

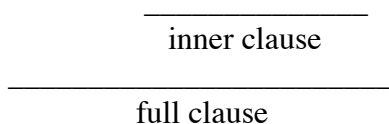
Double Subject Constructions

- A. The Phenomenon
- B. Reference Point Constructions
- C. Double Subject Constructions
- D. Evidence for the Distinction
- E. Complex Predicate Constructions

A. The Phenomenon

- (1) *Taroo-ga hana-ga hikui.* ‘Taro has a flat nose.’ [Japanese]
Taro-S nose-S flat
- (2) *Nihonzin-ga kome-ga syusyoku-da.* ‘The Japanese have rice as their staple food.’
Japanese-S rice-S staple:food-be
- (3) *Na pay aphu-ta.* ‘My stomach aches.’ [Korean]
I stomach ache-ASSR
- (4) *Na ku salam coh-ta.* ‘I like the man.’
I the man likeable-ASSR
- (5) *Tā dùzi è.* ‘He is hungry.’ [Mandarin]
he stomach hungry
- (6) *Tā tóu téng.* ‘He has a headache.’
he head painful
- (7) *Wa khicaa-yaake bhugin du.* ‘The dog has flies.’ [Newari]
the dog-COM fly exist
- (8) *Ji-ta wa baanlaa.* ‘I think she’s beautiful.’
I-DAT she beautiful
- (9) *Noo=n no-puush konoknish.* ‘I have green eyes.’ [Lui seño]
I=1s:PRES my-eye green
- (10) *Noo=up no-te’ tiiwu-q.* ‘I have a stomach ache.’
I=3s:PRES my-stomach hurt-PRES

(11) [NP₁ [NP₂ PREDICATE]]



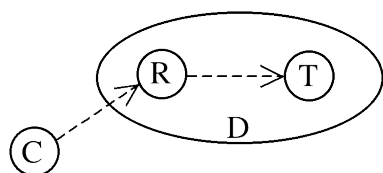
- (12)(a) NP₁ and NP₂ both have some claim to subjecthood.
 (b) NP₂ and the predicate can themselves constitute a clause.
 (c) The entire structure also has clausal status.
 (d) NP₁ is a topic with respect to the inner clause.
 (e) NP₁ is typically a possessor with respect to NP₂.
 (f) Body-part relationships between NP₁ and NP₂ are prototypical.
 (g) NP₁ is commonly an experiencer with respect to the inner clause.
 (h) These sentences are always stative.
 (i) They often translate naturally with *have*, despite the absence of a possessive verb.

B. Reference Point Constructions

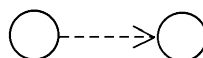
(13) A **conceptualizer** (C) has the ability to invoke one conceived entity as a **reference point** (R) for purposes of establishing “mental contact” with another, the **target** (T). The set of entities accessible via a given reference point constitute its **dominion** (D).

(14)

(a) Reference Point Relationship



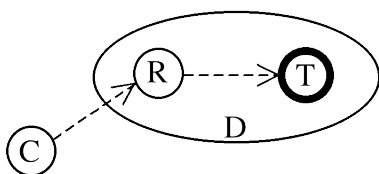
(b) Abbreviation



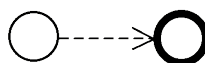
(15) A **possessive** construction (e.g. *Bill's knife*) can be characterized schematically as a **reference point** relationship between two things: the possessor is a reference point, and the possessed, a target found in its dominion.

(16)

(a) Possessive Relationship



(b) Abbreviation



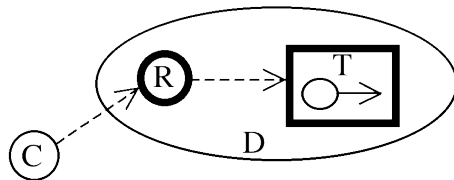
(17) A **topic** is a *reference point* which evokes a certain domain of knowledge (its *dominion*) into which the associated proposition (the *target*) is integrated.

(18)(a) *Your brother, he's always complaining.*

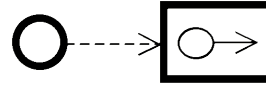
(b) *The lottery, I never have any luck.*

(19)

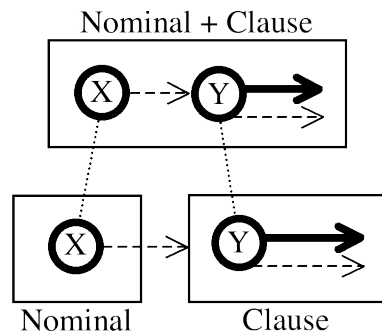
(a) Topic Relationship



(b) Abbreviation



(c) Topic Construction

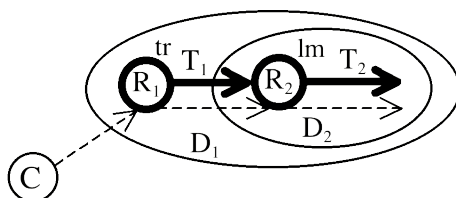


(20)(a) The trajector and landmark of a profiled relationship are distinguished from other relational elements by the **focal prominence** conferred on them.

(b) This prominence consists in their being the **first and second reference points** evoked in the conception of a profiled relationship.

(21)

(a) Trajector and Landmark



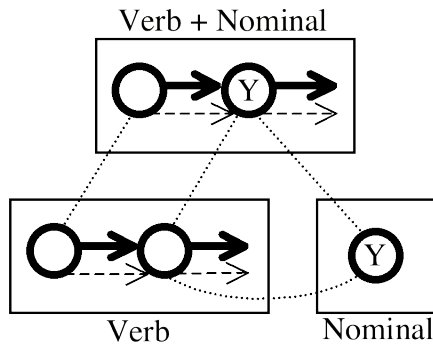
(b) Abbreviation



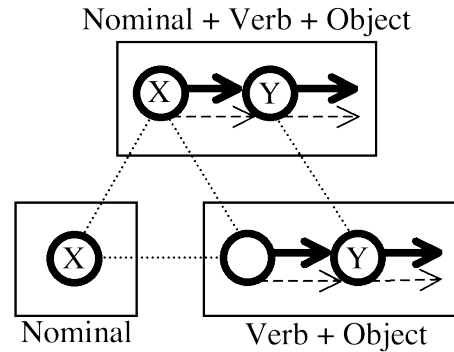
(22) A **subject** is a nominal whose profile corresponds to the **trajector** of a profiled relationship, and an **object**, one whose profile corresponds to the **landmark**.

(23)

(a) Object Construction

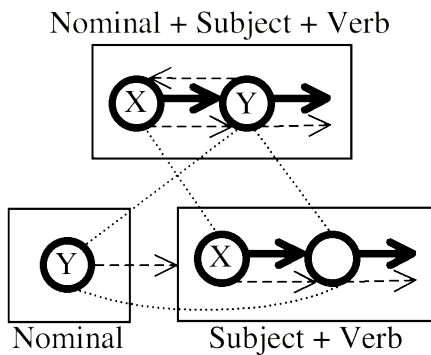


(b) Subject Construction

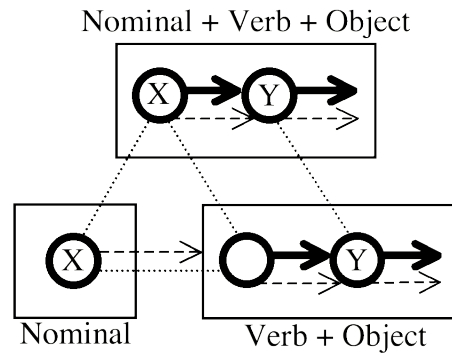


(24)

(a) Object-Topic Construction



(b) Subject-Topic Construction

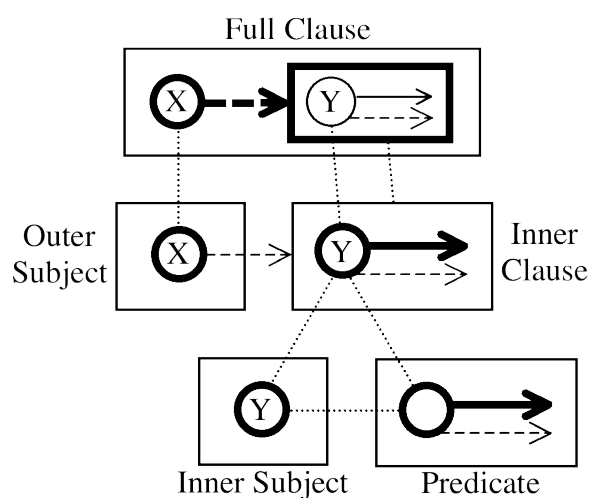


C. Double Subject Constructions

(25) Double subject constructions differ from clause-external topic constructions [(19)(c)] in that: (i) they constitute a single clause, with a single intonation contour; (ii) as such, they have a single overall profile; and (iii) they have special semantic and grammatical properties [listed in (12)].

(26) Double subject constructions differ from clause-internal topic constructions [(24)] in that: (i) the first nominal is not part of the predicate's argument structure; (ii) this nominal has subject status, even though it is not the subject of the predicate; and so (iii) this construction imposes a clausal organization which supersedes the organization of the inner clause.

(27)



(28) A trajector is a reference point intrinsic to the conception of a profiled relationship, the first reference point evoked in building up to its full conception. Thus, when a reference point relation is itself put in profile, the reference point which anchors it is the trajector, by definition.

(29)(a) Reference point relationships are often signalled by simple juxtaposition (rather than by a separate morphological element).

(b) A verb or a clause can profile a reference point relationship.

(c) An expression's composite structure can profile an entity not profiled by either component structure.

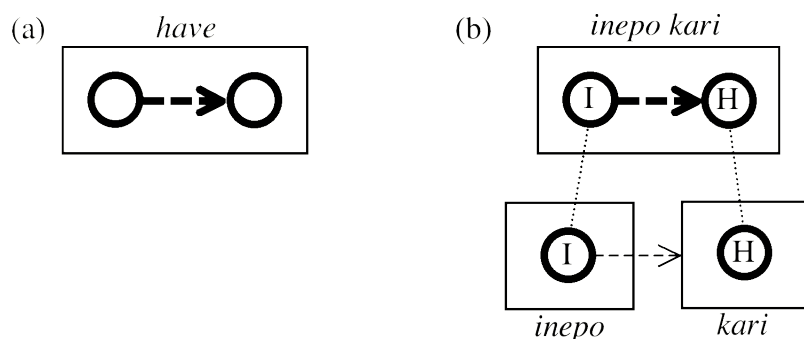
(30) *Xwaan=up ya'ash.* 'Juan is a man.' [Luiseño]
 Juan=3s:PRES man

(31) *jakare ruguai* 'the crocodile's tail' [Guarani]
 crocodile tail

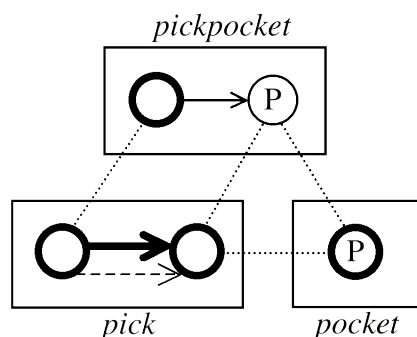
(32) *ibu anak itu* 'that child's mother' [Indonesian]
 mother child that

(33) *inepo kari-ne* 'I will have a house.' [Yaqui]
 I house-FUT

(34)

(35)(a) *February has only 28 days.*(b) *The movie has a sad ending.*(c) *The US has a high ratio of prisoners to total population.*(d) *We have a lot of skunks around here.*(e) *I have the spaghetti.* [said by a customer to a waiter who is still holding the spaghetti]

(36)



(37) A double subject construction [as in (27)] results when:

(a) a reference point relationship is signalled by mere juxtaposition;

(b) the target is a clause (rather than a nominal); and

(c) the reference point relationship—not profiled by either component structure—is nonetheless profiled at the composite structure level.

(38)(a) *She admired **my house**. A famous architect designed **it**.*(a') *She admired **my house**. **It** was designed by a famous architect.*(b) *The team from **Chicago** won the championship.*(b') ***Chicago** won the championship.*(c) *[For **the prime minister** to resign] is unlikely.*(c') ***The prime minister** is unlikely [to resign].*

D. Evidence for the Distinction

- (39) *Taroo-ga fuku-ga itumo hade-da.* ‘Taro always has gaudy clothes.’
Taro-S clothes-S always gaudy-be
- (40) *Rokugatu-ga ame-ga yoku furu.* ‘June always has a lot of rain.’
June-S rain-S often fall
- (41) *Taroo-ga sasimi-ga tabe-rare-ru.* ‘Taro can eat sashimi.’
Taro-S sashimi-S eat-POT-IMPRF
- (42) *Kono koosokudooro-ga ookuno torakku-ga tooru.* ‘This freeway has many trucks
this freeway-S many truck-S pass pass on it.’
- (43) *Kono settyakuzai-ga kawa-ga yoku tuku.* ‘This adhesive glues leather well.’
this adhesive-S leather-S well get:glued
- (44) *Koko-ga Fuzisan-ga yoku mieru.* ‘This place has a good view of Mt. Fuji.’
here-S Fuji-S well be:seen
- (45) ??*Yamada-sensei-ga okosan-ga o-tiisai.* ‘Professor Yamada has a small child.’
Yamada-teacher-S child-S HON-small
- (46) *Yamada-sensei-ga okusan-ga o-wakai.* ‘Professor Yamada has a young wife.’
Yamada-teacher-S wife-S HON-young
- (47) *Yamada-sensei-ga zibun-no musuko-ga kootu-ziko-de sinda.*
Yamada-teacher-S self-GEN son-S traffic-accident-in died
‘Professor Yamada had his son killed in a traffic accident.’
- (48) *Yamada-sensei-ga musuko-ga zibun-ni unzarisi-teiru.*
Yamada-teacher-S son-S self-DAT disgust-STAT
‘Professor Yamada’s son is disgusted with himself.’
- (49) ??*Yamada-sensei-ga Taroo-ga oigosan-nara ...*
Yamada-teacher-S Taro-S nephew-if
‘If Professor Yamada has Taro as his nephew ... ’

(50)

Double Subject Construction		
Control of subject honorification	only NP ₂	(45)/(46)
Control of reflexive <i>zibun</i>	NP ₁ and NP ₂	(47)/(48)
Embedding	not freely permitted	(49)

- (51) *Yamada-sensei-ga me-ga zuibun zyuuketu-si-teiru (koto)*
 Yamada-teacher-S eye-S very inflammation-do-STAT (that)
 ‘(that) Professor Yamada has very red eyes’
- (52) *Taroo-ga aisukuriimu-ga suki-na (koto)* ‘(that) Taro likes ice cream’
 Taro-S ice:cream-S likeable-be (that)
- (53) *Taroo-ga hebi-ga kowai rasii (koto)* ‘(that) Taro seems to be afraid of snakes’
 Taro-S snake-S scary seem (that)
- (54) *Hanako-ga keisan-ga hayai (koto)* ‘(that) Hanako is quick at calculating’
 Hanako-S calculation-S quick (that)
- (55) *Yamada-sensei-ga me-ga zuibun zyuuketu-nasat-teiru (koto)*
 Yamada-teacher-S eye-S very inflammation-do:HON-STAT (that)
 ‘(that) Professor Yamada has very red eyes’
- (56) **watasi-ga sensei-ga o-suki-na (koto)* ‘(that) I like the teacher’
 I-S teacher-S HON-likeable-be (that)
- (57) *Taroo-ga zibun-no guruupu-de itiban me-ga zyuuketu-si-teiru (koto)*
 Taro-S self-GEN group-in most eye-S inflammation-do-STAT (that)
 ‘(that) Taro has the reddest eyes in his group’
- (58) **watasi-ga Taroo-ga zibun-no guruupu-de itiban suki-na (koto)*
 I-S Taro-S self-GEN group-in most likeable-be (that)
 ‘(that) I like Taro best in his group’
- (59) *Yamada-sensei-ga me-ga zuibun zyuuketu-si-teiru-nara ...*
 Yamada-teacher-S eye-S very inflammation-do-STAT-if
 ‘If Professor Yamada has very red eyes ... ’

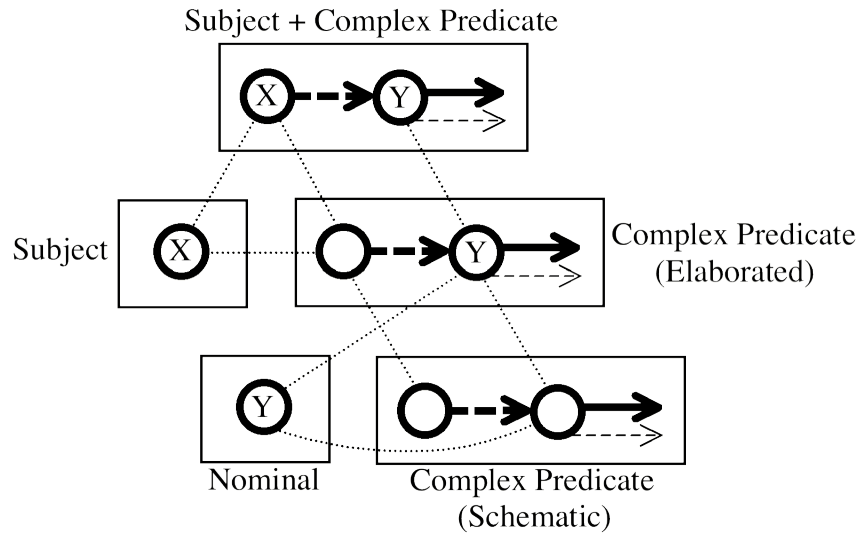
(60)

Complex Predicate Construction		
Control of subject honorification	only NP ₁	(55)/(56)
Control of reflexive <i>zibun</i>	only NP ₁	(57)/(58)
Embedding	permitted	(59)

E. Complex Predicate Constructions

- (61)(a) **Subject honorification** is controlled by a *predicate-level subject*.
 (b) **Reflexivization** with *zibun* is controlled by a *clause-level subject*.

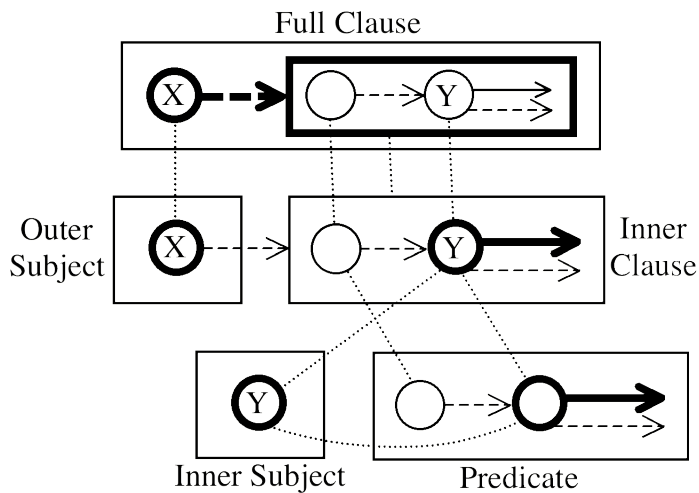
(62)



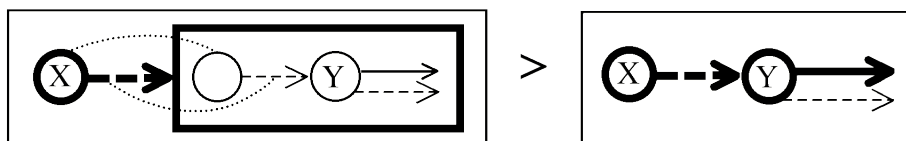
(63)(a) In a *double subject construction*, the inner clause has a certain *conceptual autonomy*; it is readily conceptualized without invoking NP₁ in any salient way.

(b) In a *complex predicate construction*, NP₁ is a *salient reference point* with respect to NP₂ and/or the process coded by the predicate.

(64)



(65)



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