



Subject-Oriented Adverbials?

The issue: How to describe what appears on the surface to be subject-orientation of *-kar* adverbial clauses (KCs)?

- (1) Siddhārth-ne₁ Karīnā-ko₂ [PRO_{1,*2} nāch-kar] mār-ā
Siddharth-ERG Karina-DOM dance-KAR hit-PERF
'Dancing, Siddharth hit Karina'

The suggestion: No need to appeal to subjecthood *per se*, but only to the sorts of predicates to which KCs can adjoin. Specifically:

- (2) **The controller of a KC is the highest argument associated with a given event.**

Highest-argument orientation

Transitivity alternation show an importance of Agency in determining a controller for a KC, specifically comparing the control possibilities under direct and indirect causativization (Bhatt and Embick 2003).

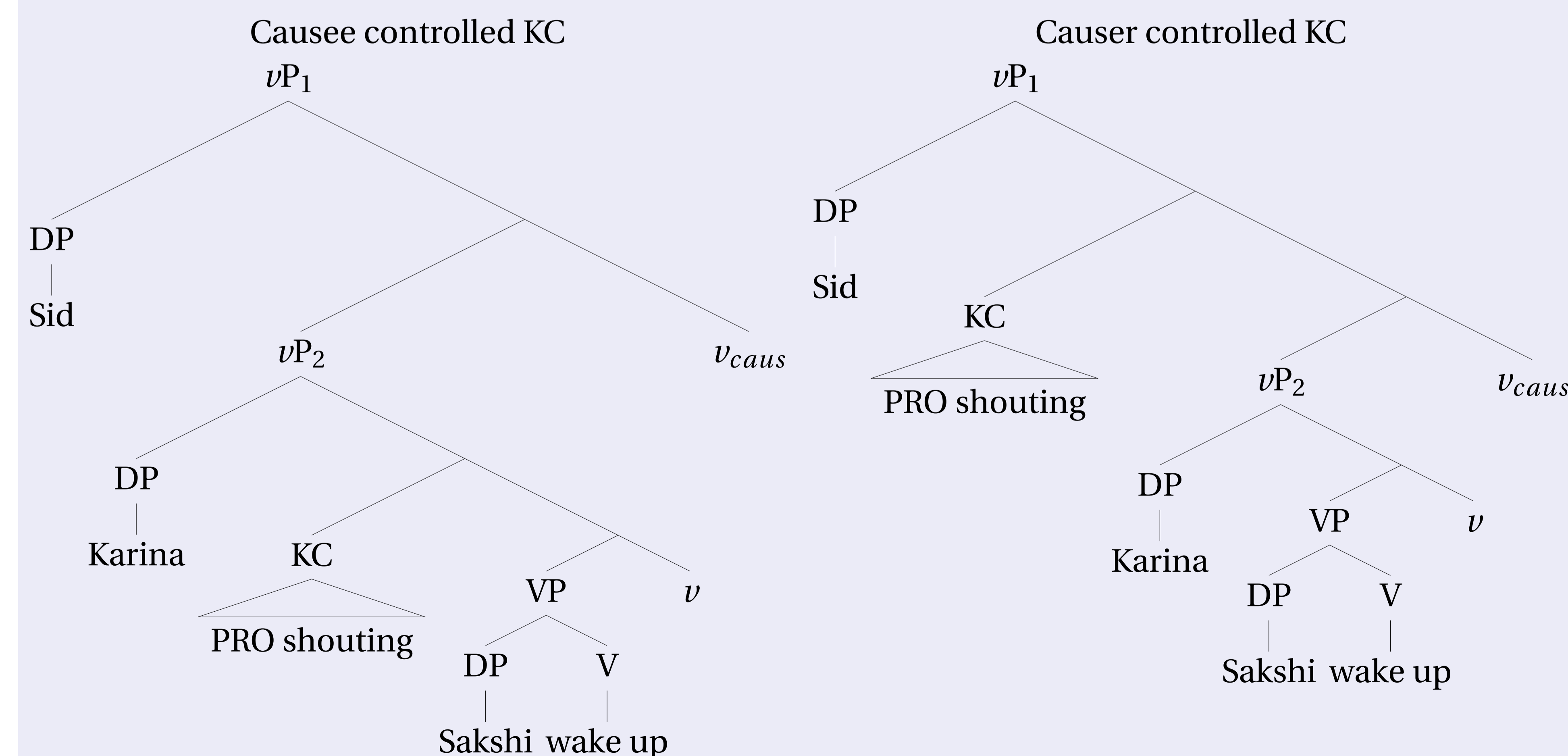
- (3) a **Unaccusative**
Sākshi₁ [PRO₁ chillā-kar] jāg-ī
Sakshi shout-KAR wake.up-PERF
'Shouting, Sakshi woke up'
- b **Direct causative**
Karīnā-ne₁ Sākshi-ko₂ [PRO_{1,*2} chillā-kar] jāg-ā-yā
Karina-ERG Sakshi-DOM shout-KAR wake.up-DIR.CAUS-PERF
'Shouting, Karina woke Sakshi up'
- c **Indirect causative**
Siddhārth-ne₁ Karīnā-se₂ Sākshi-ko₃ [PRO_{1,2,*3} chillā-kar] jāg-vā-yā
Siddharth-ERG Karina-ABL Sakshi-DOM shout-KAR wake.up-IND.CAUS-PERF
'Shouting, Siddharth had Karina wake Sakshi up'

Agent orientation is preserved under passivization (Mahajan 1996).

- (4) **Passive**
Siddhārth-dvārā₁ Karīnā-ko₂ [PRO_{1,*2} nāch-kar] mār-ā gayā
Siddharth-INST Karina-DOM dance-KAR hit-PERF go.PERF
'Dancing, Karina was hit by Siddharth'

Height of interpretation in Causatives

The availability of "intermediate" agents in indirect causatives fits in the bi-eventive/multiple *vP* analysis of morphological causatives (Harley 2008).



Semantic output

Assuming Control of PRO in adjuncts is an instance of Predicative Control (following Landau 2014), these structures have the a semantic representation something like the following:

Low reading

$\llbracket vP_1 \rrbracket = \lambda f . \lambda e . \exists e' . \text{agent}(\text{Sid})(f) \text{ and cause}(e)(f) \text{ and shouting}(\text{Karina})(e') \text{ and agent}(\text{Karina})(e) \text{ and shouting}(\text{Karina})(e') \text{ and wake up}(\text{Sakshi})(e).$

High reading

$\llbracket vP_1 \rrbracket = \lambda f . \lambda e . \exists f' . \text{Shouting}(\text{Sid})(f') \text{ and Agent}(\text{Sid})(f) \text{ and Cause}(e)(f) \text{ and Agent}(\text{Karina})(e) \text{ and wake up}(\text{Sakshi})(e).$

Events

These semantics are supported by the correlation between event modified and the possible controller.

- (5) Siddhārth-ne Karīnā-se Sākshi-ko chillā-kar jāg-vā-yā
Siddharth-ERG Karina-ABL Sakshi-DOM shout-KAR wake.up-IND.CAUS-PERF
'Shouting, Siddharth had Karina wake Sakshi up'
- a Siddharth shouted to Karina that Karina should wake Sakshi up (Causer control, Shouting+Cause)
b Karina shouted, which woke Sakshi up (Causee control, Shouting+Wake.up)
c *Karina shouted, and then Siddharth had her wake Sakshi up (Causee control, Shouting+Cause)

Against a *vP* Phase account

An idea: Is Event-orientation interpretation within *vP* Phase? (cf. Chomsky 2001, Harley 2008)

- This predicts that Caused *vP* should pattern with CPs.
- In fact, they pattern with non-finite complements in scrambling/reconstruction.

(6) Scrambling

- a [PRO_{1,2} baiṭh-kar] Siddhārth-ne₁ kah-ā [ki Karīnā₂ so-yī]
sit-KAR Siddharth-ERG say-PERF that Karina sleep-PERF
'Sitting, Siddharth said that Karina slept'
- b [PRO_{1,*2} baiṭh-kar] Siddhārth-ne₁ [Karīnā-ko₂ so-ne] diyā
sit-KAR Siddharth-ERG Karina-DOM sleep-INF give.PERF
'Karina let Siddharth sleep sitting'
- c [PRO_{1,*2} baiṭh-kar] Siddhārth-ne₁ [Karīnā-se₂ kām kar] -vā-yā
sit-KAR Siddharth-ERG Karina-ABL work do- IND.CAUS-PERF
'Sitting, Siddharth made Karina do work'

What sort of rule is this?

Comparing KCs with other constructions demonstrates that this is no sort of universal rule

- (7) **English Rationale Clauses**
a The ship₁ was sunk (by the owners₂) [PRO_{2,#1} to collect the insurance money] (Roeper 1987)
b The house₁ was emptied (by the owners₂) [PRO_{1,#2} to be demolished] (Landau 2014)
- (8) **-hi adverbials**
Sākshi₁ Siddhārth-se₂ [PRO_{1,2} vāpas ā-te hī] milī
Sakshi Siddharth-ABL back come-IMPF HI met
'Sakshi met Siddharth upon returning'

The availability of rules like this shows the KC rule to be an (apparent) idiosyncrasy. Future avenues of relevant research should:

- Look at the learnability of different types of orientation
- Look at the typology of orientations.

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References:

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mclauss@linguist.umass.edu - <http://switchll.net/linguist.html>