

Categorization and semantics of subject-like obliques

A cross-linguistic perspective

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This chapter's underlying framework is one of functionalist cognitive linguistics. It suggests a categorization of non-prototypical trajector (subject) constructions into syntax-, gram- and lexeme-driven ones depending on the nature of the domain that triggers the oblique case-marking on the trajector argument. Additionally, a unified semantic account is proposed, which is based on the comparison with causative events. The structure of these events consists of an antecedent subevent (typically implicit) and a subsequent subevent. This study argues that constructions with non-prototypical trajectors (subjects) refer to consequent events. That is, all three types of constructions exhibit an invariant semantic core; they conceptualize the event as being a (e.g. causally) consequent event and imply the existence of a (e.g. causally) antecedent event. The differences between the three types pertain mainly to the referential properties of the antecedent event and its main participant: while with the syntax-driven type the antecedent event is explicit, referential and conceptualized onstage, with the gram-driven type it is implicit, non-referential and offstage, though confined to a particular concept. The lexeme-driven type only implies the existence of an antecedent event; it does not, however, commit any assessment on the concept of this event.

1. Introduction

Extensive research on non-canonical subjects and their relation to canonical ones (cf., *inter alia*, Aikhenvald et al. 2001; Bhaskararao & Subbarao 2004; Barðdal 2008, 2009; Seržant & Kulikov 2013) as well as research on alternations in the case marking of the highest ranked argument (Kittilä 2002; de Hoop & de Swart 2008, *inter alia*) currently being undertaken. The main body of previous investigations is concerned with the non-canonical subjects resulting from the lexical entailments of

their verbs, whereas other types of non-canonical subjects have received much less attention. In this paper, I argue that different kinds of constructions with subject-like obliques or non-canonical subjects tend to exhibit the same semantic core.

The present paper adheres to the framework of functionalist cognitive linguistics as instantiated in, inter alia, Langacker (2008). This model provides the concepts of *trajector* (TR) and *landmark* (LM) that will be used in the paper instead of the traditional notions of *subject* and *object*. TR status implies that the given argument is endowed with the *primary focal prominence* as compared to the other arguments (Langacker 2008: 72, 366ff). The trajectorhood is thus defined relatively and within the semantic-pragmatic domain (focus of attention) as opposed to subjecthood that is primarily a syntactic notion. Within the semantic-pragmatic domain, the selection of the trajector participant is rather a matter of construal and less, or secondarily, of conceptual content. As Langacker notes (1997:66), the trajector is, thus, not tied to a semantic role in a straightforward way, though acknowledging certain preferred but defeasible correlations.

Both subject and trajector often coincide in one and the same NP as trajectors prototypically are encoded with subjecthood (Langacker 2008: 365). The advantage in rather employing semantic-pragmatic dimension is motivated by the fact that it much more precisely mirrors the synchronic conceptualization of an event, whereas formal properties may rather be conservative and represent traces of a historically previous conceptualization and/or construal that have already been overridden by a new conceptualization/construal (e.g., manifested in the change from subject to object). Additionally, certain types of predicates are predisposed to diffuse subjecthood (cf. Holvoet 2009), i.e. the symmetric predicates in Langacker's terms (2008: 369) and, as a consequence, apt to some uncertainty with regard to trajectorhood. Thus the trajector is subject to prototype effects as regards its syntactic and morphosyntactic encoding: it is the prototypical trajector when it is encoded by the canonical subject (i.e. by means of both behavior and coding properties as defined in Keenan 1976), and it is less of a prototypical trajector when it is only encoded by some of the behavioral and not by the respective coding properties. This is the type of trajectorhood the present paper is devoted to.

A construction with a trajector argument endowed with only some subject properties will be referred to here as a *non-prototypical trajector construction*, abbreviated NTC, while the endowment with morphologically driven properties (e.g. the nominative case and verbal agreement) alone will not be taken as indicative of trajectorhood.

I adopt the assumption adhered to by Construction Grammar that constructions are grammatical units which themselves have meanings (Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). Thus the constructions under investigation encode non-prototypical transitivity that is typically substantiated in the lack of full control on the part of the

subject-like participant. This meaning is, however, not marked on the predicate but rather by assigning an oblique case to its highest ranked argument. Constructions of this type are less frequent in accusative languages (Malchukov 2006) but nevertheless can be encountered, e.g., in a number of languages around the Eastern part of the Baltic Sea (East of Circum-Baltic area as defined in Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001), cf. Seržant (2012, forthcoming). Notably, there is great cross- and intralinguistic variation as to how languages may syntactically treat this kind of oblique case-marked arguments (Langacker 2008: 359) stretching from Icelandic with all syntactic properties to English (e.g. in *it occurs to me that...*) with no syntactic subject properties at all. Apart from these two extremes, various intermediate stages seem to be very frequent cross- and intralinguistically.

The aim of this paper is to provide a categorization of construction types (Section 2) and to approach the invariant of their meanings so that the parallelism in their encoding can be explained. In Section 3, I will try to establish the semantics of different kinds of NTCs as well as an invariant semantic core and account for the deviations from this core by postulating a radial category (cf., *inter alia*, Lakoff 1987; Janda 1993; Luraghi 2009).

2. Categorization of the NTC

The first approach in categorizing different kinds of NTCs is Haspelmath (2001: 56) who suggests the following three types thereof: “(i) reference-related conditions, (ii) clause-related conditions, and (iii) predicate-related conditions”. In what follows, I will suggest a somewhat modified categorization.

As noted above, the NTCs encode situations or events that considerably deviate from the transitive prototype (cf., *inter alia*, Lazard 1998) primarily due to the lack of proto-agent properties (as in Dowty 1991) on the part of the subject-like argument. The lack of proto-agent entailments can be anchored differently in the event structure. First, it might be due to entailments that the lexical verb itself imposes on its most salient argument (e.g. an experiencer verb), i.e. due to the *predicate-related conditions* in Haspelmath (2001: 56). Secondly, different kinds of grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, mood, negation etc. may override the lexical entailments of the underlying verb (*the clause-related conditions* in Haspelmath 2001: 56). Therefore, *John killed Bill* and *John did not kill Bill* considerably differ in terms of their proto-agent and proto-patient properties.¹

1. E.g., there is no endowment with *causing an event or change of state in another participant* (as per Dowty 1991) on the part of the subject argument with the latter; equally, the object participant is not affected by the event.

These differences are induced by the negation operator and do not inhere in the lexical verb *kill* in any straightforward way. Certain languages adjust the morpho-syntactic encoding of the first participant in such cases accordingly. Finally, the clause-external context may also detach proto-agent properties from a participant. Correspondingly, I will introduce the following categorization of constructions with non-prototypically encoded trajectors:

1. lexeme-driven non-prototypical trajector constructions (Subsection 2.1), i.e. those constructions in which the non-canonicity of the first argument is driven by the lexical entailments;
2. gram-driven non-prototypical trajector constructions (Subsection 2.2), i.e. those constructions in which the non-canonicity of the first argument is driven by the corresponding grammatical category in that the verb occurs;
3. syntax-driven non-prototypical trajector constructions (Subsection 2.3), i.e. those constructions in which the non-canonicity of the first argument is driven by the clause linking mechanisms.

Categorizations of this kind – even if presupposed in several previous investigations – have not been explicitly formulated except for by Haspelmath (2001). Needless to say, this categorization rather aims at pointing to the relevant prototypes, and there are obviously predicates where several aspects (i.e. the syntactic, grammatical and lexical fields of the “grammar-lexicon” continuum) interact. I will, however, try to avoid the complex types in this paper in order to remain within a certain level of simplicity since, first of all, I am trying to establish the very general semantic motivations which in later research may be improved by taking more complex situations into account.

2.1 Lexeme-driven NTCs

A lexeme-driven NTC consists of a lexical predicate that shows up with non-prototypical valence for its most salient argument throughout its paradigm. The non-prototypical morphosyntactic interface is the consequence of the lexical entailments that this lexical predicate imposes on its argument. This type of NTC corresponds to the “predicate-related condition” for the non-canonical case assignment in Haspelmath (2001). A cross-linguistically frequent, lexeme-driven NTC is typically an experience denoting predicate, cf. (1), though not only, cf. (2) and (3):

- (1) Icelandic
Okku fellur þessi bók
 we.DAT like.3SG this.NOM book.NOM
 ‘We like that book.’
- (2) Lithuanian
Kalbininkui trūksta idėjų
 linguist:DAT lack:PRS.3 idea:GEN.PL
 ‘The linguist is short of ideas.’
- (3) Latvian
Man piestāv šis uzvalks
 I.DAT fit:3SG this:NOM suit:NOM
 ‘This suit fits me well.’
- (4) Russian
Rebenka vyrvalo kašej
 child:ACC vomit:PST.3SG.N porridge:INSTR
 ‘The child vomited the porridge.’

These lexical verbs subcategorize for non-prototypically encoded trajectors only, at least, in relevant meaning; other uses of these verbs are instances of homonymy and never of synonymy.

As I noted above, trajectorhood is defined in terms of the relative focal prominence which is primarily subject to construal. Since the Examples (1)–(4) all exhibit unmarked word order, I take the initial position of the oblique argument in the unmarked word order as indicative of its primary focal prominence and, hence, trajectorhood, relative to the second argument in these languages.

Alongside different kinds of experiencer predicates, there are also beneficiary/maleficiary predicates (such as lacking and succeeding in Example 2) or the *mihi-est* possessive construction (cf. Clancy 2010 for Slavic).

The non-prototypical or non-canonical case marking of the trajector argument is motivated by its lacking of the most of Proto-Agent properties, such as volitionality (“*volitional involvement in the event or state*”), causation (“*causing an event or change of state in another participant*”) or movement (“*relative to the position of another participant*”) in terms of Dowty (1991).

2.2 Gram-driven NTCs

Gram-driven NTCs (G-NTC) refer here to those predicates where the non-prototypical case assignment to the trajector argument is not triggered by the lexical semantics of the given verb (as in 2.1 above) and not clause-externally

(as in 2.3 below) but rather clause-internally by the grammatical category within which it occurs (the clause-related condition in Haspelmath 2001: 56). That is to say, the case frame and, subsequently, the lexical entailments of the verb are overridden or inverted by the entailments of the grammatical category within which the verb occurs. With lexical NTCs, case is assigned by the verb on the basis of the argument's thematic role, while, with gram-driven NTCs, the verb's case frame is overridden by the imposed case frame of the given gram (e.g. TAM, negation, quantification etc.). The grammatical categories that can have such diathetic effects on a lexical verb's case frame are typically the following: *evidentiality* (2.2.1), *(deontic) necessity modality* (2.2.2), *P-lability anticausative with no morpho-syntactic promotion of the Patient argument*, *perfect/resultative predicates* (2.2.3) or *negated genitive subject predicates* (2.2.4).²

2.2.1 Evidentiality

In Lithuanian, the evidential mood can be formed by the non-agreeing form of the (formally) passive participle with the genitive case-marked logical subject and nominative (and dialectally accusative) case-marked logical object, cf. indicative past in (5a) and the corresponding evidential construction in (5b):

- (5) a. Lithuanian
Senieji miškus mylėjo
 old:NOM.PL forest:ACC.PL love:PST.3
 'The elders loved the forests.'
- b. Lithuanian
Senų miškai mylė-t-a
 old:GEN.PL forest:NOM.PL love-PPP-SG.N
 'The elders [apparently] have loved the forests'

(adopted from Jablonskis 1922: 141)

The evidential construction has, in the past, been regarded by some scholars as passive (cf., inter alia, Ambrazas et al. 1997).³ However, apart from the participle's morphology, there is no other reason to regard it as passive: there is no syntactic, and dialectally, no morphological object promotion,⁴ nor is there subject

2. In this paper, I will not discuss voice, e.g. passive or middle, which also has this function but usually does not result in a non-canonical case assignment.

3. Unfortunately, this view has been reiterated in some typological works.

4. Even from a purely morphological perspective, unequivocal object promotion is found in Lithuanian only if both the nominative case-marking and the verbal agreement co-occur. The nominative case-marking alone does not suffice since, in this language, (non-agreeing) nominative objects and nominative adverbs exist.

demotion in terms of discourse prominence or word order. The construction patterns rather with an active construction in any other TAM forms of the given verb. Furthermore, it is usually formed out of intransitive verbs (including such unaccusatives as ‘to be’) which are highly unlikely to occur in passives (Blevins 2003: 495–9; Holvoet 2007: 90ff; Seržant 2012).

The predicate in the evidential construction encodes not only two core participants (*the elders* and *the forests* as in (5b) above), but also an event-external and syntactically implicit participant, namely, the “inferer” (which need not be co-referential with the conceptualizer/speaker). The inferer is inherently present in the overall semantic structure and cannot be ruled out. Thus there are two acting or controlling participants in the overall semantic structure of the event encoded by the evidential construction: the event-internal participant, *the elders*, and the event-external participant, *the inferer*. The inferer consciously makes the inference, (s)he is inherently endowed with sentence and perception.

2.2.2 Necessity modals

The Latvian debitive mood is formed by the verbal prefix *jā-*, dative case-marking of the logical subject and nominative case-marking of the logical object (colloquially also accusative). The meaning is one of necessity, in most cases deontic necessity, cf. the indicative in (6a) and debitive in (6b):

- (6) a. Latvian
Es lasu šo grāmatu
 I:NOM read:PRS.1SG this:ACC.SG.F book:ACC.SG.F
 ‘I read/am reading this book.’
- b. Latvian
Man (ir) jā-lasa šī grāmata
 I:DAT copula DEB-read.INVAR this:NOM.SG.F book:NOM.SG.F
 ‘I have to read this book.’

I assume that the reasoning here must be parallel to the evidential construction of Lithuanian. Necessity denotes an obligation subevent that is typically not under the (full) control of the obligee. In this way, debitive mood also invokes a second acting participant that is not a core participant of the event ‘to read this book’. It is the “obliger” participant that imposes the obligation on the agent of the verb *lasīt* ‘to read’ detaching and attracting, thereby, Proto-Agent properties from the agent of the underlying event ‘read’. This third participant can be animate (e.g., a professor that obliged his student to read this book) or inanimate circumstances that are not under control of the obligee. The obliger and the very obligation subevent (as with the inferer above) are also inherently implicit.

Other predicates expressing deontic modality with a non-prototypically marked logical subject can be adduced from Russian (7) (deontic possibility):

(7) Russian

Mne ne uvidet' Pariža

I:DAT not see:INF Paris:GEN

'I will not be able to see Paris' [e.g., because I don't have enough money to travel]

In the Russian example, the agent of the subevent logically embedded under the modal operator is demoted because most of its controlling properties were overtaken by the main participant (e.g. the circumstances that prohibit travel to Paris) of the implicit "matrix" event.

2.2.3 Resultative/perfect

The North Russian perfect has a fully grammaticalized, valence-bound non-prototypical subject that is marked with the PP *u* 'at' + genitive.⁵ It fulfils most of the subject tests such as *equi-NP deletion*, *control of reflexivization* and *topicality / first position in the unmarked word order* (Timberlake 1975), but it cannot trigger verbal agreement, cf. (8):

(8) North Russian

U menja ruka porane-n-o

at me:GEN hand:NOM.SG.FEM injure-PPP-NOM.N.SG=INVAR

'I have injured my hand.'

A resultative or perfect predicate as in (8) profiles only the after-state/-situation subsequent to the event referred to by the lexical verb (cf. Croft 1998: 56). However, a perfect or resultative predicate is semantically more complex than a simple stative as in, for example, *'He is clever'*. The perfect/resultative predicate profiles an (after-) subevent of the base event, presupposing preceding action. Both the preceding action event and the resultative/perfect after-event share the main participant. Yet, even though the agent-like main participant of the preceding action is co-referential with the main participant of the resultant after-event, it has quite different proto-agent entailments in Dowty's (1991) sense at both stages. While the agent-like participant of the preceding action is a prototypical agent that carries out an action, the main participant of the resultant after-event is not so. The latter is experiencing a resultant state that (s)he cannot control (anymore). In the same way, the patient-like participant cannot affect it either. In other words, the

5. There is some subdialectal variation (Roduner and Privitelli 2006: 417; Seržant 2012).

agent-like participant had the opportunity to control the event at the stage of the preceding action but no longer has it at the resultant stage (Seržant 2012). The only difference between this perfect construction, on the one hand, and the evidential or debitive construction, on the other hand, is that the event-external and the event-internal main participants are co-referential. Thus, similarly to the evidential construction in Lithuanian and debitive construction in Latvian, the North Russian perfect implies the existence of a third participant that is endowed with control properties. By comparing the semantics of these different kinds of gram-driven NTCs, one already gets an idea of what can be semantically common to all these – at first glance – different constructions.

2.2.4 *Genitive-under-negation, a special case of G-NTC in Russian*

Russian has a so-called *genitive-under-negation* rule entailing that the objects of transitive predicates and, crucially, the subjects of some non-agentive (unaccusative) intransitive predicates may turn from accusative/nominative into genitive if the predicate is negated (G-NTC) and some additional conditions apply. It has been claimed that reference-related conditions (cf. Haspelmath 2001: 56), such as the referent's being in the scope of the negation, select genitive, cf., inter alia, Babby (2001).

However, this explanation does not account for all cases. It is especially at odds with those cases, in which the genitive case-marked subjects are definite and wide-scope (e.g. with personal pronouns or proper names). Instead, the rule that accounts for all instances has been put forward in Padučeva (1997, 2005). She claims that, under negation, the choice between nominative (i.e. the canonical trajector) and genitive (i.e. G-NTC) is governed by whether or not the absence (negated presence) of the subject NP has been experienced by an implicit inferer. Contrast the nominative case-marking in (9b) and the genitive case-marking in (9a):

- (9) a. Russian
Otca ne bylo na more
 father:GEN not be:PST.3.N on sea
 'Father was not on the seashore' [while I was there and I haven't seen him]
- b. Russian
Otec ne byl na more
 father:NOM not be:PST.3.MASC on sea
 'Father was not on the seashore' [he stayed home]

While (9b) asserts that the *father* has not been at a certain place/location, the utterance in (9a) implies that the *father* has not been at a certain place/location in the perceptual world of *the inferer* (Padučeva 2005: 103). In this example, the inferer

enters the event structure as an implicit additional participant having certain control properties over the overall event alongside the subject participant, as has been noted by Padučeva (2005). The utterance in (9a) not only implies the absence of the subject referent at the given location (*'seashore'*), but also the presence of the inferer and his mental activity. If the inferer had not been at the location, (s)he would not have been able to make the inference, part of which is the subject referent (*'the father'*). In other words, the very absence of the *father* at the location can be interpreted as logically dependent on the implied inference event. Thus Padučeva (2005) states that the existence at the location is denied in the inferer's mind when the subject is case-marked genitive. I also conclude that the *genitive-under-negation* constructions such as in (9a) entail the existence of a main event, which the event they encode is logically dependent on.

The controlling properties of the implicit main event and its main participant may even increase from an inferer to an agent, cf.:

(10) Russian

Na šedevrax naročno ne bylo
 on masterworks on.purpose:ADV not be:PST.SG.N

imen ix sozdatelej,
 name:GEN.PL their authors

no vse znali, što sredi eksponatov -
 but all knew, that among showpieces -

Džakometti, Xerst i Kuns
 Giacometti Hirst and Koons

'[It was] on purpose [that] there were no author names on the masterworks; but everyone knew that there were *Giacometti, Hirst and Koons* among the showpieces.'⁶

In contrast to Polish (cf. Dziwirek 1994: 173–4; Blaszczyk 2008: 125–34), Russian marginally allows negated, genitive-subject sentences with agentive adverbials such as *naročno* 'on purpose' indicative of the presence of a controlling agent, as in (10). Crucially, the agentivity properties of the adverb cannot be attributed to the genitive subject referent since the latter inherently lacks them in this construction. The grammaticality of the sentence in (10) highlights an event structure that, in addition to the absence event encoded overtly, imply presence of an another, implicit event with an implicit participant. It is this implicit participant that can be attributed the agentivity properties of the adverb. That is to say, in (10), it was an implicit agent that arranged the exhibition in such a way that *there were no author names on the showpieces*. This implicit agent is endowed with the following

6. <http://www.izvestia.ru/chronicle/article3120761/>

proto-agent entailments (Dowty 1991: 572): (a) volitional involvement in the event or state, (b) sentience, (c) it causes a situation not to take place, and (d) it exists independently of the event named by the verb.

To summarize, the third implicit participant of this type of G-NTC infers or arranges the situation in such a way that the event encoded by the underlying lexical verb (restricted to inagentives/unaccusatives) does not take place.

2.3 Syntax-driven NTC

With syntax-driven NTCs (S-NTC), the oblique-case assignment to the logical subject is triggered by the syntactic (subordinate) status of its clause. The syntax-driven NTCs differ from both the lexeme- and gram-driven ones formally, namely, in that they do not constitute syntactically independent (main) clauses themselves. Nevertheless, these constructions also employ the morphological demotion strategy on the part of their most salient participant (trajector). I will discuss only some subtypes of syntax-driven NTCs: AcI (accusativus cum infinitivo) (2.3.1) and some absolutive constructions (2.3.2).

2.3.1 *Accusativus cum infinitivo* (AcI)

Syntax-driven NTCs are well known, for example, from the raising-to-object- or control-constructions such as in English *I see him going* in which the subject of the subclause *him* is encoded with an oblique, typically direct-object case. Below, I discuss a subtype of subclauses traditionally referred to as *accusativus cum infinitivo* (AcI), cf. (11) with the main clause *légetai* ‘it is said’ and the AcI ...*aphikésthai tòn stratón* [lit.] ‘the army to have come’:

(11) Classical Greek

Es mèn dè toûton tòn chôron- légetai- apikésthai
 in PRT PRT this the place say:PASS.PRS.3SG arrive:AOR.INF
tòn stratón
 the:ACC army:ACC

[lit.] ‘Until this place, it is said, the army came.’ (Hdt. 3.26.8)

The logical subject *tòn stratón*, ‘the army’, is marked with the accusative case. Apart from the formal subordination of this type of NTCs, there is also a logical dependence in terms of semantics: the encoded event is interpreted as being in the scope of the matrix event. Thus the accusative case-marked logical subject (*‘army’*) in (11) and its event encoded by the infinitival predicate (*‘to have arrived’*) are construed as being dependent on the main clause event (*‘it is said’*) with a generic, indefinite main participant. The whole event of arrival is asserted for the world

that is spoken about and that need not be the same as the real world. Differently from the G-NTCs, with S-NTCs the logically main event is overtly expressed ('it is said') while the event encoded by the S-NTC is syntactically dependent on it.

The embeddedness of S-NTCs, however, does not always have to be in terms of logic; it may also shift into the domain of pragmatics as in (12) below.

2.3.2 *Absolutive/Adverbial clauses*

There are different kinds of absolutive/adverbial constructions that involve different cases, e.g., in the ancient Indo-European languages, such as *ablativus absolutus* in Latin, *genitivus absolutus* in Classical Greek or *locativus absolutus* in Sanskrit (cf. Keydana 1997). This type of construction also requires a morphosyntactic 'subject-demotion', cf. the *genitivus absolutus* constructions in Ancient Greek:

(12) Ancient Greek

Ēlpeto *gàr* *katà* *thymòn* *apostrépsontas*
 hope:3.SG PRT at spirit turn.back:PTCP.ACC.PL

hetaírous *ek* *Tróōn* *iénai*,
 friend:ACC.PL from Trojans go:INF

pálin *Héktoros* *otrúnantos*
 back:ADV Hector:GEN.SG stir.up:PTCP.GEN.SG

'For in his heart he hoped that friends were coming from the Trojans to turn [him] back, [since] Hector ordered [him] back.'
 (Il. 10.356)

The absolutive adverbial clauses – different to the dependent constructions like AcI – are logically independent from the situation coded by the respective main clause, cf. the Lithuanian dative absolutive construction:

(13) Lithuanian

Jam *atėjus* *pas* *karalių*, *šis* *paklausė*
 he:DAT come:PST.CONV to king this:NOM ask:PST.3

'When he came to the king, the [king] asked ...'

Logically, the embedded event, 'When he came to the king', in (13) is not in the scope of the main event. It is presupposed as it does not turn into non-existence if the whole sentence is negated. As Cristofaro (2003:30) points out, one has to distinguish between two dimensions: (i) logical semantics that has to do with the truth conditions of a sentence and (ii) the pragmatic dimension. "The pragmatic sense ... crucially refers to the speakers' assumption concerning the information status of the sentences they utter" (Cristofaro 2003:30). Thus the profiles of the subordinate events 'he came to the king' (in 13) and 'Hector ordered him back' (in 12) are overridden by the profiles of the respective main events (in terms of Langacker 1987: Chapter 7). Notably, the utterances in (12) and (13) are about the

main events while the respective embedded events are neither topics nor foci; they are not construed as onstage events. The profile of (13) is one of an act of *asking*, not *coming*. While the main clauses's event has an autonomous profile, the embedded event lacks its own profile being a part of the *asking* event (cf. Langacker 1991:498–501; Cristofaro 2003:30). It is intended to provide (in Langacker's terms) a piece of offstage information. Furthermore, it is not pragmatically assertive, which can be tested by sentential questions and negations (cf. Cristofaro 2003:30–3). Thus, while in (11) there is a logical asymmetry in terms of scope, in (12) and (13) there is an asymmetry in terms of the construal.

To summarize, the event encoded by S-NTCs entails its dependence on the matrix event, either in terms of semantics or pragmatics. In other words, both the semantically non-prototypical trajectors (cf. Example 11) and the pragmatically non-prototypical trajectors (Examples 12 and 13) are coded with an oblique case. Crucially, both these subtypes of S-NTCs entail the existence of another, prototypical, main trajector and its event (the main event).

3. A unified semantic account of the non-prototypically realized trajector

In the previous sections I have presented different types of NTCs. Some similarities across the three types of NTCs have already been indicated. In this section, an attempt will be made to provide a systematic account of the denotational facet of NTCs. This account will consist of (i) an invariant semantic core that is inherent to different types of NTCs and (ii) those denotational aspects that are subject to variation. I adhere to the constructionist approach to grammar (as substantiated in, *inter alia*, Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001) and claim that there is an invariant meaning found with various NTCs. I will start with taking a closer look at gram-driven NTCs that are, in a way, in an intermediate position between syntax- and lexeme-driven NTCs.

The conceptual semantics of events encoded by the grammatical categories such as evidentiality, necessity modality or perfect is complex. Even though one clause typically refers to only one event, the semantics of gram-driven NTCs implies an additional (grounding) event parallel to the main event referred to by the lexical verb. One can describe this implicit event as the speaker's inference-event in the case of the evidential construction, or as the presence of a participant or some event-external circumstances that create an obligation with the debitive construction, or as the preceding action with the North Russian perfect construction. In order to demonstrate the common semantic core, I will compare these constructions with causatives.

Generally, a causative predication implies two subevents: *an antecedent subevent* and the *consequent subevent* (Nedjalkov & Sil'nickij 1969). According to Nedjalkov & Sil'nickij (1969), there are different kinds of causatives depending on the semantic type of the antecedent subevent: from the permissive causation (cf. 14), i.e. just permitting the consequent event to come about, to the coercive causation, i.e. forcing the consequent event to come about. In the former case, the controlling properties are shared by the trajector of the antecedent subevent and by the trajector of the consequent subevent, whereas, in the latter case, it is rather only the trajector of the antecedent subevent that is endowed with the control over the whole complex event. Thus, generally, a whole range of antecedent and consequent relations in terms of logical causality is available. Consider an example with permissive causation:

(14) French

Jean m' a laissé partir

John me AUX let:PTCP leave:INF

'John let me leave.' [lit. 'John admitted me to leave']

In this example, *me* (the trajector of the verb *partir*) is encoded by oblique case to signal that it has redirected some of its control properties to the causer, i.e. to *Jean*: both participants are endowed with control over the subevent encoded by the lexical verb 'to leave', both participants are sentient, etc. In other words, only the cooperation of both participants has allowed the subevent encoded by 'to leave' to occur. The main participant of the matrix event intrudes into the event encoded by the underlying lexical verb and, subsequently, reorders the force-dynamic relations (in terms of the causal approach, cf. Talmy 1976; DeLancey 1985; Langacker 1987; Croft 1993, 1994, 1998a, b). Both subevents merge, thereby, into one complex event.

Now, turning back to NTCs, we observe that the only difference between the causative construction as in (14), on the one hand, and the gram-driven NTCs (G-NTCs), on the other hand, is the presence in the former but absence in the latter of an overtly realized main participant of the antecedent event. Otherwise, both constructions are semantically parallel: both denote a consequent subevent and an implicit antecedent subevent. Thus, as is the case with the Lithuanian evidential mood, the construction implies an antecedent event (the inference) and a consequent event (the event encoded by the verb). The same is true for the permissive causation in (14) except for the main participant of the antecedent event. The G-NTCs are construed from the perspective of the trajector of the consequent event while the permissive causative in (14) is construed from the perspective of the antecedent-event trajector. Analogically, in the case of the Latvian debitive mood, its construction implies an antecedent event (the obligation) and

a consequent event (the event encoded by the verb); other G-NTCs may be analyzed analogically. One also finds some sort of cooperation between both trajectors, the implicit trajector of the antecedent event (the inferer, the obliger) having priority over the overt, non-prototypical (consequent-event) trajector (the inferee, the obligee, etc.). This necessarily leads to an oblique case-marking on the inferee or the obligee, that is, the consequent event trajector. Essentially, G-NTCs do not provide specific or referential information about the antecedent subevent but rather only specify the concept of the antecedent subevent. Thus the evidential construction implies that the antecedent subevent must be an act of inference while the necessity modals imply an obligating subevent (the existence of obligating circumstances or persons). However, there is neither exact identification of nor reference to a particular subevent.

The comparison is particularly obvious in those cases where the causee and the obligee are filled with animate NPs. Thus Divjak and Janda (2008) argue that the dative arguments with modal predicates in Russian are *agentive experiencers* as they are agents of the embedded event but experiencers of the modal (antecedent) subevent. Fully parallel to this, the causee of the permissive causative, as in (14), is also a sort of experiencer or beneficiary of the antecedent admission subevent but (less prototypical) agent of the consequent (admitted) subevent.

I argue that the internal structure of G-NTCs consists of two subevents: an antecedent and consequent subevent, somewhat reminiscent of causatives. I summarize:

G-NTC: The event is construed as an inherently consequent subevent: apart from the onstage information it entails, it provides information about the antecedent subevent with a controlling participant; the antecedent subevent is described only in terms of a concept; the antecedent subevent and its trajector remain inherently implicit and covert. Semantically, the consequent subevent has inherently narrow scope in respect to the antecedent subevent.

Note that the temporal sequence such as, e.g., *preceding action* vs. *resultant state* (as with the North Russian perfect) can also be subsumed under the causal sequence: obviously, there is also a causal relation between the preceding action and the resultant state: the resultant state can only take place if there has been a preceding action.

As I mentioned above, the antecedent subevent with its main, controlling participant is inherently covert and, hence, inherently discursively backgrounded. It “is quite schematic semantically” and “lacks the specificity and rich detail” (in terms of Langacker 1990: 13). Nevertheless, the meaning of the gram determines the concept of the antecedent subevent which, therefore, is not arbitrary. The antecedent subevent is a *grounding* element that inheres in the verbal

morphology and non-prototypical case assignment to the trajector-like argument; it is construed with maximal *subjectivity* (as defined in Langacker 1985, 1990: 13, 1997, 2008: 259ff).

This is only somewhat different with syntax-driven NTCs that tend to express the same semantic structure as G-NTCs. With S-NTCs, the antecedent subevent and its main participant can and must be exactly specified. S-NTCs require reference to a particular action and to a particular, main controlling participant, respectively. Thus the antecedent subevent is not only conceptually (as with the G-NTC), but also referentially determined. The antecedent subevent is construed onstage with the S-NTC while it is construed offstage with the G-NTC (in the sense of Langacker 1990, 2008), but both the S-NTC and G-NTC require it. I summarize:

S-NTC: The event is construed as an inherently consequent subevent; it entails an antecedent subevent with the main participant; the antecedent subevent and its main participant must be realized by means of a matrix clause.

There are some gram-driven NTCs that almost exclusively imply the speaker (*the subject of conceptualization* Langacker, *passim*) as the main participant of the antecedent subevent which may be cancelled only by embedding them into indirect speech. These are mainly epistemic G-NTCs, such as the evidential construction in Lithuanian. It has to be stressed, however, that the main controlling participant of the implicit antecedent subevent by no means has to be coreferential with the subject of conceptualization, it can equally be a third entity, as, for example, in the Latvian debitive construction. It can have epistemic meaning in which, as I noted, the subject of conceptualization will be the controlling participant anchored in the antecedent subevent, but it can also have dynamic or deontic necessity meanings which do not impose such restrictions on the controlling participant of the antecedent subevent. In other words, the antecedent subevent provides a grounding situation that may but needs not coincide with the *vantage point* (as defined by Langacker 2008) or with the subject of conceptualization.

The difference in construals between the G- and S-NTCs lies in how much information about the antecedent subevent is provided and how this information is integrated into discourse. As I noted, while G-NTCs imply the existence of the logically antecedent subevent and provide its concept only, the S-NTCs presuppose an explicit reference to a particular antecedent subevent. The latter is inherently backgrounded with the G-NTCs and foregrounded with the S-NTCs.

Now, bearing in mind that the conceptual prototype behind S- and G-NTCs is their logical consequence or “logical embeddedness”, we may now turn to lexeme-driven NTCs. I assume that generally the same concept is found with L-NTCs, too: the event is generally conceptualized as being not controlled by its main participant. Recall that, with S-NTCs, the antecedent subevent with the

controlling participant/trajector is onstage, referential, explicit and discursively prominent and, with G-NTCs, is offstage, non-referential, implicit and discursively inherently backgrounded. Yet, with the lexeme-driven NTC (L-NTC), it is only the existence of an antecedent subevent and of an event-external controlling participant that is implied. Thus there is not even commitment as to what kind of concept the antecedent subevent may belong to. The L-NTCs encode the very fact that there is something or that something has occurred resulting in the event-internal main participant (e.g. the experiencer) not having full control over the situation. Thus, as regards Example (1) ‘*We like this book*’ above, for example, the antecedent subevent may describe some properties of the book that are responsible for the consequent event, e.g.: *This book is so interesting (and so we like it)*. The concept of the antecedent subevent is in no way pre-determined with the L-NTCs and is compatible with any kind of situation that is pragmatically coherent. By implying that something has occurred to X over which X did not have a full control, one automatically implies that there was a Y that has been (co-)responsible for what has occurred to X. It is natural that we sometimes cannot pinpoint Y, and its conceptual content may remain unknown to us and/or discursively irrelevant. The encoding of an event as a logically consequent event allows for the signalling of the existence of such a Y with no requirement to specify it somehow. In some languages (as Icelandic, West- and East Slavic, Baltic, Finnic, Old Scandinavian etc.), this strategy to conceptualize the experiencer events is productive and became the main means of encoding the experiencer events, whereas in other languages, the Transitive Construction is used instead, which differs regarding its conceptualization.

Indeed, a whole body of empirical evidence exists for the fact that L-NTCs may conceptually be related to “weak” causative events like permissive causativity. Thus both the caused subevent (e.g. in 14) and the experiencer event are sometimes encoded by morphologically invariant or defective predicates. One finds a number of experiencer predicates that consist of an adverb and a light verb, or of a verb in the sustained third person singular form. Analogically, the consequent subevents of the causatives are typically encoded by infinitives or participial forms.

Furthermore, many languages encode the causee of a causative construction and the experiencer of some L-NTCs alike. A piece of evidence comes from the Mehweb dialect of the East Caucasian language, Dargwa (Magometov 1982; Ganenkov 2013). In this dialect, the subject/experiencer marking of the verbs ‘to find’, ‘to forget’, ‘to see’, ‘to hear’, ‘to know’, and ‘to understand’ changed from the original dative common in the East Caucasian languages to encode experiencers, to a locative form (denoting movement into a mass or attachment to a landmark), cf. the following examples (Magometov 1982:80–81):

- (15) Dargwa
di-ze nu ğ-ub-ra.
 I-IN you:SG(ABS) see:PF-PST-1
 ‘I saw you.’
- (16) Dargwa
di-ze b-arg-i-ra kung.
 I-IN N-find:PFV-PST-1 book(ABS)
 ‘I’ve found a book.’

Ganenkov (2013) argues that the experiencer marking here is based on the case-marking used to encode the causee in causative constructions, as in (17) from (Magometov 1982:108):

- (17) Dargwa
nu-ni b-ic-aq-i-ra ixi-ze urči.
 I-ERG N-sell:PFV-CAUS-PST-1 3SG-IN horse(ABS)
 ‘I made him sell the horse.’

In this dialect we thus observe an analogical spread of the case-marking from the causee (over the involuntary agents) to the experiencers (Ganenkov et al. 2008; Ganenkov 2013). This morphosyntactic process calls for explanation, and such an explanation may indeed assume that there is a semantic link between the conceptualization of the caused/consequent subevent and the experiencer event, and eventually between the causee and the experiencer.

In the same vein as the examples from Dargwa above, there are some languages that signal the link between causatives and L-NTCs not by means of case-marking but by verb morphology as in some Lithuanian or Finnic L-NTCs (cf. Pörn 2008 for an overview on Finnish):

- (18) Lithuanian
Akvilij-ą pyk-in-o dėl toksikozės
 Akvilija feel.nauseous-CAUS-PST.3 due toxicosis
 ‘Akvilija feels nauseous due to toxicosis.’
- (19) Veps
Mindei säreidii-ta-b
 I:PART cold-CAUS-PRS.3SG
 ‘I feel cold.’ (adapted from Zaitseva 2001:81)
- (20) Finnish
Minua pelotti ja olin aivan paniikissa.
 I:PAR get.scared-CAUS-PST.3SG and be:PST.1SG fully in panic
 ‘I got scared and was fully in panic.’⁷

7. <http://www.freewebs.com/one-life/tarinat/yksin.htm>

Notably, also within the formal approach, it has been suggested that such examples can be treated as causative events without an external argument, the instigator (Pylkkänen 1999), i.e., in our terms, assuming an antecedent subevent but without naming it. I summarize:

L-NTC: *The event is conceptualized as an inherently consequent event: it implies the existence of an antecedent event but makes no assumptions as to the concept of that antecedent event and, consequently, its trajector.*

I repeat here the semantic definition of the G-NTC and S-NTC for convenience and comparison:

G-NTC: *The event is construed as an inherently consequent subevent: apart from the onstage information, it entails and provides information about the antecedent subevent with a controlling participant; the antecedent subevent is described only in terms of a concept; the antecedent subevent and its trajector remain inherently implicit and covert. Semantically, the consequent subevent has inherently narrow scope in respect to the antecedent subevent.*

S-NTC: *The event is construed as an inherently consequent subevent; it entails an antecedent subevent with the main participant; the antecedent subevent and its main participant must be realized by means of a matrix clause and be referential.*

Since it is the conceptualization of an event as a *consequent* one (i.e. the implication of an antecedent event) that unites the three NTC types, I will refer to the NTC as the *Consequency Construction*, i.e. a construction that encodes logical embeddedness/consequence of an event. I adhere, thereby, to the view put forward in the framework of the Construction Grammar that constructions are meaning-bearing units of grammar (as per, Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). Notably, this assumption of the core meaning does not, of course, exclude different constructional subtypes each with different nuances existing.

The assumed embeddedness/consequence conceptualization that is common to all three NTC types accounts for the similarity in the main argument's morphological encoding. Additionally, it also accounts for several other common formal properties, strengthening the suggested analysis. Thus different kinds of the Consequence-Construction predicates are typically, in some respect, defective with regard to their TAM forms, patterning somewhat with the *deranked* (cf. Stassen 1985; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993; Cristofaro 2003; Croft 2001) or non-finite subordinate clauses. Thus, apart from S-NTCs that are evidently defective crosslinguistically (cf., inter alia, Croft 2001: 321; Evans 2007), G-NTCs and L-NTCs also show certain degree of defectiveness: the Lithuanian evidential and the North Russian perfect construction do not form the future tense, the Lithuanian evidential construction cannot form the simple past, the Russian independent-infinitive-predicate almost does not inflect for tense (no future, rarely past) and mood. Common to

all three types is a certain degree of non-finiteness: all gram-driven NTCs mentioned above do not inflect for person and are not capable of having person agreement. Additionally, most of them are incapable of having any kind of agreement, including most of the lexeme-driven NTCs. An exception is only found in several lexeme-driven NTCs which may have gender and number agreement with the less subject-like nominative (only). Though, even these often do not inflect for person (consistently exhibiting third person only), e.g. Icelandic *lika* ‘to like’.

The conclusions drawn so far can be summarized as follows: all subtypes of the Consequence Construction discussed here encode the following conceptualization, and many of them have the following morphosyntactic properties:

Table 1. Conceptualization and morphosyntactic properties of the Consequence Construction.

Conceptualization	<i>the event is conceptualized as a consequent (conceptually embedded) event</i>
Morphosyntactic properties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – defectiveness as regards TAM; – lack of person-number forms or generally – infinite

The three types of NTCs are differentiated, however, by how much information on the antecedent event they entail and by the discursive prominence thereof. Thus the antecedent event has the following properties encoded with each type of NTC:

Table 2. Properties of the Antecedent event.

Properties of the Antecedent event	Syntax-driven NTC	Gram-driven NTC	Lexeme-driven NTC
Concept	<i>a particular concept of the antecedent event is implied</i>		<i>no commitment as to a particular concept</i>
Domain	<i>superclausal domain</i>	<i>clausal domain</i>	<i>lexeme domain</i>
Explicitness	<i>explicit</i>	<i>implicit</i>	– ⁸
Definiteness	<i>definite, referring</i>	<i>generic, non-referring</i>	–
Discourse	<i>fore-grounded</i>	<i>back-grounded</i>	–

As a preliminary result, I suggest that the hypocategories of the Consequence Construction discussed here have an invariant semantic core (cf. Table 1) which implies the existence of another, logically antecedent event anchoring yet another, main participant external to the event encoded by the Consequence Construction. Note that the antecedent event here is taken very broadly to also include the

8. “–” means *not applicable*.

concept of stative situations such as, for example, the existence of an external controlling participant that is in some way responsible for what the event encoded by the Consequence Construction denotes. While the entailment of an antecedent event is the common semantic core of all NTCs, deviations from this core are confined to how much information about the antecedent event they provide and the discursive status of this information, see Table 1 above.

A variation like this, which exhibits an invariant semantic and formal core while having a number of varying parameters, can be captured by postulating a radial category (Lakoff 1987; Janda 1993; Luraghi 2009). Radial categories presuppose a central, prototype category that is responsible for linking the network of its partial deviations. The linking rules represent the semantic proximity between the prototype and its quasi-synonyms as well as mirror the semantic relationship with regard to other quasi-synonyms, thereby providing the internal structure of the overall category (Janda 1993). As Nessel et al. (2011) note, there is no uniqueness requirement, that is to say, a particular radial subcategory of a category may enter radial relationship with several prototypes at the same time.

Originally, prototype categories have only been applied to lexical concepts (extending beyond the pure linguistic dimension, cf. Hudson 1980). Subsequently, the prototype category has also been applied to linguistic units at the grammatical edge of the language realm, cf. Bybee and Moder (1983), Taylor (1995). In this paper, I will apply the notion of the prototype and the radial category approach to illustrate the correlation of both semantics and formal expression, i.e., the more distant a category is compared to the prototype, the less overlap it shows in both its formal organization and semantics.

Figure 1 represents the semantico-syntactic organization of different extensions of the Consequence Construction in terms of a radial category:

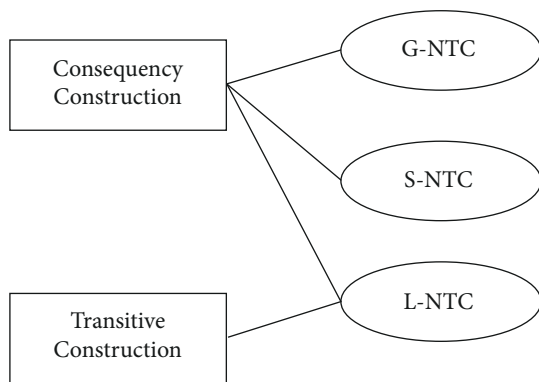


Figure 1. Consequence Construction as a Radial Category.
(prototypes are squares; their radial subcategories are round)

As noted in Nessel et al. (2011), subcategories may have several prototypes (as indicated in Figure 1). This is the case with both G-NTCs and L-NTCs. I assume that several particular G-NTCs and L-NTCs are conceptually linked to the transitive-construction prototype as defined in Lazard (1998), as well (this is rendered by the arrow in Figure 1). Within this conceptualization, the less salient participant metaphorically acts on the more salient one, cf. English *This made me angry*. Here, *This* encodes an inanimate stimulus and *me* an animate experiencer. This construal implies that the transmission of the force dynamics runs from the stimulus *This* to the experiencer *me* (cf. Talmy 1988; Croft 1998: 55; Croft 1994). Obviously, this use is a metaphorical extension of the transitive construction in English. However, such metaphorical extensions can approach the Consequence Construction with its properties in diachronic perspective. Thus cf. (21) from German that patterns in very much the same way as the English example above but, in contrast, exhibits some deviations towards Consequence Construction:

(21) German

Mich *ergriff* *die* *Angst*
 I:ACC grasp:PST.3SG the fear:NOM
 ‘I got scared.’

Evidently, (21) also represents a metaphorical extension of the transitive construction. However, the unmarked word order, in contrast to the English example, is reversed. In (21), it is rather the accusative-case-marked argument that is the trajector and the nominative-case-marked argument that is the landmark (in terms of Langacker 1987: 217ff. and 2008: 70ff.). By virtue of the word order, the construal of Example (21) approaches the consequence construction and diverges from its original transitive construction.

There are some other differences that group L-NTCs and G-NTCs together. The G-NTCs and L-NTCs types of the consequence construction instantiate independent, main clauses, whereas the consequence construction of the S-NTC type always constitutes a syntactically dependent, subordinate clause. The syntactic status of a clause, in turn, imposes certain requirements on its internal morphosyntactic organization. It has often been noticed that main clauses lacking a nominative subject are generally dispreferred (in accusative languages), cf. Tsunoda’s *Unmarked-Case-Constraint* which predicts that, in a non-elliptical sentence, at least one NP must be in the unmarked case, i.e. nominative or absolutive, (Tsunoda 1981), “*Obligatory NOM Requirement*” in Primus (1999), “*Default Linking*” in Wunderlich & Lakämper (2001), Malchukov (2005: 95). At the same time, there is no such restriction for the infinite subclauses, which typically lack nominative. Thus the L-NTCs and G-NTCs also deviate from the S-NTCs in terms of their internal morphosyntactic organization.

4. Some diachronic evidence (insubordination)

In this Section, I will provide some diachronic evidence for the unified semantic analysis of all three types of the NTCs suggested above. I have suggested that all three types of NTCs are construed as consequent events, the difference between them being in how the antecedent event is construed and realized. I will show that diachronic developments from the S-NTC to the G-NTC confirm this analysis since the changes, which take place in these developments, are changes in the construal and realization of the antecedent event only while the consequent event remains persistent throughout the development. Consider (11) repeated as (22) for convenience:

(22) Classical Greek

Es mèn dē touton tòn chōron- légetai- apikésthai
 in PRT PRT this the place say:PASS.PRS.3SG arrive:AOR.INF
tòn stratón
 the:ACC army:ACC
 [lit.] ‘Until this place, people say, the army came.’ (Hdt. 3.26.8)

The construction in (22) represents a non-grammaticalized evidential meaning induced by the matrix verb *légetai* ‘it is being said’. However, the embedded S-NTC does have the potential to shift from a S-NTC into a G-NTC, cf. (23):

(23) Classical Greek

toútous dē éphasan oikeîn anà tà órē ...
 these:ACC.PL PRT say:AOR.3PL live:INF on the mountains
kai basiléōs ouk akouéin
 and king:GEN.SG not hear:INF
allà kai embaleîn pote eis autoùs basilikén
 but and invade:INF once in they king’s:ADJ.ACC.SG
stratiàn dódeka myriádas.
 army:ACC.SG twelve 10- thousand
toútōn d’ oudén’ aponostésai dià tèn dyschōrian.
 these:GEN.PL PRT none:ACC.SG come.back:INF due the bad.place
 ‘These, – they said, – dwelt up among the mountains, ..., and were not subjects of the King; in fact, a royal army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had once invaded them, and, by reason of the ruggedness of the country, not a man of all that number came back.’

(X. Anab. 3.5.16 17, translated by Brownson 1922)

The last (sub)clause, *oudéna aponostésai* [none:ACC come.back:INF], with the aorist infinitive is already several clauses distant from the matrix predicate *éphasan*

‘they said’; it also shows a change in its subject referent [lit.] ‘none of the men’ instead of ‘these’ as in the infinitive clauses before. Note also the punctuation (that is original). These indications suggest a certain degree of emancipation of the AcI construction from its matrix predicate and change into a reportative mood. Even though Greek has not conventionalized and grammaticalized this use as a reportative mood, Example (23) still shows that the potential for a full emancipation of the AcI has existed. This is a less frequently discussed subtype of *insubordination*, which is a process widely attested cross-linguistically whereby an original subordinate clause is reinterpreted as a main clause retaining and conventionalizing the concept of the former main clause (see Evans 2007 for an extensive typological overview). Such a development is also attested in Classical Latin even to a higher degree. In this language, the AcI can emancipate itself and be used without a matrix predicate that is then only conceptually (as with the G-NTCs) implied. As such, the exclamatory use of *sīcine* ‘thus (negatively)’ is often used with the AcI (Lewis & Short, *sub verbo*), cf. (24) from Plautus *Pers.* 45:

- (24) Latin
sīcine hoc tē mihi facere
 thus this:ACC(=NOM) you:ACC I:DAT do:INF
 ‘[Ought you] to be treating me in this fashion?’

In the construction *sīcine* + AcI, a modal event denoting necessity in very general terms, i.e. only conceptually, is implied. Thus the original S-NTC form becomes a G-NTC here, representing another instance of *insubordination*. The loss of the antecedent clause might be discursively motivated. As Langacker (2008:418) points out, the real news is often the consequent event while the antecedent event only introduces and frames it.

Crucially, nothing happens to the very consequent event during this change: it remains the same throughout the development. The changes only affect the set of information regarding the antecedent event that must be minimally present at a particular utterance: originally, the antecedent event must have been specified, but in examples such as (24), only its concept is provided.

5. Conclusions

To summarize the main conclusions, I have first put forward a categorization of the NTCs into lexeme-, gram- and syntax-driven NTCs according to the source of the entailments on the trajector-like argument that lead to the assignment of an oblique case to that argument. Notably, this division is an approximation glossing over more specific subtypes (like the *genitive-under-negation* construction which

represents a special subtype of G-NTC combined with the type referred to as “reference-related conditions” in Haspelmath 2001: 56).

Secondly, I have suggested a radial category, which I labelled *Consequence Construction* and which has an invariant semantic core with all three types of NTCs, namely, the implication of an (logically) antecedent event anchoring an external participant that (logically) (co-)controls the event carried out by the main participant of the event referred to. The difference between the three different NTC subtypes lies in how the antecedent event is construed and what kind of information the given NTC provides and requires about it. While L-NTCs only imply the existence of an antecedent event, making no further commitments, G-NTCs also provide the concept of the antecedent event. Finally, S-NTCs are even more specific and require an exact reference to the antecedent event and its main participant.

Thirdly, I have tried to provide some diachronic evidence illustrating the change from syntax- to gram-driven NTCs, a subtype of the process of insubordination described in Evans (2007). The transition from S-NTC to G-NTC represents an instance of subjectification (cf., inter alia, Langacker 1990, 2006; Traugott & Dasher 2003).

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