

# Grammatical Dative Subjects and Subject-like Dative NPs in Russian\*

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## Abstract

Russian has a variety of constructions that have been called “Dative Subjects”. In this article they are surveyed and evaluated as “grammatical subjects” or “psychological subjects”. The notion of grammatical subject is given a formal definition as an NP in the Nominative case occupying the position of [NP, S] or [Spec, IP] (depending upon the syntactic theory used). A psychological subject is the most prominent argument in the predicate on an axis of semantic prominence.

It is argued that only the Dative NP subject of an infinitival clause is truly a grammatical subject in this sense. Other subject-like Dative NPs, including most crucially the subjects of modal predicates and of derived reflexive verbs, are argued to be VP-internal constituents assigned the Dative case there and

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fronted because of their prominence on the semantic axis (and typically on the pragmatic axis of theme/rheme as well). In the vast majority of Russian sentences the grammatical subject and the psychological subject coincide, but when they conflict, it is argued that it is the psychological subject which regularly takes on the morphosyntactic properties which are commonly associated with the unitary concept of “subject” in Russian.

## 1. Introduction

Russian is well-known to have a wide variety of impersonal sentences with “subjects” in the Dative case. However, a great deal of confusion exists around the exact formal status of such purported subjects. Some analysts enumerate a number of different types, others view Dative subjects as a fairly restrictive phenomenon. The purpose of this article is to bring clarity to the discussion of sentences of this type, with specific and uncontroversial criteria at the basis for evaluating candidate Dative grammatical subjects. The conclusion is that the category of Dative subjects is severely restricted, more than previous analysts have identified when discussing such sentences.

In section 2 we survey the candidate sentence types. Section 3 makes explicit an approach to subjecthood in Russian in which there are two possible types of subjects. In section 4 we evaluate the constructions from section 2 according to which type of subject they represent.

## 2. Candidates for Dative Subjects in Russian

The following types of sentences have been analyzed as containing Dative subjects in Russian : <sup>1)</sup>

### (1) *Overt Subject of Infinitive*

- a. Что        мне        делать?  
 what        me<sub>DAT</sub>        to do  
 'What am I to do?'
- b. Нам        нечего        делать.  
 us<sub>DAT</sub>        nothing        to do  
 'There is nothing for us to do.'

### (2) *Dative with Neuter Predicate Adjective*

- a. Мне        холодно.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub>        cold  
 'I am cold.'
- b. Мне        интересно        было        смотреть        этот        фильм.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub>        interesting        was        to watch        this        film  
 'It was pleasant for me to watch that film.'

### (3) *Dative with Modal Predicative*

- a. Мне        надо        идти.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub>        necessary        to go  
 'I have to go.'

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1) This list of examples is not necessarily exhaustive. Some analysts identify more different types, depending on how narrow they define each type semantically. The precise inventory of such expressions with apparent Dative subjects is not crucial to the present analysis; what is truly important is that there are a substantial number of productive sentence types which could be (and often are) analyzed as containing Dative subjects. It is argued below that most (though not all) of these examples do not in fact reflect Dative subjects.

- b. Нам нельзя курить.  
 us<sub>DAT</sub> not permitted to smoke  
 'We aren't allowed to smoke.'

(4) *Dative with Negative Reflexive Verbs*

- a. Мне не спится.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> NEG sleeps  
 'I can't sleep.'
- b. Нам весь день не работалось.  
 us<sub>DAT</sub> all day NEG worked  
 'All day we couldn't work.'

(5) *Dative with Positive Reflexive Verbs*

- a. Мне вдруг захотелось выпить воды.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> suddenly wanted to drink some water  
 'Suddenly I felt like drinking some water.'
- b. Мне нравится ваша прическа.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> pleases your hair<sub>nom</sub>  
 'I like your hairdo.'

(6) *Dative with Expression of Age*

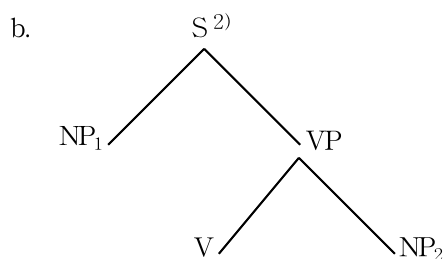
- a. Ей было тридцать лет.  
 her<sub>DAT</sub> was thirtynom years  
 'She was thirty years old.'
- b. Ему сорок один год.  
 him<sub>DAT</sub> forty one year<sub>nom</sub>  
 'He is forty-one years old.'

The remainder of this article is devoted to the analysis of these sentences and others like them.

### 3. Two Kinds of Subjects in Russian

In a standard personal sentence such as (7a), the grammatical subject may be defined as the NP occupying the general configuration position of NP<sub>1</sub> in(7b) :

- (7) a. Иван            купил        газеты.  
       Ivan<sub>NOM</sub>        bought        newspaper  
       'Ivan bought a newspaper.'



In this configuration, grammatical subjects have two important properties : they trigger subject - verb agreement, and they are assigned the Nominative case.

Russian grammatical practice identifies a second type of subject, called *субъект* in Russian; in English linguistic literature devoted to Russian syntax the terms “psychological subject” or “logical subject”

2) This diagram is presented in a pre-theoretical form. In more rigorous theoretical frameworks, such as the Chomskyan Principles and Parameters syntactic theory, the subject NP may occupy another specific configuration, such as [Spec, IP]. The arguments in this paper do not require a more elaborate theory, and therefore only very simple configurations are illustrated. The same reasoning would apply with equal force in a more highly elaborated theory.

are often employed.<sup>3)</sup> The psychological subject is an NP which bears a semantic relation to the predicate which is generally characteristic of grammatical subjects : Agent/Actor, Experiencer, etc. Psychological subjects are the logical starting point of the sentence. For example, sentence (5b) is a sentence about ‘me’ : what ‘I’ like; it is not primarily centered around the ‘hairdo’, even though that is the NP in the Nominative case with which the verb agrees, i.e., it is the grammatical subject. In keeping with the psychological orientation of the sentence and the general principles of Russian word order, the Dative NP stands at or near the beginning of the sentence. Moreover, certain grammatical phenomena regularly associated with grammatical subjects may also be triggered by psychological subjects. In Russian this includes the ability to antecede reflexive pronouns, as in (8), and the ability to control the null subject of a gerund, as in (9).

(8) Мне<sub>i</sub> нравится своя<sub>i</sub> машина.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> pleases REFL car  
 ‘I like my car.’

(9) Увидев это, мне трудно было поверить глазам.  
 having seen this me<sub>DAT</sub> hard was to believe eyes  
 ‘Having seen this, it was hard to believe my eyes.’

In the vast majority of sentences, the grammatical subject and the psychological subject coincide. So in (7a), *ИВАН* is both the grammatical and the psychological subject. It is only in sentences which are customarily described as “impersonal” that this dichotomy arises. If the grammatical subject is psychologically less important than another

3) In Russian the grammatical subject is known as the *подлежащее*.

NP, especially one which is human or animate, then there may arise a conflict between the two types of subjects.

There is no question that in impersonal sentences of the types illustrated in (2-6) the Dative NP plays the role of psychological subject. The issue under consideration here is to what extent they may be analyzed as the grammatical subject. Linguists who have discussed Dative subjects in Russian within a generative framework have failed to draw any systematic distinction between grammatical subjects and psychological subjects, instead relying upon a single unitary notion of “subject” with the general assumption that even in examples like (2-6) we are dealing with grammatical subjects, i.e., subjects on the same level as Nominative NP subjects in (7a). In the next section we will see that this is an inadequate approach to the problem.

#### 4. Dative NPs as Grammatical Subjects

The Dative subjects of infinitive clauses can in fact be accepted as grammatical subjects in a configuration parallel to (7b). There are two primary arguments in favor of this conclusion.

First, there is independent confirmation that the subjects+ of infinitives are indeed assigned the Dative case on the basis of syntactic configuration. This is provided by the phenomenon of the Second Dative, illustrated in (10) :

- (10) a. Мы попросили Ивана прийти одному.  
 we<sub>NOM</sub> asked Ivan<sub>ACC</sub> to come alone<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘We asked Ivan to come alone.’

- b. Для нас утомительно делать это самим.  
 for us<sub>GEN</sub> exhausting do<sub>INF</sub> this<sub>ACC</sub> ourselves<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘It is exhausting for us to do this ourselves.’
- c. У меня нет желания уй ти одному.  
 At me<sub>GEN</sub> no desire<sub>GEN</sub> to leave alone<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘I have no desire to leave alone.’

The predicate nominals following the infinitives have no source for dative Case assignment other than control by and agreement with the PRO subjects of the infinitives; note the variety of arguments in the upper clauses in these sentences. PRO is the subject of a [-tense] verb, and if it is assigned Dative case by default in this configuration, then the case marking on the Second Dative receives an immediate explanation.

It is also possible to get a second Nominative predicate after an infinitive, as in (11).

- (11) Я намерен прийти один.  
 I<sub>NOM</sub> intend come<sub>INF</sub> alone<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘I intend to come alone.’

However, it is clear from the literature on the Second Dative (including Franks 1995, Greenberg 1983, 1985; Comrie 1974, Nichols 1981, Miller 1986, and Neidle 1983) that only grammatical subjects of the main clause are able to control the “Second Nominative” sufficiently strongly to trigger long-distance agreement. Here we have a control conflict: the PRO subject of the infinitive is a non-prominent controller, so even though it is a clausemate of the controlled predicate nominal and is the closest c-commanding controller, a prominent subject



controller in the main clause can overrule it. However, no non-subject controller in the main clause is strong enough to supersede it. Case agreement in the predicate nominal in (11) is well beyond the scope of the present article, and it will not be discussed further. However, we may assume the account in Franks 1995, where each predicate nominal has two principle two forms : one which agrees in case with the configuration case of the controller (which may be Nominative, Accusative, or Dative in various constructions) and a single non-agreeing form, which is always the Instrumental case. For details the reader is referred to Franks 1995 : 395 - 451).

It is also unnecessary to the goal of this article (distinguishing between real grammatical subjects in the Dative case and other non-subject NPs which have subject properties) to give a full configurational account of how the Dative case is assigned to subjects of infinitives.<sup>4)</sup> But it is worth noting that case must be assigned by a different mechanism than accounts for the Dative case on indirect objects because both a Dative subject and a Dative indirect may coexist with the same predicate, as in (12) :

- (12) Что мне дать тебе на день рождения?  
 what<sub>ACC</sub> me<sub>DAT</sub> to give you<sub>DAT</sub> for day birth  
 'What shall I give you for your birthday?'

Dative indirect objects occur as complements to verbs in any morphological form (finite or infinitive; past, present, or future; participle or gerund). Dative subjects are restricted to infinitives, i.e., to

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4) Again, Franks 1995 provides the most comprehensive baseline account along the lines sketched here. Richardson 2007, disappointingly, fails to engage this problem in depth in her more current theoretical account of case-marking in Russian.

tenseless verbs. Therefore we may assume generally that the subjects of verbs that lack a tense feature are assigned Dative in contrast to the subjects of verbs that have a tense feature, which are assigned the Nominative. Confirmation of this distinction is provided by the examples in (13) :

- a. Что     мне     было     делать?  
       what   me<sub>DAT</sub>   was     to do  
       ‘What was I to do?’
- b. Что     мне     будет     делать?  
       what   me<sub>DAT</sub>   will be   to do  
       ‘What will I have to do?’

In these examples, tense is marked by brute force, through the addition of an overt tense marker totally independent of the tenseless infinitive. Because the Dative subject is an argument of the infinitive, not of the tense marker, it remains Dative

Thus, we have established that there are in fact Dative grammatical subjects of infinitive verbs in Russian. Let us now turn our attention to the other Dative NPs in (3 - 6) and consider whether they too can be analyzed as Dative grammatical subjects. We begin with modal predicates like *надо, нужно*.

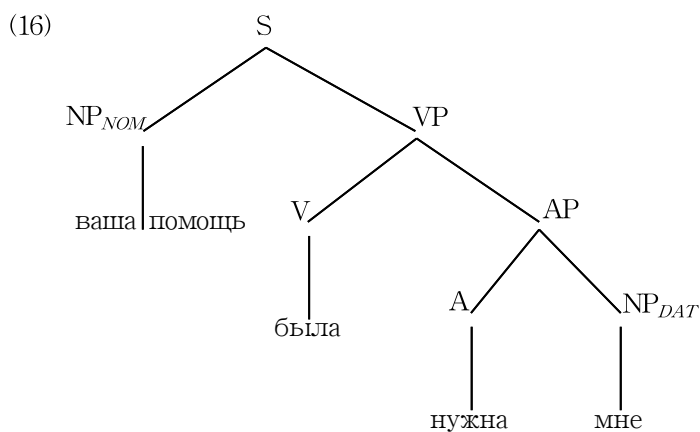
- (14) a. Мне       надо       идти     домой .  
           me<sub>DAT</sub>   necessary   to go    home  
           ‘I have to go.’
- b. Мне       нужно     идти     домой .  
           me<sub>DAT</sub>   necessary   to go    home  
           ‘I have to go.’

A considerable body of literature analyzes this construction as containing a Dative (grammatical) subject : Babby 1974, Schoorlemmer 1994, Fleisher 2006, Richardson 2007, and numerous other works. But this approach ignores a very important related construction, illustrated in (15) :

- (15) Мне        нужна        была        ваша        помощь.  
        $me_{DAT}$     necessary    was        your         $help_{NOM}$   
       'I needed your help.'

In (15) there is a Nominative NP *ваша помощь*, with which the predicate adjective *нужна* and the verb *была* agree. This adjective is manifestly the same lexeme as the neuter form *нужно* in (14b). The most satisfactory analysis must unite the two examples into a single common structure. This leads us to the inescapable conclusion that *мне* in the modal sentences in (14) is not a grammatical subject.

Example (15) must have a syntactic structure like (16) :



In this structure, the grammatical subject is the Nominative NP *ваша помощь*. *Нужна* is a predicate adjective which agrees with it.<sup>5)</sup> Such predicate adjectives regularly take Dative complements (see Choo to appear for details).

However, in the surface sentence, *мне* stands at the beginning of the clause, a position that is most commonly occupied by subjects in Russian. The fronting of this NP is a substantial part of what enables it to function as a psychological subject.

There are at least three “axes” on which an NP may acquire prominence within the Russian sentence. First, there is the grammatical axis. Subjects are more prominent than other arguments, and this gives them the right to bind reflexives, control PRO in infinitival clauses, trigger subject-verb agreement, etc. This observation is uncontroversial.

Second, there is the axis of functional sentence perspective (Kovtunova 1976). On this axis, themes gravitate to the front of the sentences and serve as background information for interpretation of the rheme. In sentences like those in (14) and (15), it is quite natural that *мне* functions as the theme of the sentence. It is a pronoun, and therefore reflects knowledge shared by both speaker and listener. Moreover, the communicative goal of these sentences is to convey information about ‘me’ and ‘my’ psychological state to the listener. Therefore it is natural that this NP is prominent in the consciousness of the speaker and listener, i.e., prominent on the informational level as well.

A third axis of prominence corresponds to the semantic nature of the NP argument *мне* itself. A great body of literature exists which

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5) I believe that *была* in (15) is actually a tense marker which happens to be expressed in the form of a verb, just as in (13), where the presence of a main verb in the infinitival form makes it more obvious that the overt verb ‘be’ serves only as a tense marker. However, nothing crucially depends upon this point, so in (16) I have simply labeled it as the verb ‘be’.

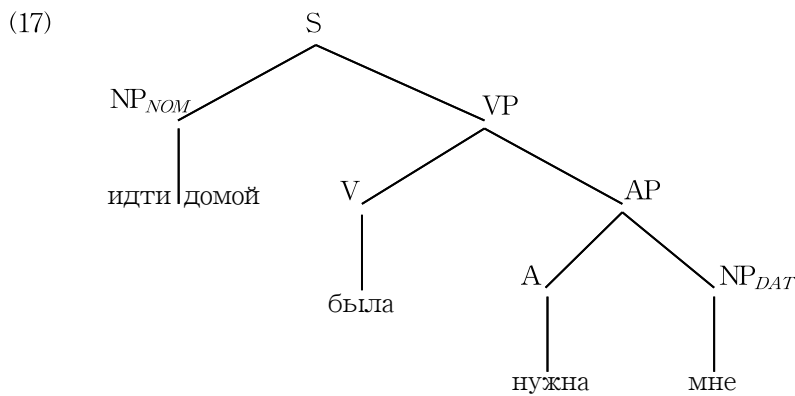
explains various properties based on a hierarchical scale of argument prominence. A fine example involving Russian is Timberlake 1980, which accounts for the ability of NPs other than grammatical subjects to antecede reflexives on the basis of just such a hierarchy involving animacy and agency : AGENT » EXPERIENCER » POSSESSOR » ANIMATE LOCATION » INANIMATE. We can see immediately that in (15) *МНЕ* is more prominent on this axis than *ВАША ПОМОЩЬ*; it is an experiencer and is animate, whereas the grammatical subject is inanimate. Thus, although on the grammatical axis *ВАША ПОМОЩЬ* is most prominent, in this example the semantic and pragmatic axes turn out to be most important, and the tension between non-matching grammatical subject and psychological subject is resolved in favor of the psychological subject, which then is perceived as the overall “subject” of the sentence.<sup>6)</sup>

Most of the syntactic literature acts as if the notion of “subject” were a unitary category, but the reasoning outlined here suggests that we cannot content ourselves with such a simple view of subject. In most cases the grammatical subject seems to have the rights of a unitary “subject”, but this is because in most cases the grammatical and psychological subject coincide. When they do not match, as in these modal

6) An interesting fourth axis of prominence has been suggested for the subjective category of empathy. Yokoyama and Klenin 1976 offer compelling examples of non-reflexive pronouns in contexts where reflexives are mandated on the grammatical axis, explaining them by the countervailing effect of strong disempathy with the subject pronoun. In other work, Yokoyama (1987 et seq.) has demonstrated that the category of empathy has substantial impact upon word order in Russian. I believe that a full description of Russian grammar must incorporate the simultaneous and at time conflicting effect of alternate axes such as these. Instances of complex morphosyntactic variation in Russian (the Genitive of negation, case marking in predicate adjectives, verbal agreement with quantified subjects, etc.) are likely to depend upon the competition between competing axes. However, full elaboration of this model of Russian grammar is beyond the scope of the present article.

sentences, we often find that the psychological subject is the argument which wields the greatest power in terms of properties and phenomena customarily associated with the unitary subject of the sentence.

Example (15) is a clear case where there is a grammatical subject alongside a Dative subject-like NP. Once we accept the reasoning that represents (15) with a structure like (16), we may now see that other modal predicates instantiate the same structure. Thus, example (14b) may be seen to have the structure in (17) :

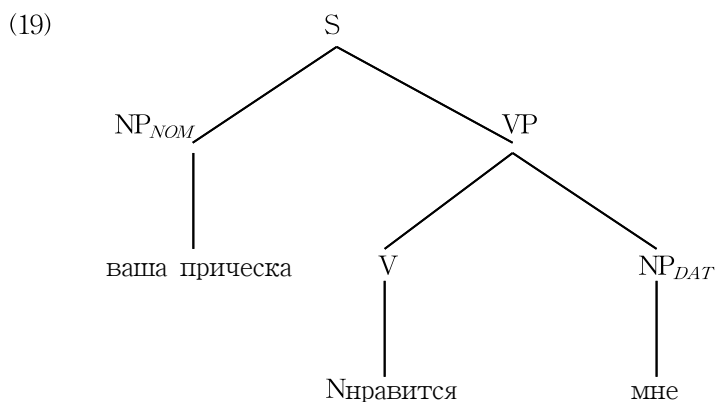


Here, the claim is that the infinitival clause *идти домой* serves as the grammatical subject of the clause (see Choo 2006 for a detailed analysis of infinitives in cased NP positions in Russian). Of course, this lacks any degree of semantic prominence, and while the infinitival clause could conceivably have communicative prominence, in (14b) it is not the theme of the clause, but part of the rheme, and so it naturally occurs at the end of the sentence, leaving the front position available for the semantically prominent NP *мне*.

We can see precisely the same process taking place in sentences like (5), repeated here as (18) :

- (18) a. Мне вдруг захотелось выпить воды.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> suddenly wanted to drink some water  
 ‘Suddenly I felt like drinking some water.’
- b. Мне нравится ваша прическа.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> pleases your hairdo<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘I like your hairdo.’

In (18b) *ваша прическа* is clearly the grammatical subject of the clause, because it stands in the Nominative case and the verb agrees with it. However, just like *ваша помощь* in (15), it lacks prominence on any other axis, and it yields the sentence-initial prominent position to *мне*. Since *мне* clearly cannot occupy the grammatical subject position, it must be a VP-internal Dative in a structure like (19): 7)



7) I argue in another on-going research project that Dative NPs within VP stand in a different configuration than Accusative NPs. However, the details of that syntactic distinction would take us beyond the scope of the present article. Therefore in (19) I have represented the Dative NP as the complement of V, a position where Accusative case is standardly assigned. For the purposes of the present analysis, it can be presumed that a predicate like *нравиться* assigns the Dative case to its complement on semantic grounds, i.e., this is an instance of semantic case in the sense of Choo 2007a.

Analogous reasoning permits us to extend the same structure to (18a), which has an infinitival clause occupying the subject position with *МНЕ* assigned Dative case within VP. The infinitive is naturally less prominent than the animate Experiencer, which therefore occupies the initial position in the sentence

Note that if NPs like *МНЕ* in (18a - b) are semantic Experiencers, it is a straightforward matter to understand the semantics of (18a). The derived reflexive verb (*за*)*ХОТЕТЬСЯ* differs from the base verb *ХОТЕТЬ* 'to want' in that it distances the Experiencer NP from the volitional aspect of desire. Consider the pair of examples in (20) :

- (20) a. Мне           хотелось           вЫПИТЬ           водЫ.  
            $me_{DAT}$    wanted           to drink           some water  
           'I felt like drinking some water.'
- b. Я           хотел           вЫПИТЬ           водЫ.  
            $I_{NOM}$    wanted           to drink           some water  
           'I wanted to drink some water.'

The variant with *ХОТЕТЬ* in (20b) expresses the speaker's forthright desire to drink some water, as an expression of his own will, whereas the more oblique and nuanced expression in (20a) distances his intentions from the feeling of desire. It is as if the desire came upon him from some external stimulus.

The same nuance of external stimulus imposing itself on the Experiencer NP explains the special category of negated derived reflexive verbs in (4), repeated here as (21) :

- (21) a. Мне           не           спИтся.  
            $me_{DAT}$    NEG           sleeps  
           'I can't sleep.'



- b. Нам        весь        день        не        работалось.  
 us<sub>DAT</sub>    all        day        NEG    worked  
 ‘All day we couldn’t work.’

This quintessential Russian syntactic construction distances the will of the individual from the non-performance of the verbal act. So, in (21a) we clearly understand that the subject *wants* to sleep, but simply cannot, for reasons external to his own consciousness (e.g., too much noise in the environment, mental preoccupation with a problem in his/her life, or any other external reason). The interpretation of (21b) is precisely parallel.

Demoting the 1st person pronoun on the grammatical axis from subject to VP-internal argument presents the verbal action as more complex than it is when grammatical subject and psychological subject coincide. It is as if the axes of prominence are themselves conflicted, just as the referent Experiencer NP is personally conflicted and therefore has difficulty in performing the action of the underlying base verb. Grammar in this case seems to echo the complex subjective context of the verbal situation.

It should be noted that in the negated reflexive verb construction, unlike reflexive passives or derived intransitives, any underlying direct object argument is suppressed; it cannot become the grammatical subject of the reflexive sentence, as illustrated in (22) :

- (22) a. Я        не        читал        эту        статью.  
 I<sub>DAT</sub>    NEG    read        this        article  
 ‘I didn’t read this article.’  
 b. Мне        не        читалось.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub>    NEG    read  
 ‘I couldn’t read.’

с. \*Мне не читалась эта статья.  
 me<sub>DAT</sub> NEG read this article

The underlying predicate reflected in (22a) contains a direct object NP. The non-volitional inability to read can be expressed with this construction, as in (22b), but only without expressing the underlying object (patient) argument. Therefore (22c), parallel to the usual derived intransitive construction in which the underlying object become the subject of a reflexive verb, is ungrammatical.

The impersonal sentence types enumerated in (2-5) are very important in Russian. Hundreds of lexemes may participate in the structure in (2). Modal predicates as in (3) are not numerous, but they are very frequent lexemes. Reflexive verbs may be derived from intransitives to construct sentences of types (4) and (5) with great productivity. However, impersonal sentence type (6), repeated below as (23) is restricted to expression of age.

- (23) a. Ей было тридцать лет.  
 her<sub>DAT</sub> was thirty<sub>NOM</sub> years  
 'She was thirty years old.'
- b. Ему сорок один год.  
 him<sub>DAT</sub> forty one year<sub>NOM</sub>  
 'He is forty-one years old.'
- с. Ему исполнился сорок один год.  
 him<sub>DAT</sub> fulfilled forty one year<sub>NOM</sub>  
 'He turned forty-one years old.'

These sentences differ from the other types in that there is no overt lexeme in the predicate which could readily serve as a case assigner.

One could posit a null lexeme in a syntactic position parallel to *НУЖНА* in (17); it could also appear in a structure with a quasi-copular verb, as in (23c). However, it is generally a undesirable procedure to multiple ad hoc null elements in grammar; it is preferable to find a less abstract solution if one is available.

As a viable alternative, I propose that we recognize the “age” construction as a special construction of Russian with its own unique case-assigning properties. This, then, is one additional construction added to two others analyzed in Choo 2007a, 2007b. Examples are given in (24) and (25) :

(24) *Genitive-Initial Sentences*

- a. Хлеба у всех было в обрез.  
bread<sub>GEN</sub> by all was in shortage  
‘The amount of bread available just wasn’t enough for everybody.’
- b. Денег осталось кот наплакал.  
money<sub>GEN</sub> remained cat cried  
‘The amount of money left was such that the cat cried over it [i.e., nothing at all].’

(25) *Absolute Genitive constructions*

- a. Моцарт родился двадцать седьмого января.  
Mozart was born twenty seven<sub>GEN</sub> of January  
‘Mozart was born on January 27th.’
- b. Он – своего рода гений.  
he self’s type<sub>GEN</sub> genius  
‘He is a unique sort of genius.’

The examples in (24), from Choo 2007a, represent a unique Russian

construction in which a Genitive NP occurs at the beginning of the sentence, and a case assigner occurs later in the sentence. Often that case assigner is a phrase which in the normal course of events would not be capable of assigning case, such as *КОТ НАИЛЛАКАЛ* ‘the cat cried’. Nevertheless the semantics of quantification embodied by these phrases triggers the Genitive case on the sentence-initial NP. The examples illustrate the formal loosening of case assignment in actual linguistic practice : it is the semantic content of the phrase of quantification, rather than a phrase of a particular formal configuration, which assigns case.

The examples in (25), from Choo 2007b, illustrate what is called the “Genitive Absolute” there : phrases which stand in the Genitive case without any external case assigner. Again, they demonstrate that the relation between case assigner and case assignee (i.e., the NP to which case is assigned) is looser than a formal model might predict. In this case, case is assigned to the NPs spontaneously, just because they represent a particular construction type. This is particularly striking in (25a), in which the Genitive is used to mark the date on which some event took place.

The examples in (6) and (23) represent a combination of these two types.<sup>8)</sup> The Dative NPs in (23) are assigned case not by an ordinary case assigner (V or N), but by a construction conveying a particular semantic content. Note that the semantics of the age expressions is restricted, but variable in that any quantity of years may be expressed. In this respect it is also like the Genitive Absolute in (25a), which is restricted to dates, but varies with any possible date. Formally there could be argued to be a case assigner, albeit a non-standard phrasal

8) Indeed, the existence of (6) and (23) provides additional confirmation of the analyses proposed in Choo 2007a and 2007b, because by demonstrating additional constructions with related properties, they show that the constructions analyzed there are less isolated within the Russian grammatical system.

unit, as in (24); and semantically there is a tightly coherent semantic type instantiated, as in (25).

## 5. Conclusion

It has been argued that only the subject of an infinitival clause represents a grammatical subject in the Dative case, i.e., an NP in a particular configurational position which is also characteristic of grammatical subjects in the Nominative case. Other examples that have been claimed to be “subjects” cannot in fact be NPs in that same configurational position, because other NPs in those constructions (particularly as shown by (15) and (18b) above) stand in the Nominative case and must be analyzed as the grammatical subjects of their respective sentences. Therefore other examples which have regularly been analyzed as Dative “subjects” must not be subjects on the grammatical axis, but only on a semantic axis. These NPs have been referred to as “psychological subjects” in the Russian linguistic literature, but the precise relation between grammatical and psychological subjects has never been given a coherent account in the formal (generative) literature on Russian syntax. This article represents a step in the direction of formalizing the relation between these two axes. It is further proposed that the existence of parallel axes for evaluation of syntactic properties is a natural state of affairs in grammar, and that other axes besides configuration and semantics exist. Axes of pragmatics and empathy are also discussed in this article, and that may well not exhaust the inventory of such scalar axes which have a palpable impact on actual grammatical phenomena of Russian.

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## Резюме

**О русских подлежащих в дательном падеже в сопоставлении с другими именными группами, проявляющими свой ства подлежащих.**

Чу Сок Хун

Русскому языку свойственен целый ряд конструкций, которые часто называют «дательными подлежащими» в рамках общей хомскианской синтаксической теории. В этой статье эти конструкции рассматриваются с точки зрения их принадлежности к грамматической категории «подлежащего» или «субъекта». Понятие о грамматическом подлежащем получает формальное определение как NP в именительном падеже, находящаяся в позиции [NP, S] или [Spec, IP] (в зависимости от данного варианта синтаксической теории). Дательные подлежащие, если они и существуют как таковые, представляют собой некоторое отклонение от такого синтаксического определения. Субъект же является самым видным аргументом предиката на «оси» семантической видимости.

В статье утверждается, что единственная дательная NP, которая воистине является грамматическим подлежащим, согласно данному определению, есть подлежащее при инфинитиве. Другие NP, которые в литературе часто рассматриваются как подлежащие, в том числе и субъекты



모달альных предикатов типа нужно, надо, а также и дательные аргументы возвратных глаголов, на самом деле возникают внутри VP и именно там им приписывается дательный падеж. Продвижение таких NP к началу предложения, которое столь характерно для таких конструкций, является результатом их видности на семантической оси (а частично и потому что они обычно выступают в качестве темы на уровне актуального членения предложения). В подавляющем большинстве предложений подлежащее тождественно субъекту, а в случае несовпадения, именно субъект принимает на себя главные морфосинтаксические свойства, свойственные «объединенному подлежащему» (в смысле хомскианской теории), напр. контроль над возвратными местоимениями и нулевыми PRO при деепричастиях.

