   liking   not
    'Ramesh does not like coffee.'

   b. becce   se   shiishaa TuuT   gayaa.   (Instrumental)
    child   instr.   mirror   break   went
    'The child (inadvertently) broke the mirror.'

   c. uskaa   vahãã   jaane   kaa iraadaa na   thaa.   (Genitive)
    her   there   going   of   intention not was
    'She did not intend to go there.'

   d. asit par apne puure   parivaar kii jimmevaarii hai.   (Locative)
    Asit on self whole   family   of responsibility is
    'Asit is responsible for his whole family.'

The lists reveals that the non-canonical constructions in Hindi can express both non-stative and stative events, and their semantic types are comparatively broad, such as psychological and physiological state, appearance, non-volitional event, and possession. Kachru shows that the genitive and the locative do not seem to play any role in any syntactic process that depends crucially on grammatical subjecthood, except reflexivization. This means they do not fit our definition of non-canonical constructions.

Now we will analyze the thematic roles observed in each non-canonical construction in Hindi. For the dative subject type, judging from the predicates listed above, the thematic roles for the DOMAIN argument seem to expand from the experiencer to the reference. The instrumental subject type takes non-volitional agents, as Kachru (1990) mentions. The genitive subject type also seems to take an agent nominal, judging from the meanings of the predicates involved. The locative subject type takes the possessor nominal. If we briefly summarize the results in the thematic hierarchy, their scopes will be like the one depicted in Figure 6.7.

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[12] Masica (1990) provides additional data on dative subject constructions in Hindi.

Figure 6.7. Thematic hierarchy in Hindi

TR: AGT [+VOL] > AGT [-VOL] > EXP > POSS > REF > LOC [+HUM] >LOC [-HUM]
CM: INSTR →   ← ———————— DAT
              GEN   LOC
GR: Subject ————————————————————————→
SS: ←——————————————— DOMAIN

The genitive and locative types are problematic for our hypotheses. In spite of its higher thematic role, agent, the genitive marked nominal does not behave as the subject. The locative subject is also problematic, since the locative nominal does not exhibit subject properties in spite of its thematic role, the possessor, being as high as the reference that behaves as the subject in the dative subject constructions. These might be counterexamples to our hypotheses, but further research is necessary to fully understand. It should be noted, however, that most of the predicates that take the genitive subject are compounds with one verb, *honaa* 'to happen,' which generally take a locative nominal for the DOMAIN. If the genitive subject is also considered to be a location, it will not raise any problems for our hypotheses, since location is lower than reference in the thematic hierarchy. Moreover, Kachru (1990) states, "It is obvious that the phenomenon of genitive subject is a result of a grammaticization process, and it is not predictable on the basis of the semantics of the predicates."

Nepali, which is an Indo-Aryan language with non-canonical constructions, also causes some problems for our hypotheses. Ishihashi-Nakayama (1994:75) lists the predicates that appear in Nepali dative subject constructions. The semantic range of the dative subject constructions seems to be almost the same as in Japanese.

(58) a. Physical sensations and conditions: *bhok laag-nu* 'be hungry,' *cilaaw-nu* 'itch,' *coT laag-nu* 'get hurt,' *jaaDo laag-nu* 'be cold,' *nidraa laag-nu/par-nu* 'feel/fell asleep,' *raksi laag-nu* 'be intoxicated,' *thakaay laag-nu* 'be tired,' *tirkhaa laag-nu* 'be thirsty'
   b. Sickness: *awlo laag-nu* 'get malaria,' *dukh-nu* 'have an ache,' *jaro hu-nu/awu-nu* 'have fever,' *khoki laag-nu* 'have a cough,' *rughaa laag-nu* 'have a cold'
   c. Psychological states: *aananda hu-nu* 'feel happy,' *aascaria laag-nu* 'be astonished,' *acamma laag-nu* 'be astonished,' *chakka laag-nu* 'be surprised,' *cintaa hu-nu* 'worry,' *Dar laag -nu/hu-hu* 'be afraid,' *garba laag-nu* 'be proud,' *haa~sa laag-nu* 'laugh (feel funny),' *irsyaa laag-nu* 'be jealous,' *kasto kasto laag-nu* 'feel confused,' *khusi laag-nu* 'be happy,' *laaj laag-nu* 'feel shy, feel embarrassed,' *par par-nu* 'worry,' *ros uTh-nu/aaw-nu* 'get angry,' *sangkaa laag-nu* 'suspect,' *saram laag-nu* 'feel nervous, feel astonished,' *sukha hu-nu* 'be happy,' *udaas laag-nu* 'be sad'
   d. Conscious states: *bhram hu-nu* 'have a false idea,' *gyaan hu-nu* 'know,' *jaanakaari hu-nu* 'be

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interested in,' *ruci laag-nu/hu-nu* 'be interested in,' *samjhanaa aaw-nu* 'remember,' *thaahaa hu-nu* 'know,' *yaad aaw-nu* 'remember'

    e. Desire/needs: *aanasyaktaa hu-nu* 'need,' *aasaa hu-nu* 'hope,' *caahi-nu* 'need,' *icchyaa hu-nu* 'have a desire,' *kaa~co hu-nu* 'need,' *labh laag-nu* 'become greedy,' *man laag-nu* 'want to,' *man par-nu* 'like (to),' *rahar laag-nu/hu-nu* 'have desire, be interested'

    f. Happenings: *(a)ber/Dhilo hu-nu* 'be late,' *hu-nu* 'happen'

Nepali, however, raises one problem for our framework, which is how to explain non-canonical constructions with complex predicates. For example, the non-canonical predicates of Nepali often appear as compound verbs, taking verbs such as *laagu-nu* 'feel,' *hu-hu* 'happen,' and *aaw-nu* 'come,' these complex predicates are commonly used in Indo-Aryan languages. The problem for our framework is how to account for these cases. The degree of the grammaticalization will affect the properties of the constructions. If the verb, *hu-hu* 'happen,' appears as the main verb, then it takes a locative nominal and a theme nominal as its arguments. However, it can take an experiencer nominal when it compounds with other verbs, e.g. *aananda hu-nu* 'feel happy.' It is not clear how the case frame or the thematic structure of the verb *hu-hu* affect on the compound verbs. We need further research to capture them as well as the simple predicates.

6.5. Summary

This chapter showed that our hypotheses are applicable to non-canonical constructions in other languages as well as the ones in Japanese examined in Chapter 3-5. By examining the non-canonical constructions in various languages, we have demonstrated that the distribution of non-canonical constructions and their scopes can be captured using the proposed thematic hierarchy. A nominal with a higher thematic role is more likely to appear as a core argument, such as the subject, but it is less likely to be conceptualized as the DOMAIN. Since we suggest that non-canonical constructions share the semantic structure, DOMAIN-THEME, the scope of non-canonical constructions is determined by which thematic role is considered to be DOMAIN in that particular language. When a nominal with a certain thematic role behaves as the subject, so do all the ones with higher thematic roles; when a nominal with a certain thematic role is considered the DOMAIN, so are all the ones with lower thematic roles. We demonstrated that this holds true for non-canonical constructions in Korean and Hebrew, though some problems remain concerning non-canonical constructions with complex predicates observed in some South Asian languages. We also examined cross-linguistic differences of the scope of each non-canonical construction by showing their different locations in the conceptual space.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation has proposed a framework and hypotheses that can analyze varieties of non-canonical constructions and their different scopes observed within and across languages. Since the structures of the constructions and the boundaries between them are highly language-specific, we posit a framework based on their conceptual structures, which are applicable cross-linguistically.

First, we have hypothesized that the non-canonical constructions reflect the DOMAIN-THEME type of conceptualization of stative events, and the non-canonical constructions describe the THEME's status, or state in relation to the DOMAIN. Given this conceptualization, the semantic properties of the non-canonical constructions—they often express non-volitional and uncontrollable states—arise naturally, because these semantic properties are the properties that the DOMAIN typically holds. The DOMAIN cannot control an event volitionally, unlike the AGENT, since the typical DOMAIN of stative events is a location. Second, in order to clarify the distribution of non-canonical constructions and their relationships to other constructions that vary in language to language, one conceptual space has been proposed, which consists of two parameters: the number of arguments and the temporal stability, as in **Figure 7.1**, following the idea of conceptual space suggested by Croft (2001). Assuming that the conceptual structure is a language universal and that the syntactic structure and the domain of the construction differ across languages, the conceptual space has typological validity.

Figure 7.1 The conceptual space for canonical and non-canonical constructions

Temporal stability / No. of arguments	LOW← Temporal Stability →HIGH (Event) (State)
2	transitive event transitive state (AGENT-PATIENT) (DOMAIN-THEME)
1	intransitive event intransitive state (AGENT) (THEME)

We have demonstrated that non-canonical constructions tend to be mapped onto the upper right corner of the conceptual space, as shown in Figure 7.1. The conceptual space can represent the relationships between the major constructions by showing the scope of each construction within it. We examined these hypotheses for non-canonical constructions observed in Japanese and selected other languages and demonstrated that they hold true.

Throughout this dissertation, it was shown that non-canonical constructions and canonical constructions are deeply related; some non-canonical predicates appear in intransitive constructions, and some non-canonical constructions take transitive counterparts. It should be noted that some semantic factors motivate these choices of syntactic structures. For an instance, as we argued in Chapter 3, the semantic type[1] of the sentence plays an important role in the occurrence of the intransitive construction with the non-canonical predicate. To be more precise, the intransitive constructions taking non-canonical predicates are limited to a certain semantic type.

Another significant finding of this study, the conceptual space in Figure 7.1, suggests that we should look at stative events as well as non-stative events, such as canonical transitive and intransitive constructions, on which more studies have been carried out. We have shown that there are varieties of constructions that describe stative events within and across languages, and their scopes also differ language to language. Since they have some properties different from the ones that describe non-stative events, a framework that can capture both of them is necessary. We believe that the constructions describing non-stative events will shed new light on canonical transitive and intransitive constructions that describe non-stative events.

The approach to non-canonical constructions presented in this dissertation has several problems, such as the meaning of distinguishing transitive states and transitive events and the theoretical examination of the syntactic structures of non-canonical constructions. However, we believe that there are constructions in which the relationship between a DOMAIN and a THEME is described as a stative event, though their forms and scopes vary across languages, and that clarification of such constructions are indispensable for capturing an overall picture of constructions.

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[1] Two semantic types of sentences are distinguished by Masuoka (1987): event description and property description. A sentence that describes an event has different properties than one that expresses a property.

Example source

[kokoro] = Soseki Natsume. 1952/2002. *Kokoro*. Tokyo: Shinchosha.

[kookuu] = Fumi Dan and Sawako Agawa. 2001. *Aa Ieba Koo Kuu*. Tokyo: Shueisha

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