CHAPTER III

SUBJECT CASE AND THEMATIC ROLES

Chapter 3

Subject Case and Thematic Roles

3.0. Introduction

An overview of the argument marking in some of the Indo-Aryan languages in Chapter 2 shows that there is no one to one relationship between the case and the grammatical roles of the arguments. In AS, an Indo-Aryan language, similar characteristic is observed. The argument in the subject position takes the canonical nominative case and also various non-nominative cases like dative, genitive, and locative. The assignment of the nominative and the non-nominative subjects depends upon the two aspectual categories of verb, namely, dynamic and stative, respectively. Again, it is the predicate type that determines the thematic role of a particular argument that is manifested in the grammatical marking. The main focus in this chapter is to show how the assignment of the non-nominative subject cases and the correspondence with the thematic roles can actually be arranged in a hierarchy.

3.1. Nominative subjects

In AS, nominative subjects, of transitive clauses, usually receive the agent thematic role. The dynamic predicates like *pit* 'beat' as in (58) in Chapter 1, and similar action verbs like *mar* 'hit', *bol* 'tell' and so on entail proto-agent properties like volitionality, causation, independent existence. The verb perception like *dɛkh* can have both volitional interpretation of 'look'; and non-volitional interpretation of 'see'. The former involves property of sentience and thus may assign agent role to the subject; while the latter does not. Similarly, activities like 'sleeping' and 'sitting' can also have an agent in the subject position as they involve property of volition. However, there are psych verbs like *dar* 'frighten' and perception verb *dɛkh* 'see', *sun* 'hear' without the property of sentience, which assigns the thematic role of experiencer to the nominative subject case. This is exemplified in (87a-b).

87. (a) *ʊ*   *chori-thʊ kɛ*   *dɛkh-l– õ/ dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *dɛkh-l– õ*

      3SG.NOM   girl-CL ACC   see-PAST-1SG/deliberately   see-PAST-1SG

      'He saw the girl/ He saw the girl deliberately'

  (b)**moi*   *ʊ-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ dar-at̪*   *h–õ*

      I.NOM   3SG-ACC   deliberately   fear-PROG   AUX.PRES-1SG

      'I am afraid of him'

In (87a) the predicate *dɛkh* 'see' may occur with the adverb *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ* if it implies volitional involvement of the subject in the act of seeing. Nevertheless, the same verb without deliberate perception will not occur with the adverb 'deliberately'. Thus, *dɛkh* 'see' can be both an agent and an experiencer predicate. However, the psych verb *dar* is an experiencer predicate and hence, the use of adverb 'deliberately' will be ungrammatical.

In the copula construction, the subject normally takes the nominative case, whereas, the thematic role is not that of proto-agent.

88. *mɔi*   *mastor*   *hɛk- õ*

    I.NOM   teacher.NOM   COP.PRES-1SG

    'I am a teacher'

The copula verbs like *hɛk-* 'COP.PRES' are treated separately from the typical action verbs as they do not entail the proto-agent properties of volition and causation to the subject argument. They mostly refer to the notions of 'being' and 'existence'. They can be grouped under the category of stative verbs. The thematic role of such nominative subjects can be that of themes, and the thematic role of the objects can be that of rhemes, using the terminology of Ramchand (2007:41). Thus, in AS, the thematic roles of nominative subject can be arranged in a hierarchy where the agent is higher than the experiencer followed by the themes.

Proto-Agent > Experiencer > Themes

$\longleftarrow$

Dynamic >Perception>Psych> Stative
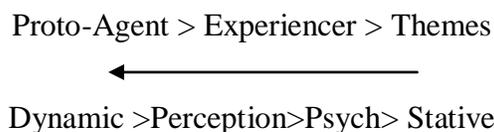
Figure 24 Thematic hierarchy of Nominative subjects in AS

The hierarchy of the thematic roles shows the degree of control or agentivity of the nominative subjects as a continuum between dynamic and stative, where the dynamic outranks perception followed by psych, and finally statives, in agentivity.

Besides the usual nominative case, the subject NP also receives various non-nominative case markers, such as dative, genitive, and locative. These subjects normally do not have the verbal agreement. They mostly bear the role of an experiencer, possessor or goal. The nominative case normally occurs with the dynamic verbs and the non-nominatives occur with the stative verbs. Unlike, the proto-agent, which imply control over the action; these subjects do not exert control over the action and are, therefore, in between both the roles in the case hierarchy. The following sub-sections discuss the non-nominative subjects with various types of predicates and their semantic differences.

3.2. Dative subject

Dative subjects are found cross-linguistically and are a standard part of South Asian languages (Verma and Mohanan, 1990). In AS, subjects can take the dative case marked by *kɛ*. The dative case marker *kɛ* is a free morpheme when it occurs with nominals, while, with pronominals, it occurs as a suffix. The following sub-section discusses the dative subject constructions with various verb types.

3.2.1. Stative vs dynamic

It is also observed that subject of stative verbs take dative case, whereas, the subjects of their dynamic counterparts take the nominative case. This is illustrated with the following example.

89.(a) *mɔi*   *phɔl*   *bhal*   *pa-ṭ*   *h-õ*

     I.NOM   flowers.NOM   good   get-PROG   AUX.PRES-1SG

     'I like flowers.'

  (b) *mɔ-kɛ*   *phɔl*   *bhal*   *lag-ɛ-la*

     I-DAT   flowers.NOM   good   feel-3SG-IMPERF

     'I like flowers'

The subject of the dynamic verb *bhal pa-ṭ* 'good get-PROG' 'liking' in (89a) is in nominative case. While, in (89b) the verb *bhal lag-ɛ-la* 'good feel-3SG-IMPERF' 'likes' indicates a 'state', and requires the subject NP to be in the dative case. The former subject is an agent, and the latter is an experiencer.

In AS, the verb *lag-* has many implications like, equative attributive copula and feel, need, want, The verb *lag-* expressing 'want' or 'need' can have a dative subject. The dynamic counterpart of the verb *lag-* is *khoʤ* 'want'. In AS, the verb *khoʤ* can also mean 'search'. It takes the nominative subject. This is exemplified in (90a-b).

90.(a) *mɔi*   *dhɛr*   *pɔisa*   *khoʤ-aṭ*   *h-õ*

     I-DAT   lot   money   want-PROG   AUX.PRES-1SG

     'I am in want of lots of money'

     Lit: 'I am wanting lots of money.

  (b) *mɔ-kɛ*   *dhɛr*   *pɔisa*   *lag-ɛ*

     I-DAT   lot   money   want.PRES-3SG

     'I want lots of money.'

In (90a), the dynamic verb *khoʤ* is followed by the progressive marker *-aṭ* and the auxiliary in the present tense *h-õ* gets 1st person singular agreement marker *-õ*. The verb *lag-* 'want' in (90b) takes the default 3sg agreement marker *-ɛ* and assigns dative case to the subject *mɔ-kɛ* 'I-DAT'. According to Masica (1991:340),

the subject position, in Indo-Aryan languages, can be occupied by an agent and also by other non-agents, which normally do not have verbal agreement[12].

3.2.2. Volitional vs non-volitional

In AS, there are certain dynamic verbs denoting non-volitional action, which take dative subject. The difference is evident in the volitional counterparts, where the same dynamic verbs take the nominative subject. This is illustrated in the following sub-sections with examples from verbs of perception, and noun-verb conjuncts.

3.2.2.1. Verbs of perception

Experiencers are also marked by nominative in case of perception verbs like *dɛkh* 'see' *sʊn* 'hear' and so on.

91.(a) *ʊ*　　　　*akas-ɛ*　　　*ṭarigan*　　　*dɛkh-l-ak*

　　　3SG.NOM　　sky-LOC　　　stars　　　see-PAST-3SG

　　　'He saw stars in the sky.'

　(b) *ʊ -kɛ*　　　*akas- ɛ*　　　*ṭarigan*　　　*dɛkh-ai*　　　*dɛ-l-ak*

　　　3SG-DAT　　sky-LOC　　　stars　　　see-PERF　　　give-PAST-3SG

　　　Lit: 'To him stars appeared in the sky.'

　　　'He saw stars in the sky.'

In (91a) the perception *dɛkh* 'see' has a nominative subject. Whereas, in (91b), the same verb of perception *dɛkh* with the perfective aspect *–ai*, and followed by the light verb *dɛ* 'give' takes a dative experiencer subject. Similarly, in (92b), the use of the light verb *dɛ* 'give' with the perception verb *sʊn* 'hear' takes a dative subject.

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[12] Keenan (1976:316) states that verb agreement 'fails to be a necessary condition basic-subjecthood since in many languages verbs agree with no NP… in a very few case verbs may agree with object…particularly in Hindi'

92.(a) *mɔi   sʊn-l–õ*

     I.NOM   hear-PAST-1SG

     'I listened.'

  (b) *mɔ-kɛ   sʊn-ai   dɛ-l-ak*

     I-DAT   hear-PERF   give-PAST-3SG

     'I heard.'

This can be explained with the notion of 'control' or 'agentivity'. Now, the perception verbs like *dɛkh* 'see' in (91a) and *sʊn* 'hear' in (92a) can be voluntary actions where the subjects have some control over the action, therefore, take the nominative case. On the other hand, subjects of the compound verb *dɛkh-ai dɛ* 'see give' *sʊn-ai dɛ* 'hear give' in (91b) and (92b), respectively, are definitely experiencers, as they refer to an involuntary action where the subject does not have any control over the action. Experiencers are involuntary recipients of the action of the verb and hence are non-agentive (Cole 1983).

3.2.2.2. N+V conjunct

Predicates, which require a dative subject, can form an N+V conjunct with verbs like, *aa* 'come' preceded by a noun. The N+V conjunct here, mainly, indicates non-volitional action.

93.(a) *mɔi   ʊ -kɛ   yaad   kar-aṭ   h–õ*

     I.NOM   3SG-ACC remember do-PROG   AUX.PRES-1SG

     Lit: 'I am remembering him '

  (b) *mɔ-kɛ   ʊ -kɛr   yaad   a-l-ak*

     I-DAT   3SG-GEN   memory   come-PAST-3SG

     'His memory came to my mind.'

     Lit: 'To me his memory came.'

The light verb *kar* 'do' has nominative subject (93a) and *aa* 'come' has a dative subject (93b). The conjunct *yaad kar* 'remember do' refers to a volitional act and *yaad aa* 'remember come' implies non-volitional act.

3.2.3. Psych verbs

In AS, the dative subject can occur with the use of certain psych verbs as 'to feel', 'to like' or 'to perceive' or verbs expressing other mental of physical states like 'hunger', 'fever', 'sleep' and so on. These verbs appear in the progressive aspect, essentially having a stative reading. This is exemplified in (94-95) below.

94. *mɔ-kɛ   bʊkhar   lag–aṯ   h–ɛ*

    I-DAT   fever   feel-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

    'I am feeling feverish.'

    Lit: 'I am feeling fever.'

95. *mɔ-kɛ   nind   aa-ṯ   h–ɛ*

    I-DAT   sleep   come-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

    'I am feeling sleepy.'

    Lit: To me sleep is coming.

In (94-95) the verb *lag-* 'feel' functions as a psych verb expressing physical states like *bʊkhar lag–aṯ* 'fever feel' and *nind aa-ṯ* 'sleep come', assigning the subject the thematic role of an experiencer.

3.2.4. Properties of dative subjects

An argument, in order to be subject in a clause structure, needs to fulfill certain syntactic properties. Keenan (1976) states certain properties of subjecthood like reflexivisation, deletion of co-referential NP and controlled participial tests and so on. The following sub-sections show the syntactic properties of dative subjects in the light of these three tests of subjecthood.

3.2.4.1. Reflexivisation

According to Keenan (1976:315), 'basic subjects can control reflexive pronouns' i.e., only subjects can be the antecedent of reflexives. The subjects and the controlled reflexives are co-indexed. The dative subjects in AS undergo reflexivisation, as can be seen in (96a-c).

96. (a) *mɔ-kɛ$_i$*   *nidʒɛ$_i$*   *dhɛr*   *pɔisa*   *lag–ɛ*

        I-DAT   self   lot   money   want.PRES-3SG

        Lit: 'I myself want lots of money.'

     (b) *mɔ-kɛ$_i$*   *nidʒɛ$_i$* *bɔkhar/bhɔk* *lag–a̠t*   *h–ɛ*

        I-DAT   self   fever/hungry   feel-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

        Lit: 'I am feeling fever/hungry'

        'I am myself feeling feverish / hungry.'

     (c) *mɔ-kɛ$_i$*   *nidʒɛ$_i$* *sɔn-ai*   *dɛ-l-ak*

        I-DAT   self   hear-PERF   give-PAST-3SG

        Lit: 'I myself heard.'

In (96a-c) the subjects act as antecedent of the reflexive *nidʒɛ* 'self'. The reflexive *nidʒɛ* 'self' is a free word and normally occurs immediately after the subject. The co-indexation indicates that the subject controls the reflexives.

3.2.4.2. Deletion of co-referential NP

As per Keenan (1976), 'basic subjects are the possible controller of co-referential deletion and pronominalisation'. In other words, only subjects can control the co-referential NP of non finite clause. The co-referential NP can thus be deleted. In AS dative subjects, with verbs having dynamic implication can undergo the deletion of co referential NP test.

97.(a) *mɔ-kɛᵢ*   *[__ᵢ dhɛr pɔisa*   *kama-ɛk]*   *lag−ɛ*

      I-DAT   lot   money   earn-NF   need.PRES

      'I need to earn lots of money.'

   (b) *mɔ-kɛᵢ*   *[__ᵢ ɛkhon bɔkharaw-ɛk]*   *ni*   *lag/*lag−ɛ*

      I-DAT   now   fever   come-NF   NEG   want/*feel.PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'I do not want fever to come now'

      'I should not fall sick now.'

In (97a-b), the sentences consist of two clauses: the main clause, which is finite, and the embedded clause, which is non finite (shown in square brackets). The dative subjects control the non finite clause and the subjects (indicated by a gap and a subscript ᵢ) of the non finite clauses are deleted by virtue of being the co-referential NP. The dative subjects and the co-referential NP positions have the same indexation. In (97b), the dative subject with *lag-* 'want' can undergo deletion of co-referential NP, which is not possible with verb *lag-* 'feel' in the language. This illustrates that in AS *lag* verb can have different implication, that of 'want' and 'feel'. In AS, such constructions as in (97a-b) usually imply 'obligation'[13] with *lag-* 'want'as the default verb.

3.2.4.3. Controlled participial clause

As per Keenan (1976), subjects can control participial clause. In AS, the dative subjects control participle clauses as illustrated in (98a-c).

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[13] Here distinction can be made between structural case and inherent case. The dative subject of non finite construction is considered as an instance of structural case which is different from the inherent case that is dependent on theta-marking and the verb types. These two terms are central to generative framework and an elaborate discussion on structural and inherent case is beyond the focus of the thesis.

98.(a)*[_i sahər   dʒai   kɛ]   mɔ-kɛ i   dhɛr   poisa lag–i*

　　　city　　　go　　CP　　1SG-DAT　　much　money　need.FUT

　　　Lit: 'After going to the city, I will need lots of money.'

(b) *[_i   ʊ-kɛ   dɛikʰ kɛ] mɔ-kɛ i   baṭ-thʊ   yaad*

　　　3SG-DAT　　see　　CP　1SG-DAT　　matter-CL　　remember

　　a-l-ak

　　come.PAST-3SG

　　'Having seen him, I remembered the matter.'

(c) *[_i   baris mɛ   bhidʒ kɛ]   mɔ-kɛ i   bʊkhar*

　　　rain　POSP　wet　CP　　1SG-DAT　　fever

　　*hɔ-l-ak/*lag–ɛ*

　　happen-PAST-3SG /*feel.PRES-3SG

　　Lit: 'Having drenched in rain, fever happened to me.'

　　'Having drenched in the rain, I caught fever.'

In (98a-c), we see that the dative subjects control participial clause (shown in square brackets). The subject position of the participial clause and the subject *mɔ-kɛ* '1SG-DAT' are co-indexed so as to illustrate the control. However, in (98c), the dative subject *mɔ-kɛ* '1SG-DAT'control participial clause with *hɔ-* 'happen', rather than *lag-* 'feel'. The former indicates perfective aspect while, the latter implies a physical state.

The analysis of the above data shows that dative subjects, specifically those occurring with verbs having dynamic implication or at least the progressive and perfective aspects of states, have the syntactic properties of subjecthood. That is, they control reflexives, co-referential NP deletion and participial clause. The verbs take the default 3rd person singular agreement marker -*ɛ*. The dative subjects occurring with verbs that imply physical state do not undergo these tests.

3.2.5. Aspectual properties of the dative subject in AS

In § 3.2.1, it is seen that the verbs that assign dative subjects can have both stative and dynamic implications. Figure 17 shows that dynamic verbs can have either telic or atelic property (see § 2.5.1 in Chapter 2). Now, it is important to note whether, the dynamic reading of the stative verbs have either one of these properties or not. In order to further ascertain the thematic role of the dative subjects and nature of the verb types, the two tests of aspectual properties suggested by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:95) have been conducted. As per the first test in §3.2.5.1, the use of the 'in phrase' denotes telicity of the verb and the use of 'for phrase' denotes atelicity of the verb. The second test in §3.2.5.2, is the use of adverbs like deliberately, vigorously and so on that shows the volitionality of the action named by the verb.

3.2.5.1. The use of the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* 'since in/an hour'

The phrase 'for an hour'[14] does not indicate when the action began and ended and has the possibility of going on later. The phrase 'in an hour' denotes that the event began and ended in the space of one hour (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:96). This test reveals whether the verb can have a telicity or terminal end point or not. In AS, *ɛk ghanta sɛ/mɛ* 'since/in an hour' cannot occur with dative subject with *lag-* verb meaning 'feel' and 'want' as in (99a-b). Moreover, *ɛk ghanta sɛ/mɛ* 'since/in an hour' is not possible with the predicate *yaad a-l-ak* 'memory came' as in (99c).

99.(a)*mɔ-kɛ*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ*   *phɔl*   *bhal*   *lag–ɛ-la*

      I-DAT   since/in an hour   flowers.NOM   good   feel-1SG-IMPERF

   (b)   *mɔ-kɛ*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ*   *dhɛr*   *pɔisa*   *lag–ɛ*

      I-DAT   since /in an hour   lot   money   want.PRES-3SG

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[14] Here the synonym 'since' is also implied.

(c) *mɔ-kɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ   ʊ -kɛr   yaad   a-l-ak

     I-DAT   since/in an hour   3SG-GEN   memory   come-PAST-3SG

Similarly, *ɛk ghanta sɛ/mɛ* 'since/in an hour' is ungrammatical with the predicate *dɛkh-ai dɛ-l-ak* 'appeared' denoting perfective aspect, as in (100a). While, in (100b), the same verb *dɛkh-ai dɛ* 'see give' in progressive aspect can co occur with *ɛk ghanta sɛ,* indicating that the action is 'going on for a certain stretch of time' (i.e., atelic). Such constructions, however, cannot denote terminal endpoint or telicity, where the action has a beginning and an end, and hence, cannot occur with *ɛk ghanta mɛ.*

100. (a)*ʊ -kɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/mɛ   akas- ɛ   ṭarigan   dɛkh-ai   dɛ-l-ak

       3SG-DAT since/in an hour   sky-LOC stars   see-PERF   give-PAST-3SG

    (b) ʊ -kɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/*mɛ   akas- ɛ   ṭarigan   dɛkh-ai   dɛ-ṭ

       3SG-DAT   since /in an hour   sky-LOC stars   see-PERF give-PROG

      h–ɛ

      AUX.PRES-3SG

Dative subjects with predicates expressing physical states in progressive aspect can occur with the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ.* Here, the phrase indicates the durative nature of these predicates. They cannot imply telicity and, therefore, cannot occur with *ɛk ghanta mɛ* shown with the asterisk (*) in (101a-b).

101. (a) *mɔ-kɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/*mɛ   bʊkhar   lag–aṭ   h–ɛ

      I-DAT   since/in an hour   fever   feel-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'I am feeling fever since/*in an hour'

      'I am feeling feverish since/*in an hour'.'

(b) *mɔ-kɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/*mɛ nind   aa-ṭ   h−ɛ*

i-DAT   since /in an hour   sleep   come-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

'I am feeling sleepy for/*in an hour.'

Lit: 'To me sleep comes since/*in an hour.'

3.2.5.2. The use of adverb *dʒan budʒh kɛ* 'deliberately'

The use of the adverb 'deliberately' is possible with dynamic action and is incompatible with stative verbs (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:95). Analysis of AS data shows that, along with stative verbs, the adverb *dʒan budʒh kɛ* is also incompatible with dynamic non-volitional verbs. This is evident from the ungrammaticality of (102a-e).

102.(a) * *mo-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *phɔl*   *bhal   lag−ɛ-la*

I-DAT   deliberately   flowers.NOM   good   feel-1SG-IMPERF

(b) **mɔ-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *dhɛr*   *pɔisa   lag−ɛ*

I-DAT   deliberately   lot   money want.PRES-3SG

(c) **mɔ-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *sʊn-ai*   *dɛ-l-ak*

I-DAT   deliberately   hear-PERF   give-PAST-3SG

(d) **mɔ-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *ʊ -kɛr   yaad   a-l-ak*

I-DAT   deliberately   3SG-GEN   memory   come-PAST-3SG

(e) **mɔ-kɛ*   *dʒan bʊdʒh kɛ*   *nind   aa-ṭ   h−ɛ*

I-DAT   deliberately   sleep   come-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

The analysis of the syntactic properties of the dative subjects along with aspectual properties of the dative predicates helps in understanding the proto-properties of these subjects. In § 3.2.6, the proto-properties of dative subject in AS has been discussed in detail, as per the proto-agent properties put forward by Dowty (1991).

3.2.6. Proto-properties of the dative subject in AS

Dative subjects, in AS, do not occur with volitional action and cause change of state of other participants. Instead the dative subjects occur with non-volitional action. They are not the patient because even though non-volitional the action is still carried out by the subject arguments. Their incompatibality with the adverb 'deliberately' shows that the action performed by them is non-volitional. They are, therefore, the experiencer subjects. Experiencers are defined as sentiment arguments which are mentally affected. They are taken to occur mainly with psychological and perception predicates (Butt, Grimm and Ahmed 2006). Based on the analysis of the dative subjects in § 3.2.5.1 and § 3.2.5.2, I have come up with the certain proto-entailments that are associated with the dative predicates. The proto-properties of dative predicates, in AS, are illustrated in Table 9 below.

Table 9 Proto-properties of dative predicates

Verbs	Gloss	Proto-properties of the verbs (Dative case)				
		Volitional involvement	Sentience	Change of state	Moveme nt	Independent existence
lag	'want'	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES
lag	'feel'	No	No	MENTAL	No	No
dɛkh-ai de-	'appear'	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
yaad a-	'remember'	NO	NO	MENTAL	NO	NO
bukhar lag	fever feel	NO	NO	PHYSICAL	NO	NO
nind aa-	sleep come	NO	NO	PHYSICAL	NO	NO

The predicates like *yaad aa* (93b) in § 3.2.2.2 can indicate some sort of change of mental state. Again, predicates like *bukhar lag-* (94) or *nind aa* (95) in §3.2.3 can denote physical state experienced on the part of the dative subject. Dative subjects with perception verbs like 'heard' and 'see' followed by the auxiliary *dɛ* 'give', may indicate the absence of the property of sentience on the part of the subjects. This is exemplified in (91b) and (92b) in § 3.2.2.1. Again, with *lag-* verb

expressing 'feel', the experiencer dative subjects do not exist independently of the experiencer like 'get a fever' 'catch a cold' 'feel hungry' and so on. However, in case of the verb *lag-* 'want' the dative beneficiary subject can exist independent of the event 'want money' as illustrated in (90b) in § 3.2.1. Thus, in Table 9 the verb *lag-* 'want' is shown having the property of independent existence.

The analysis of the AS data shows that nominative subjects are basically agentive and dative subjects are non-agentive. From the discussion, it appears that we cannot have two distinct verbal categories of stative and dynamic that assigns dative and nominative case, respectively. The verbal categories are dynamic non-volitional, mental states that assign dative case to the subject. In other words, dative predicates belong to the in between position of the two extreme categories of dynamic and stative. This is illustrated in the hierarchy of the subject as per agentivity in figure 25. The nominative subject occurs with dynamic volitional action and has the proto-agent properties. Unlike nominative subjects, the dative subjects with the thematic role of experiencer do not have control over the action. Nevertheless, their involvement in the action or the experience can be shown as a degree of continuum between dynamic non-volitional followed by mental state and finally physical state.

<div align="center">

Proto-Agent   Proto-Patient

$\longleftarrow$

Nominative> Dative

</div>

Dynamic volitional >dynamic non-volitional> mental states> physical state

<div align="center">
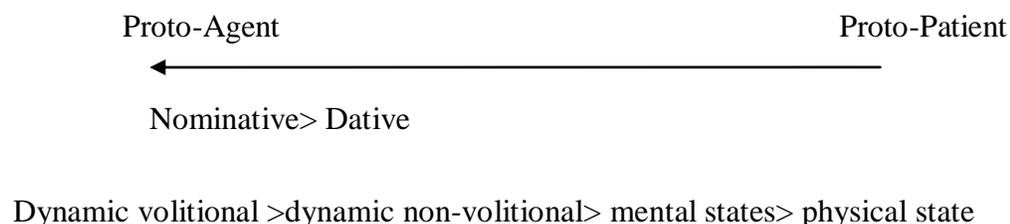
Figure 25 Thematic hierarchy of dative subjects in AS

</div>

3.3. Genitive subjects

In the language, the subject takes the genitive case marker '*–r* and *kɛr*'[15], in case of predicates like *ahɛ*[16] 'have' that implies possession or 'to possess'. The implication can be of both concrete and abstract possession. Consider example (103a-b).

103.(a) *ʊ-kɛr*   *bahʊ̤t*   *saŋṭi*   *ahɛ*

    3SG-GEN   many   friend   have.PRES

    'He has many friends.'

  (b) *ʊ -kɛr*   *bahʊ̤t*   *sahəs*   *ahɛ*

    3SG-GEN   much   courage   have.PRES

    'He has much courage.'

In (103a-b) the subjects take the genitive case marker *–kɛr* and occur with the verb *ahɛ* 'have.PRES' indicating concrete possession as *saŋṭi* 'friend' in (103a), and abstract possession as *sahəs* 'courage' in (103b). The genitive case marker *kɛr* is free morpheme when it occurs with the nominal but is affixed with pronominal.

3.3.1. Stative vs dynamic

The genitive case *–r* can also have non-possessive implication. These genitive subjects with the non-possessive implication mostly occur with stative verbs expressing mental state of 'desire' or 'intention'. The dynamic counterparts of these verbs take the nominative case. This is illustrated in the following sub sections.

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[15] The genitive marker is *–r* in case of 1st and 2nd person singular pronominal as in *mɔ-r* and *ṭo-r*. *kɛr* is suffixed to the plural pronominals and 3rd person singular prominal like *hamni-kɛr tuhni-kɛr, ʊ-kɛr* and *uman-kɛr*

[16] The verb *ahɛ* implying 'have/exist' takes the 3rd person agreement marker whereas, the attributive copula *ah-* agrees to the subject in person and number. Thus, where it has the former implication it has been shown as *ahɛ* and with the latter implication it is shown in the root form *ah-* (Dey, Barbora, 2012).

3.3.1.1. Verbs expressing mental state, desire or intension.

The genitive subject can occur with verbs expressing mental states like desire, liking or intension. The dynamic counterparts of these verbs take a nominative subject.

104.(a) *ʊ*   *bahut*   *parh-aṭ*   *h–ɛ*

      3SG.NOM   much   study-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'He is studying a lot.'

   (b) *ʊ-kɛr*   *parh- ɛk*   *mon*   *ahɛ*

      3SG.GEN   study-NF   mind   have/EXIST.PRES

      Lit: 'He has mind/interest in studies.'

   (c) *ʊ-kɛr*   *parh- ɛk*   *mon*   *hɔ-ṭ/kar-aṭ*   *h–ɛ*

      3SG.GEN   study-NF   mind   happen/do-PROG   AUX.PRES

      Lit: 'His interest in studies is happening /developing.'

      'He is developing interest in studies '

In (104a), the dynamic verb *parh* 'study' is in finite form and takes a nominative subject. In (104b) the verb *parh-ɛk* 'study- NF' is the nominalised form. Such nominalised verb in the language normally takes a genitive subject. Here, the N+V conjunct *mon ahɛ* 'mind have/exist' takes the genitive subject implying mental state of 'desire'. It is noteworthy that the finite verb is not restricted to a stative meaning, as is evident in (104c). In (104c) genitive subject occurs with the progressive aspect of the mental state 'desire', where in place of *ahɛ,* verbs like *hɔ-* 'become/happen' and *kar* 'do' are used. Unlike (103a-b) in § 3.3, example in (104b) do not have a possessive implication, though occurs with the verb *ahɛ* 'have/exist'. One apparent similarity between the object in (103b) and (104b) is that both may be considered as abstract possessions. However, the reason behind regarding both as different is that *mon ahɛ* 'mind have/exist' can be treated as an N+V conjunct denoting 'wish' a mental state. In (103b), *sahɔs ahɛ* 'courage have.PRES' can not be taken as an N+V conjunct. However, *sahɔs kar* 'courage

do.PRES' can be considered as N+V conjunct, meaning 'dare', which normally occurs with nominative subject.

3.3.1.2. Verbs expressing physical ailment

Verbs expressing 'physical ailment' can have genitive subject as in (105). The physical ailment usually refers to the physical state of the subject argument.

105.(a) *mɔ-r*   *bimar*   *lag−ε*

      I-GEN   ailment   COP-PRES-3SG

      'I am ill.'

  (b) *mɔ-r*   *bimar*   *hɔ-i*   *h−ε*

      I-GEN   ailment   happen-PERF AUX-PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'To me ailment has happened.'

      'I have ailment.'

  (c) *mɔ-r*   *bimar*   *hɔ-ṭ*   *h−ε*

      I-GEN   ailment   happen-PROG AUX-PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'To me ailment is happening.'

      'I am suffering from/having ailment'

In (105a-c), the subjects take the genitive case marker *-r* and have the semantic role of experiencer, undergoing physical ailments like 'ailment'. The subject takes genitive case with the equative copula *lag-* (105a) indicating *bimar* 'ailment' as a state. Whereas, with perfective aspect of verb *hɔ* 'happen' in (105b), and with progressive aspect of *hɔ* 'happen' in (105c), it denotes an event.

3.3.2. Volitional vs non-volitional

The genitive subjects in AS occur normally with non-volitional actions whereas, the volitional counterparts of these actions take nominative case. The notion of volitional act and non-volitional act is illustrated with the use of light verbs or auxiliaries *kar* 'do' and *hɔ-* 'become'. The former denotes 'activity' in (106a) and the latter denotes 'achievement' and 'event' in (106b) and (106c), respectively.

106. (a) *mɔi*   *ʊ -kɛr*   *saŋ*   *bhɛ̯t*   *kar-l-õ*

        I.NOM   3SG-GEN   ASSO meet do-PAST-1SG

        Lit: 'I met with him.'

        'I met him.'

   (b) *mɔ-r*   *ʊ kɛr*   *saŋ*   *bhɛ̯t*   *hɔ-l-ak*

        I-GEN   3SG-GEN   ASSO meet happen-PAST-3SG

        Lit: 'My with him meeting happened.'

        'I happened to meet him.'

   (c) *mɔ-r*   *ʊ ker*   *saŋ*   *bhɛ̯t*   *hɔ-̯t*   *h-ɛ*

        I-GEN   3SG-GEN   ASSO meet happen-PROG AUX.PRES-3SG

        Lit: 'My with him meeting is happening.'

        'I happen to meet him.'

In (106b), the perfective aspect of *hɔ-* 'happen' implies achievement or event, while in (106c), the progressive aspect gives a habitual reading. Like (106a), in (107a), we find that the dynamic volitional action denoted by the auxiliary *kar* 'do' assigns a nominative. Whereas, the non-volitional action/ event denoted by the verb *hɔ-* 'happen', both in perfective (107b) and progressive aspect (107c), bears a genitive subject.

107.(a) *mɔi*   *dɛr*   *kar-l-õ*

        I.NOM   late   do-PAST-1SG

        Lit: 'I did late.'

        'I delayed'

   (b) *mɔ-r*   *dɛr*   *hɔ-l-ak*

        I.GEN   late   happen-PAST-3SG

        Lit: 'My late has happened

        'I was late.'

(c) *mɔ-r*   *dɛr*   *hɔ-ṭ*   *h–ɛ*

    I.GEN   late   happen-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

    Lit: 'My late is happening.'

    'I am getting late.'

In (106a) and (107a), the auxiliary verb *kar* 'do' assigns nominative subjects, in the thematic role of agent. The action of *bhɛṭ kar* 'meet do' and *dɛr kar* 'late do' refer to volitional acts, where the subjects have control over the action. On the other hand, in (106b-c) and (107b-c), the actions indicated by the light verb *hɔ-* 'happen' are non-volitional acts, indicating the subjects' lack of control over the action. The predicate *hɔ-* 'happen' takes a genitive subject in the semantic role of beneficiary.

3.3.3. Syntactic properties of genitive subjects

In (108-109), the reflexive *nidʒɛ* 'self' can have the genitive subjects as antecedents and are, therefore, co-indexed. The reflexives occur after the subject and take the genitive case marker *–r*.

108. *ʊ̃ -kɛr$_i$*   *nidʒɛ-r$_i$*   *bahɔṭ sahəs*   *ahɛ*

    3SG-GEN   self-GEN   much courage   have.PRES

    Lit: 'He himself has much courage.'

109. *mɔ-r$_i$*   *nidʒɛ-r$_i$*   *bimar lag–ɛ*

    1-GEN   self-GEN   illness COP.PRES-3SG

    Lit: 'I am myself sick.'

Genitive subjects having possessive implication do not undergo co-referential NP deletion tests as in (110). They do not control the non finite clause as is illustrated in the ungrammaticality of the construction marked by (*).

110. **mɔr$_i$*   *[_$_i$ sahəs   ah–ɛk]*   *khodʒ-aṭ*   *h–ɛ*

    I-GEN   courage have-NF   want-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule. For instance, in (104b), in section § 3.3.1.1 repeated here as (111), the predicate 'desire or liking'

indicating mental action, the genitive subjects control the deletion of co-referential NP. The same is true for predicate *lag-* 'want' as in (112). Interestingly enough, with equative copula *lag-* genitive subject, again fails to undergo deletion of co referntial NP (112).

111. *ʊ-kɛr* ᵢ   *[_ᵢ parh- ɛk]*   *mon*   *ahɛ*

    3SG-GEN   study-NF   mind   have/EXIST.PRES

    'He wishes to study.'

112. *mɔ-r* ᵢ   *[_ᵢ bimar*   *hɔ-ɛk]*   *ni*   *lag-/*lag–ɛ*

    I-GEN   illness   happen-NF   NEG   want/COP.PRES-3SG

    Lit: 'To me I do not want illness to happen.'

In AS, the genitive subject does not control participial clauses with stative verbs *ahɛ* 'have.PRES' but, with predicates implying desire and physical ailment, it undergoes the controlled participial clause test.

113. *[*ᵢ ba*   *mɔir*   *kɛ]*   *ʊ -kɛrᵢ*   *dhɛr*   *dai̯tva*   *ahɛ*

       father   die   CP   3SG-GEN   much   responsibility   have.PRES

114. *[ᵢ sahər*   *dʒai*   *kɛ]*   *mɔ-rᵢ*   *parh-ɛk*   *mon*   *ahɛ*

       town   go   CP   1SG-GEN   study-NF   mind   have/EXIST.PRES

    'After going to town, I would like to study.'

115. *[ᵢ baris*   *mɛ*   *bhidʒ*   *kɛ]*   *mɔ-rᵢ*   *bimar*

       rain   POSP   wet   CP   1SG-GEN   illness

    *hɔ-l-ak/ *lag–ɛ*

    happen-PAST-3SG / *COP.PRES-3SG

    'Having drenched in the rain, I became ill.'

In (115), the genitive subject of the predicate *dai̯tva ahɛ* 'responsibility have.PRES', with the thematic role of a possessor, does not control the participial clause. This is evident in the ungrammaticality of the construction. While, the genitive subjects of *mon ahɛ* 'mind have-PRES' in (114), and *bimar hɔ-l-ak*

'illness happen-PAST-3SG' in (115), having the thematic role of experiencer, control the participial clause. In (115), the genitive subject cannot control participial clause with equative copula *lag-* illustrated in its ungrammaticality.

3.3.4. Aspectual properties of the verbs that take genitive subject

Analysis of the verbs that take genitive subjects in AS, shows that, the nature of predicates cannot be divided into two distinct categories of stative and dynamic. The predicates can occur as state and also in progression. In order to reveal the apectual properties of these predicates, I have conducted the test of atelicity and telicity with the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* 'since/in an hour', respectively.

3.3.4.1. The use of the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* 'since /in an hour'

The telicity test of the genitive predicates shows that they are essentially stative in nature hence, cannot occur with the *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* phrase. This is evident in the ungrammatical construction in (116).

116. *ʊ -kɛr   ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ   bahʊʈ   sahəs   ahɛ

     3SG-GEN   since /in an hour   much   courage   have.PRES

The predicate *mon ahɛ* denotes state, which is evident from its incompatibility with the phrase 'since/in an hour'. Whereas, the progressive aspect of the same verb can occur with *ɛk ghanta sɛ,* suggesting its durative nature.

117.(a) *ʊ-kɛr   ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ   parh- ɛk   mon   ahɛ

       3SG-GEN   since /in an hour   study-NF   mind   have/EXIST.PRES

  (b) *ʊ-kɛr*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/* mɛ*   *parh- ɛk*   *mon*   *hɔ-/kar-aʈ*

       3SG-GEN   since /in an hour   study-NF   mind   happen/do-PROG

       h-ɛ

       AUX.PRES-3SG

     'He is developing interest in studies since /*in an hour. '

The predicate *bimar lag-*'ailment COP.PRES-3SG' indicates state, and as a result, do not occur with the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ* (118a). However, predicate *bimar hɔ-i h–ɛ* and *hɔ-ṭ h–ɛ* can occur with the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ* suggesting the state to be durative (118b).

118.(a)* *mɔ-r*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ*   *bimar*   *lag–ɛ*

      I-GEN   since /in an hour   ailment   COP.PRES-3SG

  (b) *mɔ-r*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ *mɛ*   *bimar*   *hɔ-ṭ*

      I-GEN   since /in an hour   ailment/cold happen-PROG

    h-ɛ

    AUX-PRES-3SG

    'I happened to be ill since /*in an hour.'

Again, predicates expressing an event, both in perfective (119a) and progressive aspect (119b) do not occur with the phrase 'for/in an hour.'

119.(a) *mɔ-r   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* *ʊ-kɛr*   *saŋ*   *bhɛṭ*   *hɔ-l-ak*

      I-GEN   since/in an hour   3SG-GEN ASSO meet   happen-PAST-3SG

  (b) * *mɔ-r*   *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* *ʊ-kɛr*   *saŋ*   *bhɛṭ*   *hɔ-ṭ*

      I-GEN   since /in an hour 3SG-GEN   ASSO   meet   happen-PROG

    h-ɛ

    AUX.PRES-3SG

3.3.4.2. The use of adverb *ʤan buʤh kɛ* 'deliberately'

The volitionality test of the genitive predicates shows that they are incompatible with an adverb like *ʤan buʤh kɛ* 'deliberately'. This is evident in the ungrammaticality of (120-123).

120. *ʊ -kɛr   *ʤan buʤh kɛ*   *bahɔṭ sahəs*   *ahɛ*

    3SG-GEN   deliberately   much courage   have.PRES

121.(a) *mɔ-r   dʒan budʒh kɛ   bimar   lag–ɛ*

       I-GEN   deliberately   ailment   COP.PRES-3SG

      (b) *mɔ-r dʒan budʒh kɛ   bimar   hɔ-i   h–ɛ*

             I-GEN   deliberately   ailment   happen-PERF   AUX.PRES-3SG

122. *mɔ-r   dʒan budʒh kɛ   bimar   hɔ-ṭ   h–ɛ*

       I-GEN   deliberately   ailment   happen-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

123. (a)* mɔ-r   dʒan budʒh kɛ   dɛr   hɔ-l-ak*

       I.GEN   deliberately   late   happen-PAST-3SG

      (b) *mɔ-r   dʒan budʒh kɛ   dɛr   hɔ-ṭ   h–ɛ*

         I.GEN   deliberately   late   happen-PROG   AUX.PRES-3SG

The analysis shows that genitive subjects, with possessive and non-possessive implication, do not have the property of volitionality. An important point to note is that the predicate *mon ahɛ* 'desire', indicating mental state, is ungrammatical with the adverb *dʒan budʒh kɛ* 'deliberately' as shown in (124a). On the other hand, the progressive aspect of the state *mon kar* 'desire do' can occur with *dʒan budʒh kɛ* in negative construction (124b). Here, it denotes the subject's lack of interest as some deliberate action.

124.(a) *ʊ-kɛr   dʒan budʒh kɛ   parh- ɛk   mon   ahɛ*

       3SG.GEN   deliberately   study-NF   mind   have/EXIST.PRES

      (b) *ʊ-kɛr   dʒan budʒh kɛ   parh- ɛk   mon   ni   kar-aṭ*

        3SG.GEN   deliberately   study-NF   mind NEG   do-PROG

h-ɛ

AUX.PRES-3SG

Lit: 'He deliberately does not intend to study'.

3.3.5. Proto-properties of genitive subjects

The proto-entailment of the predicates that take genitive subjects in AS is illustrated in Table 10. Semantically, the genitive subject occurs with non-volitional predicates. They can be both possessor and experiencer. As far the independent existence of genitive subject is concerned, the distinction can be made between concrete and abstract possession. In concrete possession, the possessor exists independent of the possession whereas, in inalieniable possessions like *sahəs* 'courage', the subject co-exist with the possession.

Table 10 The Proto-properties of Genitive predicates

Verbs	Gloss	Proto-properties of the verbs (Genitive case)				
		Volitional /causation	**Sentience**	**Change of state**	**Movement**	**Independent existence**
ahɛ	'have'	NO	NO	NO	NO	CONCRETE /*ABSTRACT
mon ahɛ	'desire'	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
bimar lag	'illness happen'	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
der hɔ	'Late happen'	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
bhet hɔ	Meet 'happen'	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
bimar hɔ	Illness happen	NO	NO	PHYSICAL	TEMPORAL	NO
mon kar/ hɔ	Desire do/happen	NO	YES/NO	MENTAL	TEMPORAL	NO

The analysis of the AS data shows that predicates, expressing progressive state, can be durative in nature and, thus, are grammtically possible with an atelic entity. This is exemplified with *mon kar* 'desire do' in (117b) and *bimar hɔ* 'illness happen' (118b), in § 3.3.4.1. As per Dowty (1991), movement is an important proto-agent property. In case of genitive subject of the *bimar hɔ-* (117b) and *mon kar* (118b), a temporal movement is evident with the use of the for-phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ*. Thus, in Table 10, *ahɛ* 'have' has the property of independent existence, *bimar hɔ* has the property of change of mental state and movement. However, *mon*

kar/ hɔ has three proto-agent properties to its credit, that of change of mental state movement and sentience.

   To sum up, it can be said that the predicates that are essentially stative, do not have the proto-agent properties like volition, causation, movement and independent existence. Whereas, the predicates that can appear in progressive aspect can have some of the proto-agent properties like causing change of mental state, and sentience. The analysis of the predicates shows that, involvement or participation of genitive subjects in the action can be seen as a continumm between agent and patient roles. This is schematised in figure 26.

<div align="center">

More Agentive   More Patientlike

⟵   ⟶

Dynamic mental state >physical state >event> state /possession

</div>

<div align="center">

Figure 26 Thematic hierarchy of genitive subjects in AS

</div>

   From the analysis of the genitive subjects, it comes out that the predicates indicating dynamic mental states ensures more involvement of the subject followed by predicates denoting physical states, events and finally states or possessions.

3.4. Locative subjects

Locative subjects indicate abstract location of the property and is associated with the notion of space. In AS, the locative postpositions are *ʊprɛ* and *mɛ.* These subjects mostly have the semantic role of goal or possessor.

125. *mɔ-r   ʊprɛ   dhɛr   daịtva   ah–ɛ*

   I-GEN   LOC   many   responsibilities   EXIST.PRES-3SG

   'There are many responsibilities upon me.'

126. *ʊ -kɛr   mɛ   bahụṭ sakṭi   ah–ɛ*

   He-GEN   LOC   much   strength   EXIST.PRES-3SG

    'There is much strength in him.'

In (125-126), we find that the subject NPs takes compound post-positions as case markers. That is, genitive -*r* is the base followed by the locative postposition *uprɛ* and *mɛ*.

3.4.1. Syntactic properties of locative subjects

In AS, locative subjects control reflexivisation (127) and deletion of co-referential NP (128). However, they do not control participial clause.

127. *ʊ̃ -kɛr ᵢ   mɛ   niʤɛ ᵢ bahʊ̠ʈ sak̠ʈi   ah−ɛ*

   3SG-GEN   LOC   self   much   courage   EXIST.PRES.3SG

   Lit: 'In himself there is much courage in him.'

In (127) the locative subjects can be the antecedents of the reflexives *niʤɛ* 'self'.

128. *mɔ-r   mɛᵢ   dhɛr [ᵢ   kam   kar-ɛk]   sam̠ʈa   ah−ɛ*

   I-GEN   LOC   much   work   do-NF   capability   EXIST.PRES. 3SG

   Lit: 'There is much capability in me to work.'

In (128), the locative subjects control deletion of co-referential NP and are, therefore co-indexed.

129.*[ᵢ likh−a   porh-a   kɔir kɛ]   ʊ̃-kɛr   mɛᵢ   bɛs*

        write-NZ   read-NZ do CP   3SG-GEN   LOC   much

     bʊ̃ddhi   hɔ-l-ak/ ah−ɛ

     intelligence   happen-PAST-3SG/ exist.PRES. 3SG

In (129), the locative subject does not control participial clause in case of both *hɔ-* 'happen' and *ah−* 'exist', as is evident in the ungrammaticality of the construction.

3.4.2. Aspectual properties of the verbs that take locative subject

The analysis of locative subjects in §3.4.1 discusses the synatctic properties of subjecthood. In this section, I have looked into the aspectual properties of the

locative predicates that will determine whether, locative subject asserts any control over the action or not.

3.4.2.1. The use of the phrase *ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ* 'since/in an hour'

The predicates that take locative subjects are mostly the copula *ah–* in its existential function. Hence, it mainly refers to the abstract or concrete locations.

130.(a) *mɔ-r   ʊprɛ ɛk ghanta sɛ/* mɛ   dhɛr   dai̯tva   ah–ɛ*

      I-GEN   LOC since/in an hour   many responsibility EXIST.PRES-3SG

      Lit: 'There are lots of responsibilities on me since /*in an hour.'

    (b) ** ʊ -kɛr mɛ   ɛk ghanta sɛ/ mɛ bahuṭ sakṭi   ah–ɛ*

       I-GEN   LOC   since/in an hour   much   strength   EXIST.PRES-3SG

In (130a-b), both the predicates refer to location abstract entities like *dai̯tva* 'responsibility' and *sakṭi* 'strength'. It is remarkable to note that the former is compatible with the *ɛk ghanta sɛ* phrase whereas, the latter is incompatible with both *ɛk ghanta sɛ* and *mɛ* phrase. The reason behind such a selection could be that *dai̯tva* is relatively a less permanent attribute than *sakṭi,* and is accordingly less stative.

3.4.2.2. The use of adverb *ʤan buʤh kɛ* 'deliberately'

In AS, the existential *ahɛ* do not occur with the phrase *ʤan buʤh kar* 'deliberately', and thus, locative subject assigned by this predicate exerts no control. This is illustrated in the ungrammatical constructions in (131a-b).

131.(a) **mɔ-r   ʊprɛ   ʤan bhuʤh kar dhɛr   dai̯tva   ah–ɛ*

       I-GEN   LOC   deliberately   many responsibility EXIST.PRES-3SG

    (b)** ʊ -kɛr mɛ   ʤan bhuʤh kar   bahuṭ sakṭi   ah–ɛ*

       I-GEN LOC deliberately   much   strength   EXIST.PRES-3SG

Locative subjects have the syntactic subject properties, although semantically, the predicates do not denote the proto-agent properties like volitional, sentience,

causation and independent existence to them. Locative subjects do not entail the property independent existence because they refer to location of inherent property, which is inalienable from the entity.

3.5. Thematic hierarchy of the subjects in AS

In argument selection, as Dowty (1991:578) states, 'not only strong agent outranks strong patients, but both instruments and experiencers outrank any relatively patient like argument for subjecthood. Agent is volition + causation + sentience + movement or in some usage just volition + causation or just volition' (Dowty 1979, 1991). As per the properties of proto-agent proposed by Dowty (1991), in AS (see Table 11), the nominative subject can be considered as the proto-agent as they have the properties like volition, sentience (deliberate perception) and cause change of state. They have an independent existence, in the sense, cannot be created or destroyed by the event named by the verb. The nominative subjects can have both proto-agent and non proto-agent role depending upon the nature of the verb. The experiencer nominative subjects are actors in the action, but their control over the action is less compared to that of the proto-agent.

In AS, the experiencer subjects are not proto-agents, but they do not belong to proto-patients either, as their involvement in the experience can be considered different from that of the patients who are affected arguments. Experiencers are neither volitional actor nor are they totally affected by the action named by the verb. Thus, they occur in between the proto-agent and proto-patient roles in the thematic hierarchy. In AS, we find that, the occurrence of dative and genitive subject case depends on volitional and non-volition verb types. Analysis of the AS data shows that the verbs indicating voluntary act have a nominative subject. Whereas, verbs indicating non-volition have dative or genitive subjects. Non-volitional verbs like psych verbs feel, need, remember, physical/mental states, inherent properties and the use of light verbs *aa* 'come' *ʤa* 'go' *hɔ-* 'happen' take non-nominative subjects. The arguments in the subject position in AS show the degree of control as a continuum between proto-agent and proto-patient. The

difference in the semantic roles of those arguments with nominative and those with dative or genitive case can be seen in a continuum between dynamic and stative predicates. The dynamic verbs imply more agentive and stative verbs have the tendency to take less agentive. This is illustrated in Table 11.

Table 11 The degree of control of subject arguments in AS

The degree of control				
Proto- Agent ← → Proto-Patient				
Dynamic ← → Stative				
Nom	Dat	Gen	Object case	Loc
Implication of the Predicates				
Volition	Non-volitional	Non-volitional		Inherent properties
Deliberation	Obligation, Necessity	Desire/intension		Abstract location
Intension	Psche verbs Perception verbs Physical states	Physical ailments Mental states		
Predicate Types				
pit 'beat' *kand* 'cry' *dʒan* ' know' *sɔc* 'think' *dɛkh* 'look' *sʊn* 'listen' *yaad kar* 'remember do' *bhɛt kar* 'meet do' *bhal pa* 'like' *baʈ kar* 'talk do' *dɛr kar* 'late do'	*lag* 'want/need' *lag* 'feel' *bʊkhar lag* 'fever *bhʊk lag* 'hungry' *nind lag* 'sleepy' *dikhai dɛ* ' appear *sʊn-ai dɛ* 'hear' *yaad aa* 'remember come' *bhal lag* 'like'	*mon ahɛ* 'desire' *bimar hɔlak* 'illness happen' *rag uth* 'get anger' *bhɛt hɔ* 'meet happen' *dɛr hɔ* 'late happen'		*dai̯tva ahɛ* *sahəs ahɛ*

Table 11 shows the different predicate types and their implications that take either nominative or non-nominative subjects case. The predicates that imply volition, deliberation and intension, as shown in the list of verbs, take a nominative subject with the thematic role of proto-agent. Whereas, the dative and genitive

subjects come next to the nominative as per degree of control over action. The dative subject that occurs with the list of predicates can be either a beneficiary or an experiencer. The genitive subject can be a possessor and also an experiencer depending upon the verb types. The locative subjects are not associated with the notion of control or involvement. They rather take the role of goal, and hence, occur next to the patient role. The proto-patient role is normally the object argument, which has not been dealt in this chapter. Hence, in Table 11, the cell indicating the object case below the proto-patient has been shown in a different shade.

Table 12 below gives the case hierarchy of the argument in the subject position, where nominative outranks the non-nominative. The mapping of the case and thematic role in AS can be schematized as given in Table 12.

Table 12 The mapping of the case and thematic hierarchy in AS

Thematic Hierarchy → Case Hierarchy ↓	Agent >	Beneficiary Experiencer >Theme>Possessor> Patient > Goal					
Nominative	A	E		T			
Dative		E	B				
Genitive		E			P		
Locative							G

In Table 12, agent outranks the non-agentive thematic roles, like beneficiary experiencer, theme and possessor. Again, the case hierarchy shows that nominative is higher than the non-nominatives. The thematic roles assumed by each case features in the subject position is given in initials, A=agent, B=beneficiary, E=experiencer, T=theme, P=possessor and G=goal. The thematic hierarchy in AS is derived on the basis of the verbal properties which show that the degree of agentivity in subjects is a continuum between dynamic and stative.

Degree of agentivity

Agents   > Non-agents

Dynamic   Stative

Figure 27 Degree of agentivity in AS

3.6. Conclusion

In AS nominative subjects can have the thematic roles of agent, experiencer and that of themes. Dative subjects can assume the role of experiencer and beneficiary. Genitive subjects, again, can have the thematic role of experiencer and possessor. In AS, there is no one to one correspondence between case marking and thematic roles. Nevertheless, if we consider the role of the predicates in assigning the thematic roles to these case marked arguments, we can definitely form a pattern. The predicates can be arranged in a hierarchy, where the dynamic outranks the non-dynamics. The analysis of the AS data brings forth the observation that there is no definite demarcation between dynamic and stative; instead, they are broken down into further categories showing the degree of control as a continuum between these verb types. The continuum of the predicate types runs parallel with the continuum of the arguments types. The different case marked arguments, namely nominative, dative and genitive can also be placed in a continuum between the proto-agent and proto-patient. Locative subjects indicate abstract location, having the semantic role goal and thus occurs after the patient role in the thematic hierarchy. Besides, each subject case when analysed separately reveals a number of sub-hierarchies. Each of the hierarchies shown in figure 24 in § 3.1, figure 25 in §3.2.6 and figure 26 in § 3.3.5, eventually follow the same pattern.