

# Universal definition of subject

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# Functional labels

## Grammatical function

- 1 Subject (SUBJ)
- 2 Object (OBJ)
- 3 Indirect Object (OBJ2)
- 4 Object of Preposition (POBJ)
- 5 Possessor (POSS)

# Defining subject

Keenan (1975)

- 1 Define a set of BASIC CLAUSES: roughly sentences which do not presuppose understanding of a simpler sentence to be understood.
- 2 Identify properties of subjects of basic clauses.
- 3 Avoids a lot of problems introduced by potentially “derived” constructions like passives, focus constructions (*it*-clefts), existential (*there*-clause) sentences, and embedded subjects.

# Summary

- 1 30 properties identified.
- 2 We discuss a subset here.
- 3 No necessary and sufficient set of properties discovered.
- 4 We'll look at how the syntactic tests decide subjecthood for some ergative languages.
- 5 SUBJECT is a cluster concept (Keenan, while for Comrie: a prototype concept)

## Indispensability

A non b-subject can be eliminated from a sentence and the result is still a complete sentence.

- a. John ate the hot dog.
- b. John ate. [= John ate something (nonspecific)]
- c. \* ate the hot dog. [≠ Someone ate the hot dog.]

### Tongan (Churchward 1953) Ergative

- a. Na'e tamate'i 'e Tevita 'a Koliata  
 killed Erg. David Abs. Goliath  
 "David killed Goliath"
- b. Na'e tamate'i 'a Koliata  
 killed Abs. Goliath  
 "Goliath was killed" [nonspecific interpretation]

## Autonomous reference

The reference of a b-subject must be determinable by the addressee at the moment of utterance. It cannot be dependent on the reference of other NPs which follow it.

- a. John admires himself.
- b. \* He -self admires John.

### Tagalog: Complex voice system, various issues, but VOS

- a. sinampal ng lalake ang babae  
hit-pass? Agt man Subj woman  
“The woman was hit by the man”
- b. sinampal ng lalake ang kaniyang sarili  
hit-pass? Agt man Subj his self  
“The man hit himself.”

## Other VOS

### Malagasy

- a. manja tena Rabe  
 respect self Rabe  
 “Rabe respects himself.”
- b. \*manaja an-dRabe tena / ny tena-ny  
 respect acc-Rabe self / the self-his  
 “He-self respects Rabe.”

Possible necessary condition for subjects: They are controllers of reflexives.

## Switch reference

Head marking version of reflexives: Verb-internal markers which indicate that the subject of a dependent clause is same/different from the subject of another clause.

### Hopi switch reference

- a.    pam   naoti:ta   pam   mo:titani    $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -q \\ -qa \end{array} \right.$
- He    thinks    he        win         $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -diff\ subj \\ -same\ subj \end{array} \right.$
- “He thinks he will win.”



## Shared NP in clause coordination

- a. Fred<sub>i</sub> praised Mona<sub>j</sub> and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> criticized Alice.
- b. \* Fred<sub>i</sub> praised Mona<sub>j</sub> and Alice criticized  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub>.
- c. Fred<sub>i</sub> praised  $\emptyset$ , and Alice criticized  $\emptyset$ , Mona<sub>j</sub>.

### Kate Ergative Anderson (1975)

#### Last clause-case marking

- a.
 

vale-la	nana	na-la	beʔ	guy	fo-veʔ
come-past	taro-Abs	eat-past	pig-Abs.	sleep	lie-3sgpast

The pig came, ate taro, and lay down to sleep.
- b.
 

vale-la	beʔ-ko	nana	taro	na-veʔ
come-past	pig-Erg.	taro-Abs	eat-3sgpast	

The pig came and ate taro.

# Controlled position in Control structure/Raising

- a. Fred<sub>i</sub> tried [<sub>S</sub>  $\emptyset_i$  to examine the doctor. ]
- b. \* Fred<sub>i</sub> tried [<sub>S</sub> the doctor to examine  $\emptyset_i$ .]
- c. Fred<sub>i</sub> tried [<sub>S</sub>  $\emptyset_i$  to be examined by the doctor. ]
- d. Fred<sub>i</sub> seems [<sub>S</sub>  $\emptyset_i$  to be laughing. ]

# Maori raising

## Sinclair (1976)

- a. kaore i patua a Hone e Rewi.  
 not hit Abs. John Erg. Rewi  
 “Rewi did not hit John”
- b. kaore a Hone i patua e Rewi.  
 not Abs. John hit Erg. Rewi  
 “Rewi did not hit John”

# Equi in Basque

## Anderson (1975)

- a.    nahi    du            egin    dezan  
       desire he-Aux-it do    he-Aux(subjunct)-iit  
       ‘He<sub>i</sub> wants him<sub>j</sub> to do it.’  
       \* ‘He<sub>i</sub> wants to do it.’
- b.    nahi    dut            egin  
       desire I-Aux-it do  
       ‘I want to do it.’
- c.    ikhusterat            joan    da  
       see-infinitive-to go    he-Aux  
       ‘He<sub>i</sub> has gone to see him.  
       \* ‘He<sub>i</sub> has gone for him<sub>j</sub> to see him<sub>i</sub>.’

## Addressee of imperatives

- a.  $\emptyset$  buy the car from John.
- b. \* John sell the car to  $\emptyset$ .

### Maori passive imperative (Hale 1968)

- a. tua-ina        te    raakau    raa        (ke te toki)  
     fell-passive   the    tree        yonder    (with this axe)  
     “be-chopped down (by you) the tree there” = “Chop  
     down the tree there (with this axe).”

Sinclair (1976) argues this is not a passive, but an anti-passive, in a language which is making the transition to ergative.

## Other properties of b-subjects

- 1 Controllers of verb agreement (where there is agreement) always include subjects.
- 2 Referentiality: default topic; personal pronouns, proper names, and demonstratives can always be subjects; default is to be definite, and in some languages must be (Philippine and Bantu)
- 3 Normally the leftmost occurring NPs
- 4 Normally the Agent, if there is one [Ergative languages?]
- 5 Not case marked in intransitive clauses, if any NP is case-marked.
- 6 Subjects are always among the NPs that can be relativized.

## Some properties are hierarchical

Subj	The boy [who gave the book to the man]
Obj	The book [that the boy gave <b>t</b> to the man]
PObj	The man [that the boy gave the book to <b>t</b> ]

In Malagasy, only subjects can be relativized.

The NPs which can be relativized always **include** subjects (other hierarchical properties, controllers of reflexives, verb agreement, lack of case marking)

# Coding properties

How is subjecthood coded?

- 1 Position
- 2 Case marking
- 3 Verb agreement



# Behavior and control properties

How referentially prominent is the subject?

- 1 Deletability (non specific object deletion, imperative deletion)
- 2 Control of reflexives
- 3 Controllee in control constructions
- 4 Verb agreement

# Semantic/discourse properties

- 1 Agency
- 2 Autonomous existence
- 3 Definiteness
- 4 Topicality

# Prototype theory (Comrie)

- 1 Subject is “defined” as the intersection of topic and agent (Grammaticalized topic: Givon)
- 2 Of course this is not a necessary and sufficient condition, so a prototype analysis is necessary.
- 3 Derived subjects might be in various ways less subjectlike than b-subjects

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