

## 【論文】

## The Person-Case Constraint in Two Dialects of Odia

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## 要旨 (Abstract)

The Person-Case Constraint (PCC) as a universal format of rule dictates that, if a clause contains two internal arguments, then the lower of them cannot be 1st or 2nd person. The Odia version applies if a clause contains two objective-case-marked NPs and also lacks an agentive subject, to prevent the lower one from being 1st or 2nd person (Yamabe 2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2020). This article reports cross-speaker variation concerning the Odia PCC. The application range of the constraint varies between two group of speakers. For some speakers ("Dialect A"), the PCC applies if (i) the pair of objective-case-marked NPs logically stand in the subject and object relation, or (ii) they are the recipient and theme of a ditransitive verb. For other speakers ("Dialect B"), the PCC applies in circumstance (i) but not in circumstance (ii). I attribute the cross-speaker variation to the absence (in Dialect A) or presence (in Dialect B) of the covert diathetic alternation of Dative Shift, which swaps the relative structural height of the two NPs in ditransitive clauses.

キーワード (Keywords) : South Asian language, syntax, morphology, personal pronouns, agent, subject, restructuring, ditransitive verbs, Dative Shift

1 An overview of this article<sup>2</sup>

In previous articles (Yamabe 2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2020), I reported the Odia version of the Person-Case Constraint (PCC). The PCC as a universal format of rule dictates that, if a clause contains two internal arguments, then the lower of them cannot be 1st or 2nd person. The Odia version applies if a clause contains two objective-case-marked NPs and also lacks an agentive subject, preventing the lower one from being 1st or 2nd person. This article reports cross-speaker variation concerning the Odia PCC. The application range of the constraint varies between two groups of speakers. For the one group of speakers ("Dialect A"), the PCC applies if (i)

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<sup>2</sup> **Abbreviations.** ACC: accusative, CAUS: causative, CL: classifier, CP: conjunctive participle, DAT: dative, EMP: emphatic, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, GER: gerund, INF: infinitive, LOC: locative, NOM: nominative, NP: noun phrase, OBJ: objective, PL: plural, PAST: past, PERF: perfect, SG: singular, 1/2/3: 1st/2nd/3rd person.

**Odia pronunciation.** *a* [ɔ], *aa* [a], *c, j* = palatal, *D, L, T* = retroflex, *h* = aspirate consonant, *~* = nasalized vowel.

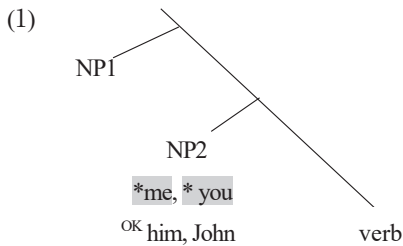
Odia is a language of the Indo-Aryan branch, Indo-European family, spoken mainly in the state of Odisha, India. According to 2011 Census India, it is the first language for approximately thirty-eight million people. Unless otherwise specified, the data presented in this articles come from my consultants.

the pair of objective-case-marked NPs logically stand in the subject and object relation ('Sir (OBJ) will have to beat {Montu | him | ??you | ??me (OBJ)};') or (ii) they are the recipient and theme of a ditransitive verb ('The gentleman (OBJ) won't be given {Montu | him | ??me | ??you (OBJ)};'). For the other group of speakers ('Dialect B'), the PCC applies in circumstance (i) but it does not take effect in circumstance (ii). I attribute this cross-speaker variation to the absence (in Dialect A) or presence (in Dialect B) of the covertly-occurring diathetic alternation of Dative Shift, which swaps the relative structural height of the two NPs in ditransitive clauses.

The following parts of this article are structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 sketch the PCC, cross-linguistically (section 2) and in Odia (section 3). Section 4 details Odia facts where the speakers converge, and section 5, where the speakers diverge. Section 6 presents an analysis and section 7 is a conclusion.

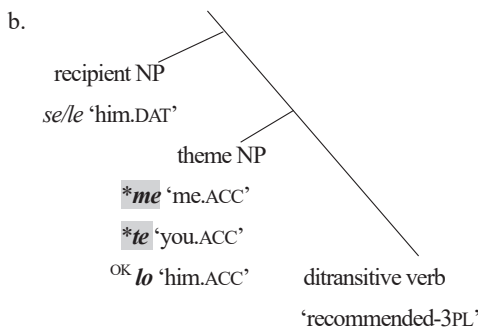
## 2 The Person-Case Constraint (PCC) cross-linguistically

Cross-linguistically, the PCC is a rule (or rather, a family of rules) according to which, if a clause contains two arguments (NP1 and NP2 in (1)), the syntactically lower one (NP2) cannot be 1st or 2nd person (Anagnostopoulou 2017, among others). In the examples cited in this article, items causing ill-formedness are **\*highlighted**.



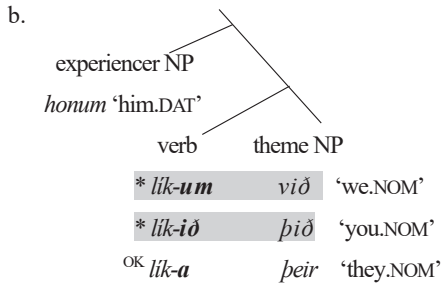
The instances of PCC found worldwide are subject to further conditions for application, which vary from language to language. Thus, they differ in the range of circumstances where they apply. There are two major kinds in this respect among the known instances. The one kind is represented, for example, in Spanish, as in (2). The Spanish PCC applies in ditransitive clauses if the direct and indirect objects are both expressed by means of clitic pronouns: the theme cannot be 1st (*me*) or 2nd (*te*) person but can only be 3rd person (*lo*).

- (2) a. { *Se lo* | **\**Me le*** | **\**Te le*** } *recomendaron*.  
 3.DAT 3.ACC | 1.ACC 3.DAT | 2.ACC 3.DAT recommended-3PL  
 'They recommended { him | **\*me** | **\*you** (ACC)} to him (DAT).' (Perlmutter 1971: 61-62, adapted)



The other kind is instantiated in Icelandic, as in (3). The Icelandic PCC applies in the dative subject construction if the theme comes with agreement on the verb.

- (3) a. *Honum* { *lik-a þeir* | \**lik-ið þið* | \**lik-um við* }.  
 him.DAT like-3PL they.NOM like-2PL you.NOM like-1PL we.NOM  
 He (DAT) likes {them | \*you | \*us (NOM)}. (Sigurðsson et al. 2008: 254, adapted)



As can be seen from the Spanish and Icelandic examples, the known instances of the PCC only concern bound forms (in other words, phonologically *weak* forms), put in bold in diagrams (b) of (2) and (3): clitic pronouns (e.g., *me* ‘me.ACC’ in (2)) or verbal agreement endings (e.g., *-um* ‘-1PL’ in (3)); free forms of 1st and 2nd pronouns are free from their effects (Anagnostopoulou 2017, Haspelmath 2004).

Existing theoretically-oriented analyses (See Anagnostopoulou 2017 for a summary) take the property of formal boundness to be either crucial to (or normal with) the PCC, and accordingly formalize the constraint to crucially (or normally) target bound forms exempting full pronouns and full noun phrases. Some generative studies (for example, Adger & Harbour 2010) formulate the PCC by way of the technical term “Agree”, so that the PCC regulates the Agree relation between the verbal head and two pronouns. In theory this term denotes an abstract process/relation in a syntactic structure and does not necessarily implicate overt reflection with morphological items, but in actual practice, analyses of PCC phenomena employ this device to capture the occurrence of bound agreement morphemes such as verbal agreement affixes in (3) or clitic pronouns attached to a verb as in (2). Also, Haspelmath (2004) shares this factual view in his functionally-typologically oriented account, and argues that the constraint is to exclude the infrequent combination of personal pronouns from being expressed as bound forms.

### 3 The Odia PCC in outline

Odia has an instance of PCC. It applies when a clause contains two NPs marked with objective case (OBJ). Now take the run-of-the-mill transitive sentence (4), with one objective case NP. Embedding it in the obligational (‘have-to’) construction we have sentence (5), where notional subject (‘sir’) and notional object (‘Montu’ etc.) are both marked with objective case (OBJ). The PCC applies here to prevent the theme from being the 1st person (*mo-te* ‘me-OBJ’) or the 2nd person (*tuma-ku* ‘you-OBJ’), while allowing it to be 3rd person (*manTu-ku* ‘Montu-OBJ’, *taa-ku* ‘him-OBJ’). (A person being respected (such as ‘the sir’ in (4)) is grammatically plural, being notionally a single individual, Hence the 3PL agreement on the verb in (4).)

- (4) *saar aaji* { *maNTu-ku* | *taa-ku* | *tuma-ku* | *mo-te* } *maar-ib-e*.  
 sir today Montu-OBJ him-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-FUT-3PL  
 ‘Sir (NOM) will beat { Mantu | him | you | me (OBJ) } today.’
- (5) a. *saaran-ku aaji* { *maNTu-ku* | *taa-ku* | *??tuma-ku* | *??mo-te* } *maar-ibaa paai~ paD-ib-a*.  
 sir-OBJ today Montu-OBJ him-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-INF fall-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) will have to beat { Mantu | him | *??you* | *??me* (OBJ) } today.’
- b.
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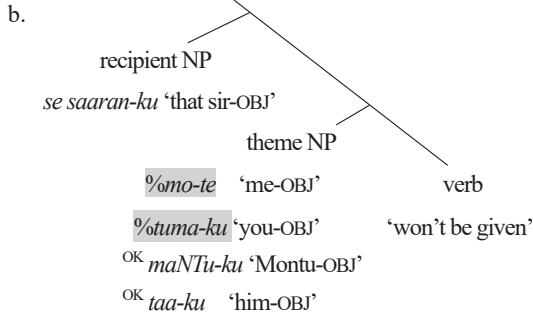
Notably, the Odia species of the PCC concerns freestanding NPs (*mo-te* ‘me-OBJ’, *tuma-ku* ‘you-OBJ’). It is unlike the Spanish, Icelandic and all other known species (section 2). The latter set of species of PCC concern formal boundness of arguments. In the hither-to reported instances in which the PCC is in effect, at least either, usually both, of the two internal arguments are formally bound. *Both* arguments are expressed bound in most instances (such as ditransitive clauses in many languages as in (2)). The *lower* (namely, the theme), but not the upper (such as the experiencer), are expressed bound in the most of the rest (such as the Icelandic experiencer subject construction as in (3), and some species of Romance causative constructions (Postal 1989, Sheehan 2020)). Deals (forthcoming) reports a reversed state of affairs from Tlaxcala Náhuatl in which the *upper* (the indirect object), but not the lower (the direct object), is represented with a verbal agreement morpheme.

The observation with the Odia version of the PCC not only expands the database but also helps revise formal analyses and functional explanations of the PCC cross-linguistically. Specifically, regarding formal analysis, the Odia facts point to the characterization of the PCC without reference to the morpho-phonological boundness (as argued in Sheehan 2020).

In my 2020 paper I presented example (6) as a canonical case of the PCC effect in Odia. It is the passive of a ditransitive verb (‘give’) clause. In Odia, the passive predicate consists of the gerund (GER) of the base verb followed by either the verb *ji-* ‘go’ or *he-* ‘become’. The regular species of passive is non-promotional (B.N. Patnaik, nd., p.11).<sup>3</sup> In (6), the recipient (‘sir’) and the theme (‘Montu’ etc.) are both marked with objective case, just they are in the corresponding active sentence, and the verb is impersonal, namely, invariably in the 3sg.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the non-promotional passive construction as in (5a) and (ia) available with virtually *all* agentive (transitive and intransitive) verbs, the promotional passive construction is possible with a limited range of transitive agentive verbs, for example, with *dhar-* ‘catch’ as in (ib), though, for example, not with *piT-* ‘hit’. In the promotional species the theme gets case-marked nominative and agrees with the predicate.

- (6) a. *se saaran-ku aadou* { *maNTu-ku* | *taa-ku* | %*mo-te* | %*tuma-ku* } *di-aa j-ib-a ni*.  
 that sir-OBJ absolutely Montu-OBJ him-OBJ me-OBJ you-OBJ give-GER go-FUT-3SG not  
 ‘The gentleman (OBJ) will never be given {Montu | him | %me | %you (OBJ)}.’  
 = ‘One will never give the gentleman (OBJ) {Montu | him | %me | %you (OBJ)}.’



After completing that article, however, I came across a number of speakers who found no problem with sentence (6) and the like containing ‘me’ and ‘you’ as themes, while they did reject ‘me’ and ‘you’ as a theme in sentence (5) and the like. The % mark in examples in the present article signals this division of opinion between speakers.

This paper looks into the cross-speaker variation in the application range of the Odia PCC. For some speakers (Dialect A), it applies in all the constructions listed in (7) and (8). For others (Dialect B), it applies only in (7), but not (8). The union of construction families (7) and (8) single out clauses lacking an agentive subject and containing two objective-case-marked NPs. In the constructions listed in (7) the two objective-case-marked NPs represent the logical subject and object of a verbal root, and in those in (8) they represent the experiencer and theme of a ditransitive verb. Given that the discussion of the PCC in the literature centers on the cases of ditransitive verbs,

- (i) a. *cora maanan-ku* { *dhar-aa* | *piT-aa* } *ga-l-aa*.  
 thief PL-OBJ catch-GER beat-GER go-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Thieves (OBJ) were { caught | beaten }.’  
 b. *cora maane* { *dhar-aa* | %*piT-aa* } *ga-l-e*.  
 thief PL.NOM catch-GER beat-GER go-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Thieves (NOM) were { caught | \*beaten }.’

Further, *some* speakers accept the promotional passive construction quite generally with agentive transitive verbs (B.N. Patnaik, nd., p.11). Some even accept it with ditransitive verbs such as the verb *de-* ‘give’ as in (i), in which the theme is nominative and agrees with the predicate (Also see example (41) in section 6.2, cited from A. Sahoo 2010: 192-193). Note that in both promotional and non-promotional species of passive constructions, the predicate consists of the gerund of the base verb followed by the verb ‘go’ or ‘become’. This article will not feature the promotional species (except for some discussion in section 6.2 relating to example (ii)).

- (ii) % *se saaran-ku adou* { *maNTu di-aa j-ib-a* | *pilaa maane di-aa j-ib-e* } *ni*.  
 that sir-OBJ absolutely Montu give-GER go-FUT-3SG kid PL.NOM give-GER go-FUT-3PL not  
 ‘{Montu | Children (NOM)} will never be given to the gentleman (OBJ).’

Despite these cases of cross-speaker variation, the experiencer NP of a ditransitive verb is *ineligible* for promotion to nominative, unanimously for any speaker and for that matter, clearly (Patnaik, Sahoo).

the need of an explanation feels all the more pressing of why, for some speakers of Odia (Dialect B), we don't find effect of the PCC s in the grammatical region where one would first expect to find it while we do find it elsewhere. Section 3 is going to cover the construction family (7), and section 4, (8); the subsections specified at the ends of the lines take up the respective constructions.

- (7) Dative-subject clauses
- a. transitive in the obligational 'one has to do', ex. (5a), (4.1)
  - b. transitive in the permissive 'let one do' (4.2)
  - c. causative of transitive 'make one do' (4.3)
  - d. transitive in a restructuring clause 'teach one to do' (4.4)
  - e. experiencer-subject construction with an object 'like' (4.5)
- (8) Agentless ditransitive clauses
- a. passive of ditransitive, ex. (6a), (5.1)
  - b. ditransitive in a species of purposive (5.2)
  - c. impersonal possibilitative of ditransitive (5.3)
  - d. ditransitive with an inanimate cause (5.4)

The distribution of the PCC effect is summarized in table (9). It is observed in the cases marked with !, while the other cases, marked with ○, are free from the PCC effect.

(9)	Dialect A	Dialect B
(7) Dative-subject clauses	!	!
(8) Agentless ditransitive clauses	!	○
Ditransitive clauses with agent	○	○

#### 4 Circumstances where the PCC applies for all speakers

This section presents the constructions where speakers converge in letting the PCC apply, listed in (7). The constructions are all characterized as having two objective case marked NPs that stand notionally in a subject-object relation. I am going to look into the remaining four constructions, one each in a subsection.

##### 4.1 Transitive in the obligational

The obligational construction is what we have seen in (5a), repeated below. It consist of the verb *paD-* 'fall' and its complement clause in the infinitive (INF), and means 'one has to do; one is obliged to do'. The notional subject (experiencer) is marked objective due to the obligational construction frame. So, if the complement clause has an object (theme) which is case-marked objective due to being an object, then the sentence contains two objective-case-marked NPs. The PCC applies then, to prevent the theme from being 1st or 2nd person.

- (5)a. *saaran-ku aaji* { *maNTu-ku* | *taan-ku* | *??tuma-ku* | *??mo-te* } *maar-ibaa paai~ paD-ib-a*.  
 sir-OBJ today Montu-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-INF fall-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) will have to beat {Montu | him | ??you | ??me (OBJ)} today.’

This can usefully be contrasted with the ‘want’-construction, with the verb *icchaa he-* ‘desire happen’, as in (10). The latter looks parallel on the surface but behaves differently from the obligational construction. Formally, it takes its complement clause in the infinitive and the notional subject (experiencer) in the objective case. But, in behavior it escapes the PCC.

- (10) *saaran-ku kintu* { *maNTu-ku* | *taan-ku* | *tuma-ku* | *mo-te* } *piT-ibaa paai~ icchaa he-l-aa ni*.  
 sir-OBJ however Montu-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-INF desire happen-PAST-3SG not  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) didn’t want to beat {Montu | him | you | me (OBJ)}, though.’

The observed asymmetry between the obligational (4) and the ‘want’-construction (10) stems from structural asymmetry between them, schematized in (11). The obligational is a restructuring construction, that is a sentence in which the complement clause lacks subject position (as marked with “×” in (11a)) (See Wurmbrand 2001 for the theoretical machinery for accounting for restructuring phenomena). The ‘want’-verb’s complement clause, in contrast, contains a silent agentive subject ( $\triangle$  in (11b) and henceforth, or “PRO” in generativist literature) that is coreferent to a noun phrase in a main clause (“controllerNP”). The PCC in Odia applies exclusively in a clause lacking an agentive subject, while staying inactive in a clause with an agentive subject.<sup>4</sup>

- (11) a. NP controllerNP [ × V ] fall (obligational, ex.(4))  
 b. NP controllerNP<sub>i</sub> [  $\triangle_i$  V ] desire happen (‘want’-sentence, ex. (10))

<sup>4</sup> A useful test to tell the presence or absence of a silent nominative subject in a complement clause is by the adjunct *samaste ekaasaangare* ‘all together’. (So, we are going to use it here and in some of the following footnotes.) The constituent *samaste* ‘all’ agrees in case with its antecedent found in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Let us now add this adjunct to an objective and desiderative sentence, and have the *samaste* part refer to the understood actor of the complement action. Then, *samaste* can appear in the objective, both in the obligational (i) and the desiderative (ii), because it has an option to agree with the visible noun phrase in the main clause (*pilaa-maanan-ku*). Additionally, in the desiderative (ii), *samaste* can agree with the invisible noun phrase in complement clause ( $\triangle$ ), thus appearing in the nominative. However, in the obligational (i), without subject position in the complement clause, *samaste* avails itself of no way of appearing in the nominative. (For more tests and their application to various constructions, see Yamabe 2014, 2018a).

- (i) *pilaa-maanan-ku* <sub>i</sub> [ *sethi* { \**samaste* | *samastan-ku* <sub>i</sub> } *ekaasaangare kaama kar-ibaa paai~*] *paD-ib-a*.  
 kid-PL-OBJ there all.NOM all-OBJ together wok do-INF fall-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The children will have to work all (\*NOM | OBJ) together there.’ (obligational)
- (ii) *pilaa-maanan-ku* <sub>i</sub> [ *sethi*  $\triangle_i$  { *samaste* <sub>i</sub> | *samastan-ku* <sub>i</sub> } *ekaasaangare kaama kar-ibaa paai~*] *icchaa he-l-aa ni*  
 kid-PL-OBJ there NOM all.NOM all-OBJ together wok do-INF desire happen-PAST-3SG  
 ‘The children didn’t want to work all (NOM | OBJ) together there.’ (desiderative)

#### 4.2 Transitive in the permissive

The permissive construction consists of the verb *de-* ‘give’ and its complement clause, and means ‘let someone do’. The complement verb is in the infinitive form (INF) (ex. *piT-ibaa paai~* ‘beat-INF’) as shown in (12), or alternatively, in the conjunctive participle form (CP) of the causative (CAUS) (ex. *piT-e-i* ‘beat-CAUS-CP’). The Odia construction, unlike the Hindi counterpart, is restricted to negative contexts, and thus its examples below are all presented in the negative. Embedding the transitive sentence (4) in the permissive construction, we have (12). The PCC applies here. The theme cannot be 1st or 2nd person. The complement clause is bracketed.

- (12) *prinsipaal saaran-ku kintu*  
 principal sir-OBJ however  
 [ { *maNTu-ku | taan-ku | tuma-ku | mo-te* } *piT-ibaa paai~* ] *de-le ni*.  
 Montu-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-INF give-PAST-3PL not  
 ‘The school principal, however, didn’t let sir (OBJ) beat {Montu | him | you | me (OBJ)}.’

Notably, the directive construction (‘tell-someone-to-do’) as in (13) is free from the PCC.

- (13) *prinsipaal saaran-ku aaji*  
 principal sir-OBJ today  
 [ { *maNTu-ku | taan-ku | tuma-ku | mo-te* } *piT-ibaa paai~* ] *kah-il-e*.  
 Montu-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ beat-INF say-PAST-3PL  
 ‘The school principal told sir (OBJ) to beat {Montu | him | you | me (OBJ)} today.’

The asymmetry between the permissive (12) and the directive (13) stems from structural asymmetry between them, schematized in (14) (Yamabe 2014, 2018a). The permissive is a restructuring construction, its complement clause lacking subject position (as marked with “×” in (14a)) (See Butt & Ramchand 2005 for analyzing the Hindi counterpart this way). The directive’s complement clause, in contrast, contains a silent agentive subject (marked with  $\triangle_i$ ) coreferent to the controller NP.<sup>5</sup> (See Butt 1995, 2014 for the analogous structural asymmetry between the permissive and directive constructions in Hindi, postulated on the basis of a set of empirical observations different from those in Odia.). The Odia PCC exclusively affects a clause lacking an agentive subject, while leaving a clause with an agentive subject intact.

<sup>5</sup> The samaste ‘all’ test, introduced in fn.4, tells us the absence and presence of the silent NP,  $\triangle$ , in the permissive (i) and the and directive (ii), respectively.

- (i) *kaNDakTar pilaa maanan-ku i seThi* [ { *\*samaste* <sub>i</sub> | *samastan-ku* <sub>i</sub> } *ekaasaangare bas-ibaa paai~* ] *de-l-e ni*.  
 conductor kid PL-OBJ there all.NOM all-OBJ together sit-INF give-PAST-3PL not  
 ‘The bus conductor didn’t let the kids (OBJ) [ sit there all { *\*NOM* | (OBJ) } together].’ (permissive)
- (ii) *kaNDakTar pilaa maanan-ku i seThi* [  $\triangle$  <sub>i</sub> { *samaste* <sub>i</sub> | *samastan-ku* <sub>i</sub> } *ekaasaangare bas-ibaa paai~* ] *kah-il-e*.  
 conductor kid PL-OBJ there NOM all.NOM all-OBJ together sit-INF say-PAST-3PL  
 ‘The bus conductor told the kids (OBJ) [  $\triangle$  (NOM) to sit there all { (NOM) | (OBJ) } together.’ (directive)



- (14) a. NP controllerNP [ × V ] let (permissive, ex. (12))  
 b. NP controllerNP<sub>i</sub> [ △<sub>i</sub> V ] tell (directive, ex. (13))

### 4.3 The causative of transitive

The causative construction contains the verb in the causative form (CAUS), as in (15). Here, the PCC applies so that the logical object of the caused action cannot be the 1st person theme or 2nd person. In contrast, the 1st and 2nd person can appear as the logical subject of that action, as in (16).

- (15) ?? *se kathaa hi~ saaran-ku sesa-re { mo-te | tote } piT-e-il-aa.*  
 that story EMP sir-OBJ end-LOC me-OBJ you-OBJ beat-CAUS-PAST-3SG  
 ‘That made sir (OBJ) finally beat { ??me | ??you } (OBJ).’
- (16) *se kathaa hi~ { mo-te | to-te } sesa-re maNTu-ku piT-e-il-aa.*  
 that story EMP me-OBJ you-OBJ end-LOC Montu-OBJ beat-CAUS-PAST-3SG  
 ‘That made { me | you (OBJ) } finally beat Montu (OBJ).’

It is notable that, in making examples (15) and (16), a couple of necessary cares were taken to avoid restrictions at work specifically in the causative construction. First, it is crucial that the cause is an inanimate cause (‘that story’) rather than human agent in order to have the causee (that is, the logical subject of caused action) marked objective. A human agentive causer (for example, ‘the principal’) would not allow the causee in these sentences to be marked objective but require it be marked with *dvaaraa* ‘by’.<sup>6</sup> Second, it is also crucial that either one instance of the two objective case markers is represented by the allomorph *-te* rather than *-ku* in order to avoid the double objective case constraint that prevents two NP marked with the case morpheme *-ku* from appearing in a clause. In (16), replacing *mo-te* ‘me-OBJ’ / *to-te* ‘you-OBJ’ with a noun phrase selecting for the *-ku* allomorph such as *aama-ku* ‘us-OBJ’ and *saaran-ku* ‘sir-OBJ’ would result in unacceptability.

### 4.4 Transitive in a restructuring complement clause

The verb *sikhe-* ‘teach’ takes a noun phrase expressing a person instructed and a complement clause expressing an action to be performed by that person. The instructed person NP is marked with the objective case. The verb of the complement clause is either a conjunctive-participle (CP) or an infinitive (INF). Embedding a transitive clause ‘Students always greet the guest etc.’ under the verb *sikhe-*, we get the conjunctive-participle version (17), and the

<sup>6</sup> The flagging of the causee NPs in the causative sentences differs depending on whether the causer is human or inanimate and on what the verb base is. (i) In the case of an human agentive causer, (a) if the base verb is one of a small range of transitive activity verbs (such as *jhaaD-* ‘sweep (a room)’, *Tel-* ‘push (a cart)’), the causee can alternatively be marked with the postposition *dvaaraa* ‘by’ or with objective case; (b) if the base verb is an intransitive verb (such as *cal-* ‘walk’) or a so-called “ingestive” transitive verb (such as *khaa-* ‘eat’), the causee is marked exclusively with the objective case but not with *dvaaraa*; (c) with all the other transitive verbs (such as ‘beat’) as the base, normally the causee is marked with *dvaaraa* but not with the objective case (though some speakers find the objective case barely possible). (ii) In the case of inanimate cause (as in (15) and (16)), the causee appears in the objective with all base verbs.

infinitive version (18). The former is subject to the PCC, while the latter is immune from it.

- (17) *saar pilaa maanan-ku sabubeLe*  
 sir kid PL-OBJ always  
 [ { *atithin-ku* | *taan-ku* | ?? *aapaNan-ku* | ?? *mo-te* } *namaskaar kar-i* ] *sikhe-ich-anti*.  
 guest-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ greet-CP teach-PERF-3PL  
 ‘Sir taught students (OBJ) to always greet (CP) {the guest | him | ??you | ??me (OBJ)}.’
- (18) *saar pilaa maanan-ku sabubeLe*  
 sir kid PL-OBJ always  
 [ { *atithin-ku* | *taan-ku* | *aapaNan-ku* | *mo-te* } *namaskaar kar-ibaa paai~* ] *sikhe-ich-anti*.  
 guest-OBJ he-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ greet-INF teach-PERF-3PL  
 ‘Sir taught students (OBJ) to always greet (INF) {the guest | him | you | me (OBJ)}.’

The asymmetry in judgements between (17) and (18) derives in a manner structurally parallel to those in the preceding sections. The conjunctive participle clause appearing under the verb *sikhe-* ‘teach’ as in (17) is a restructuring clause, lacking subject position, as in (19a).<sup>7</sup> In contrast, the infinitive clause under the same verb as in (18) contains a silent agentive subject, as in (19b).<sup>8</sup> The PCC in Odia gets active exclusively in a clause lacking an agentive subject, while staying inactive in a clause with an agentive subject.

<sup>7</sup> The verb *sikhe-* ‘teach’ is an *object-control* verb: the complement clause’s actor is understood to be the same as the main clause’s *object*. It thus belongs to a class structurally distinct from the causative (4.3). With the verb *sikhe-* the person receiving an instruction is invariably marked with the objective case by virtue of its being the object of *sikhe-*, while in the causative the causee’s flagging varies as stated in fn.6 because it is not determined by any designated element such as the causative morpheme but by the set of properties of the whole construction.

Cross-linguistically, *sikhe-* as an object-control restructuring-trigger verb belongs to a small category. Known instances of verbs taking a restructuring clause are for the most part *subject-control* verbs (for example, ‘want’ in Romance) or raising-to-subject verbs (‘tend’ and ‘can’ in Romance): in either case, the complement clause’s actor is understood to be the same as the main clause’s subject. Still, object-control restructuring-trigger verbs are reported from Spanish (*permitir* ‘permit’, *mandar* ‘order’), which constitute a class structurally distinct from the class of the causative (*hacer* ‘make’, *dejar* ‘let’) (Moore 2009).

<sup>8</sup> The absence and presence of the silent subject in the complement clauses, as schematized in the (a) and (b) of (19), respectively, are supported by the result of the *samaste* test.

- (i) *saar pilaa maanan-ku* ; *seThi* [ { \**samaste* ; | *samastan-ku* ; } *ekaasaangare kaama kar-i* ] *sikhe-il-e*.  
 sir kid PL-OBJ there all.NOM all-OBJ together work do-CP teach-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Sir taught the kids how to work all { (\*NOM) (OBJ) } together.’ (conjunctive participle complement)
- (ii) *saar pilaa maanan-ku* ; *seThi* [  $\Delta$  ; { *samaste* ; | *samastan-ku* ; } *ekaasaangare kaama kar-ibaa paai~* ] *sikhe-il-e*.  
 sir kid PL-OBJ there NOM all.NOM all-OBJ together work do-INF teach-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Sir taught the kids how to work all { (NOM) | (OBJ) } together.’ (infinitive complement)

- (19) a. NP controllerNP [ × V (CP) ] teach (conjunctive participle complement, ex. (17))  
 b. NP controllerNP<sub>i</sub> [ △<sub>i</sub> V (INF) ] teach (infinitive complement, ex. (18))

#### 4.5 The experiencer-subject construction with an object

The experiencer-subject construction with an object is constructed on the verb *bhala laag-* ‘like’ or *mane paD-* ‘remember’, among others. It expresses a specific psychological experience or another. There are two types of it, depending on the case on the logical object (theme), as in (a) and (b) of (19). In type (a), the logical object is objective (OBJ), and in type (b), it is nominative (NOM). The logical subject (experiencer) is objective (OBJ) in both types. What is relevant for the Odia PCC is that type (a) contains two objective-case-marked NPs.

- (19) *The cases on [ experiencer, theme ] in the dative subject constructions*  
 a. OBJ, OBJ  
 b. OBJ, NOM

Type (a) is caught by the PCC, as in (20), while type (b) escapes, as in (21).<sup>9</sup>

- (20) *saaran-ku niscaya { maNTu-ku | taa-ku | ??mo-te | ??tuma-ku } bhala laag-ib-a.*  
 sir-OBJ surely Montu-OBJ him-OBJ me-OBJ you-OBJ like-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) will surely like { Montu | him | ??me | ??you (OBJ) }.’

<sup>9</sup> While type (b) of dative subject construction is free from the PCC of the kind we are concerned with, it is subject to another species of PCC (Yamabe 2018b). Its effect is observed in (i). Type (b) is structurally ambiguous as to whether the experiencer or the theme stands as the subject (Yamabe 2019), while type (a) unequivocally has the experiencer as the subject. So, in (21), type (b) can adopt the structure in which the themes stands the subject, thereby getting around any species of PCC. However, in (i), where a subject-oriented anaphor *nija* ‘self’s’ is added referring to the experiencer, type (b) cannot but have the experiencer as the subject, getting caught by a species of PCC. Notably, in distinction to the species of PCC of this article’s concern, first, this species affects not only the themes of the 1st and 2nd persons, but also that of 3rd person plural human NPs (‘the students’); and second, it gives more distinct effect (marked with \* rather than ??).

- (i) *se saaran-ku* <sub>i</sub>  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} maNTu \\ ??chaatra-maane \\ *mu\sim \\ *tume mane \end{array} \right\}$  *nija* <sub>i</sub> *pilaa bhaLi*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bhala laag-e. \\ bhala laag-anti. \\ bhala laa-e. \\ bhala laag-a. \end{array} \right\}$   $\left. \begin{array}{l} Montu \dots \text{like-3SG} \\ \text{student-PL} \dots \text{like-3PL} \\ \text{I.NOM} \dots \text{like-1SG} \\ \text{you.NOM} \dots \text{like-2PL} \end{array} \right\}$   
 that sir-OBJ self’s kid like  
 ‘That sir <sub>i</sub> (OBJ) likes { Montu | ??the students | \*you | \*me (NOM) } just as self’s <sub>i</sub> child.’

The state of affairs intended in (i) can be rendered as in (ii), by replacing the anaphor *nija* with the pronominal *taanka* ‘his’ that is not subject-oriented. (ii) is structurally parallel to (21) in that the theme can stand as the subject.

- (ii) *se saaran-ku* <sub>i</sub>  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} maNTu \\ chaatra-maane \\ mu\sim \\ tume mane \end{array} \right\}$  *taanka* <sub>i</sub> *pilaa bhaLi*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bhala laag-e. \\ bhala laag-anti. \\ bhala laa-e. \\ bhala laag-a. \end{array} \right\}$   $\left. \begin{array}{l} Montu \dots \text{like-3SG} \\ \text{student-PL} \dots \text{like-3PL} \\ \text{I.NOM} \dots \text{like-1SG} \\ \text{you.NOM} \dots \text{like-2PL} \end{array} \right\}$   
 that sir-OBJ his kid like  
 ‘That sir <sub>i</sub> (OBJ) likes { Montu | the students | you | me (NOM) } just as his <sub>i</sub> child.’

- (21) *saaran-ku niscaya { maNTu | se } bhala laag-ib-a.*  
 sir-OBJ surely Montu him.NOM like-FUT-3SG  
*saaran-ku niscaya tume bhala laag-ib-a.*  
 sir-OBJ surely you.NOM like-FUT-2PL  
*saaran-ku niscaya mu~ bhala laag-ib-i.*  
 sir-OBJ surely I.NOM like-FUT-1SG  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) will surely like {Montu | him | you | me (NOM)}.’

#### 4.6 Summary of section 4

In section 4, we looked into cases listed in (7), where all speakers converge. They are summarily characterized as involving the pair of the logical subject and object of a bivalent verb (such as ‘beat’, ‘like’). If both are marked objective, the PCC in Odia applies to prevent the 1st and 2nd person from appearing as a logical object.

#### 5 Where the PCC applies for some but not other speakers

In section 5, I go on to look at cases where speakers diverge, the four constructions listed in (8). Here, the clauses contain two marked objective NPs, like the clauses in section 4 did. But the two NP are the two objects of a ditransitive verb (such as ‘give’) here, while in chapter 4 they were the logical subject and object of a mono-transitive verb (such as ‘beat’). The two groups of speakers who do and don’t apply the PCC in cases in (8), respectively, shall be referred to as Dialect A and Dialect B, as was tabled in (9).

##### 5.1 The passive of ditransitive

Of the four cases listed in (8), the passive of ditransitive is illustrated in (6a), repeated below. There, the PCC applies for the speakers of Dialect A but not for those of Dialect B, which is signaled with %. In contrast, in its active counterpart, shown in (20), the PCC never applies for any speaker, letting 1st and 2st person themes go.

- (6)a. *se saaran-ku aadou { maNTu-ku | taa-ku | %mo-te | %tuma-ku } di-aa j-ib-a ni.*  
 that sir-OBJ absolutely Montu-OBJ him-OBJ me-OBJ you-OBJ give-GER go-FUT-3SG not  
 ‘The gentleman (OBJ) will never be given {Montu | him | %me | %you (OBJ)}.’ (active)
- (22) *maalika se saaran-ku aadou { maNTu-ku | taa-ku | tuma-ku | mo-te } de-b-e ni.*  
 lord that sir-OBJ absolutely Montu-OBJ him-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ give-FUT-3PL not  
 The orphanage director will never give {Montu | him | you | me (OBJ)} to the gentleman (OBJ). (passive)

<sup>10</sup> The structure of the passive sentence (23a) is as much as a restructuring clause alone, as it were. So, (23a) as a whole is comparable to the bracketed parts of (11a), and (14a) and (19a).

It is distinguished from the impersonal possibilitive in (29a) by the absence of the silent experiencer  $\triangle$ , supposedly nominative, which is present in the impersonal possibilitive construction. The *samaste* test brings this distinction to light. In the passive (i), *samaste* is impossible no matter what case it is in. In the impersonal possibilitive (ii), *samaste* can appear, and for that matter, in the nominative, showing the agreement with the silent experiencer NP.

The asymmetry, observed in Dialect A (though not in Dialect B), between the passive (6a) and the active (22) stems from the following structural asymmetry. The passive clause lacks the subject position, as in (23a), while the active clause contains one, as in (23b).<sup>10</sup> The PCC applies in a clause without an agentive subject, while it doesn't in a clause with one.

- (23) a. [ ×            V-pass ]    (passive, ex. (6a))  
       b. [ lexical subject V ]    (active, ex. (22))

## 5.2 Ditransitive in a species of purposive

The purposive construction contains the verb 'go' or 'come' and its complement expressing the purpose of the going or coming action. It means 'go/come to V'. There are two types of this construction, one with complement verb in the conjunctive participle form (CP), and the other with the complement verb in the infinitive form (INF). Embedding in them the ditransitive clause 'He shows Mani/me to the doctor', we get examples (24) and (25). The PCC effect arises in the conjunctive participle version in (24) for speakers of Dialect A but not for those of Dialect B. In contrast no PCC effect happens in the infinitive version (25) for any speaker.

- (24) *baapaa aaji hi~*  
       father    today EMP  
       [ { *maani-ku* | *%tuma-ku* | *%mo-te* } *se Daaktaran-ku dekhe-i* ] *j-ib-e*.  
           Mani-OBJ    you-OBJ    me-OBJ    that    doctor-OBJ    show-CP    go-FUT-3PL  
       'Father will go [ show (CP){Mani | %you | %me (OBJ)} to the doctor (OBJ) ] today.' (CP complement)

- (25) *baapaa aaji hi~*  
       father    today EMP  
       [ { *maani-ku* | *tuma-ku* | *mo-te* } *se Daaktaran-ku dekhe-ibaa paai~* ] *j-ib-e*.  
           Mani-OBJ    you-OBJ    me-OBJ    that    doctor-OBJ    show-INF            go-FUT-3PL  
       'Father will go [ show (INF){Mani | you | me (OBJ)} to the doctor (OBJ) ] today.' (INF complement)

The contrast observed between (24) and (25) stems from the absence or presence of a subject position, schematized in (26). The conjunctive participle complement of (26a) (=24) is a restructuring clause, lacking a subject position, and so comes under the PCC in Dialect A (though not in Dialect B). The infinitive complement of (26b) (=25)

- 
- (i) *eThi* ( *\*samaste* ) *ekaasaangare khi-aa            j-ib-a            ni*.  
       here    all.NOM    together    eat-GER    go-FUT-3SG    not  
       'If there are ten people, eating here (*\*all (NOM)*) together will not happen.' (passive)
- (ii)  $\triangle_i$  *eThi* ( *samaste* ) *ekaasaangare khaa-i    ha-b-a            ni*.  
       NOM here    all.NOM    together    eat-CP    become-FUT-3SG    not  
       'If there are ten people, for  $\triangle_i$  (NOM), eating here (all  $i$  (NOM)) together is not feasible.' (impersonal possibilitative)

has a silent subject position, so the PCC lets it go.<sup>11</sup>

- (26) a. controllerNP [ × V-CP ] go (CP complement clause, ex. (24))  
 b. controllerNP<sub>i</sub> [ △<sub>i</sub> V-INF ] go (INF complement clause, ex. (25))

### 5.3 Impersonal possibilitive of ditransitive

The impersonal possibilitive construction, exemplified in (27), is a clause containing the verb *he-* ‘become’ invariably in the 3SG and its complement in the conjunctive participle form. It expresses circumstantial possibility, meaning ‘One can manage to perform the verb’s action because the circumstances allow’. The PCC applies there for speakers of Dialect A excluding a 1st or 2nd person theme (but it doesn’t for those of Dialect B).<sup>12</sup>

- (27) *se saaran-ku kaNa paai- { maani-ku | %mote } de-i he-l-aa ni ?*  
 that sir-OBJ why Mani-OBJ me-OBJ give-CP become-PAST-3SG not  
 ‘Why couldn’t one give {Mani | %me (OBJ)} to the gentleman (OBJ)?’ (impersonal possibilitive)  
 In contrast, a near synonymous clause with the verb *paar-* ‘can’ eschews the PCC for all speakers, as in (28).

<sup>11</sup> The case of (26) is comparable to (19) in that the complement clause lacks or contains a subject position according as the verb’s form is conjunctive participle or infinitive. In the case of (26), however, the *samaste* test is not a help for demonstrating the distinct features of the two constructions: the matrix controller and the complement actor (if structurally present) are both in the nominative, the result would be an invariable nominative marking whether or not there is a subject position in the complement. Still, that distinction can be motivated with another fact concerning the double objective case constraint, which excludes an immediate sequence of two objective-marked NPs. Without going into details of the constraint (see Yamabe 2017, 2021), let it here suffice to say that the double objective case constraint concerns the absence or presence of an agent subject, though in a manner slightly different from the PCC, and we observe that it does distinguish the two constructions. An immediate succession of two objectively marked NPs is impossible with a conjunctive participle complement as in (i), and possible with an infinitive complement as in (ii).

- (i) *pilaa-Ti ethara [ saaran-ku bil-Taa (-\*ku) dekhe-i ] j-ib-a.*  
 kid-CL this.time sir-OBJ bill-CL-OBJ show-CP go-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The boy will go [ show (CP) the sir (OBJ) the bill (\*OBJ) ] now.’ (CP complement)
- (ii) *pilaa-Ti ethara [ saaran-ku bil-Taa (-ku) dekhe-ibaa paai- ] j-ib-a.*  
 kid-CL this.time sir-OBJ bill-CL-OBJ show-INF go-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The boy will go [to show (INF) the sir (OBJ) the bill (OBJ) ] now.’ (INF complement)

<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the case of ditransitive verb (*de-* ‘give’) as in (27), with a mono-transitive verb (*piT-* ‘beat’) as in (i), the impersonal possibilitive construction is compatible with a 1st and 2nd person theme. The PCC is not an issue in (i) because the sentence does not contain such an object as the theme is structurally lower than.

- (i) { *maani-ku | mo-te } piT-i ha-b-a ni.*  
 Mani-OBJ me-OBJ beat-CP become-FUT-3SG not  
 ‘One cannot beat {Mani | me (OBJ)}’

- (28) *aapaNa se saaran-ku kaNa paai~ { maani-ku | mo-te } de-i paar-il-e ni ?*  
 you that sir-OBJ why Mani-OBJ me-OBJ give-CP can-PAST-3PL not  
 ‘Why couldn’t you give {Mani | me (OBJ)} to the gentleman (OBJ)?’ (‘can’ sentence)

This contrast again arises from the absence and presence of a subject position. The structure of the impersonal possibilitative is like (29a): it is a subject control structure in which the embedded clause is a restructuring clause, a clause lacking a subject position (as marked with ×) and the controller is a phonologically silent NP  $\triangle$  representing an experiencer, namely, someone circumstances allow to perform the verb’s action. On the other hand, *paar-* ‘can’ is an auxiliary and therefore there is no clause embedding, as in (29b).<sup>13</sup> The PCC applies in (29a) (=27) for speakers of Dialect A. It does not apply in (27b) (=28) for any speaker. (For a discussion of the structure of the impersonal possibilitative, see Yamabe (2019).)

- (29) a. experiencer $\triangle$  [ × V ] possible (impersonal possibilitative, ex. (27))  
 b. [ lexical subject V ] -can (‘can’-sentence, ex. (28))

#### 5.4 Ditransitive with an inanimate subject

The PCC applies in ditransitive clauses with an inanimate subject (‘mole’) for the speakers of Dialect A (while it does not for those of Dialect B), as in (30).

- (30) *muha~-ra kaLaajaai cinha hi~ baapaa-maa-ku sahaja-re*  
 face-GEN mole mark EMP father-mother-OBJ ease-LOC  
 { *maNTu-ku | %tuma-ku | %mo-te* } *chinhe-i de-l-aa.*  
 Montu-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ acquaint-CP give-PAST-3SG  
 ‘The mole on the face had parents (OBJ) recognize { Montu | %you | %me (OBJ) } easily.’

Replacing an inanimate noun (‘mole’) with an animate noun (‘sir’) for the subject, as in (31), leads to the exemption from the PCC effect.

<sup>13</sup> The control structure as in (29a) for the impersonal possibilitative is motivated by the fact that the verb is necessarily human, and for that matter, agentive, as in (i). It cannot be understood to refer to spontaneous movement or change of an inanimate things.

- (i) { *uTh-i | jaa-i | #ghur-i* | *\*sukh-i* } *ha-b-a ni.*  
 rise-CP go-CP go.around(INTR)-CP dry(INTR)-CP become-FUT-3SG not  
 ‘{ Getting up | going | touring(INTR), \*rotating(INTR) | \*drying(INTR) } will not feasible.’

In contrast, a ‘can’-sentence as in (29b) is free from parallel restriction, as in (ii) reflecting the absence of control structure.

- (ii) { *uTh-i | jaa-i | ghur-i* | *sukh-i* } *paar-ib-a ni.*  
 rise-CP go-CP go.around(INTR)-CP dry(INTR)-CP can-FUT-3SG not  
 ‘{ Getting up | going | touring(INTR), rotating(INTR) | drying(INTR) } will not possible.’

- (31) *saar pradhaana mantrin-ku aajikaa sabhaa-re { maNTu-ku | mo-te } chinhe-i de-l-e.*  
 sir prime minister-OBJ today's meeting-LOC Montu-OBJ me-OBJ acquaint-CP give-PAST-3PL  
 'Sir introduced {Montu | me (OBJ)} to the Prime Minister (OBJ) at the meeting today.'

The contrast between (30) and (31) with respect to the application and non-application of the PCC reflects the absence or presence of an agentive subject. Unlike the cases of contrast hitherto seen, where the subject position is missing in one member of the example pair, here a subject position is available in both members. The PCC-affected (30) sentence lacks an agentive subject because its subject, being inanimate, lacks the semantics of agentivity.

### 5.5 Summary of section 5

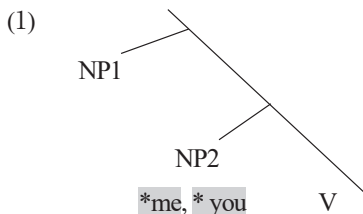
Section 5 has presented four cases where the PCC applies only for some speakers (Dialect A), but not for others (Dialect B). In those cases, the verb is ditransitive and both of its objects, namely, the experiencer and theme, are marked with objective case.

## 6 The source of the cross-speaker variation

Section 6.1 brings forth an account for the observations thus far in terms of Dative Shift occurring covertly, and section 6.2 examines the significance of this (postulated) process within the wider grammatical system.

### 6.1 Proposal: a covert Dative Shift for some but not the other speakers

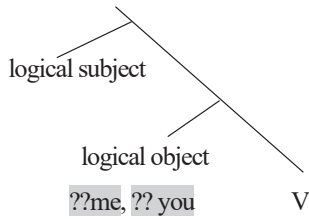
In 6.1, I am going to account for the way the speakers of Dialects A and B converge (as in section 4) and diverge (as in section 5) with respect to the effect of the PCC. The asymmetry between the two dialects lies in whether ditransitive clauses participate in the alternation of Dative Shift that occurs overtly, namely, without formal reflection such as case marking or word order: they do in Dialect B; and they don't in Dialect A. Note this article makes no claim concerning the grammatical machinery that makes the alternation available, but only assumes the differential availability of the alternation across speakers. Now recall the fact that the PCC (both in Odia and universally) is to prevent the syntactically lower noun phrase (NP2) from being 1st or 2nd person, as in (1), repeated.



Those cases where the two dialects converge (section 4) involve the logical subject and object, as in (32). The logical subject outranks the logical object, invariably for all speakers. This holds with the family of constructions in in (7).

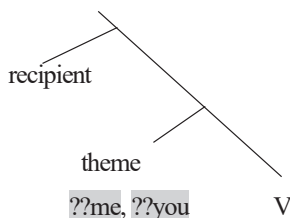


(32) Dialects A and B alike



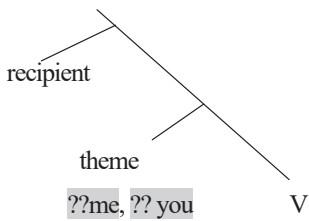
Where the two dialects diverge, they have different ranges of structural analyses. This is the case with constructions containing a ditransitive verb, namely, with construction family (8).

(33) Dialect A

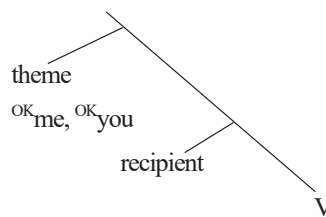


(33) Dialect B

a. base structure



b. Dative-Shifted structure

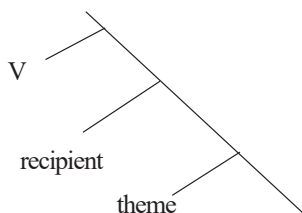


In Dialect A, the theme is always the lower, as in (33), and is bound to fall under the prohibition. Dialect B avails its self with a Dative-Shifted structure (34b) as well, in which the theme is higher than the experiencer, and gets around the PCC's prohibition thanks to this structure when the theme is 1nd or 2nd person.

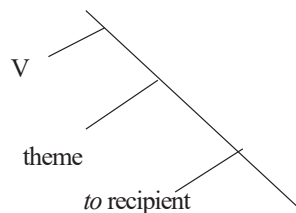
Structures (a) and (b) of (34) are related by means of the diathetic alternation of Dative Shift. To illustrate the Dative Shift in English, in the (a)'s of (35) and (36), the recipient (*Mother*) is structurally higher than the theme (*the baby*). In the (b)'s of (35) and (36), the opposite holds. The structures (a) and (b) of (36) in English, respectively, are comparable to those of sentences (a) and (b) of (34) in Odia; only the position of the verb differs between Odia and English.

- (35) a. They showed Mother the baby.
- b. They showed the baby to Mother.

(36) a. base structure =(35a)



b. Dative-Shifted structure =(35b)



In English, the execution of Dative Shift is visible in the change in word order (which noun phrase comes first) and flagging of noun phrases ( marking with zero or the preposition *to*) while in Odia it is reflected by neither, that is, it is totally covert. But covert diathetic alternation is never a rare phenomenon cross-linguistically or within Odia. A case of Dative Shift without any reflex in flagging of noun phrases has long been known in Spanish (Demonte 1995), and claimed in other languages worldwide (as summarized in Sheehan 2020). Totally covert diathetic alternation has been proposed in Odia for the species of experiencer-subject construction in which one of the two noun phrases are in the nominative case as in (21) (Yamabe 2018b, 2019, see also fn.9), as well as for its analogue in Hindi (Davison 2004, Yamabe 1990). In these species of dative subject constructions, the experiencer and the theme swap in relative height and this process is executed covertly, namely, without any reflection in case marking or word order.<sup>14</sup>

## 6.2 Dative Shift in the grammatical system

This chapter places the proposed Dative Shift in a wider grammatical perspective, and examines how it interacts (or is expected to interact) with other major grammatical devices. Specifically, it deals with the topics of (i) Scrambling/ linear order, (ii) relative scope of quantifiers, and (iii) the promotional passive.

Bhatt & Anagnostopoulou (1996) point out for Hindi ditransitives that scrambling the theme in front of the experiencer changes the binding possibility of anaphors and pronouns, making the theme higher than the experiencer. We can accommodate the facts about the PCC presented in this article and those about binding from Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou, by locating the constraints among the modifications during the derivation, as in (37). (I am assuming that Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou's findings hold also in Odia, and in fact they do for some speakers I am familiar with.)

(37) constraints and modification processes

“deep”	Dative Shift (in Dialect B)	lexical modification
↓	PCC (in Odia)	lexical constraint
↓	Scrambling	syntactic modification
“surface”	binding principles	syntactic constraint

<sup>14</sup> Instances of swapping between the experiencer dative and the theme nominative without reflection in case marking are reported for some predicates outside India (*piacere* ‘like’ in Italian, Belletti & Rizzi 1988; *henta* ‘suit’ in Icelandic, Wood & Sigurðsson 2014; *faltar* ‘make lack, is needed’ in Rebagořan Catalan, Rigau 2005). However, in them, the process is visibly reflected in word order: the NP in the subject position linearly precedes the other NP. On this score, those instances are not as fully covert as the Indian instances.

The asymmetry observed between the PCC (this article) and binding (Bhatt and Angnostopoulou) leads us to assume that the former applies at a “deeper” level than Scrambling. Dative Shift is one of the lexical operations in the sense that it affects grammatical relation of noun phrases by changing or deleting. (Passive is another instance of lexical operation.) The PCC applies to the representation outputted from the host of lexical operations, where grammatical functions such as subject and object are defined and linear arrangement such as relative precedence and adjacency is not relevant. It is in turn modified by Scrambling. The representation outputted by Scrambling modifications is referred to by, for example, binding constraints.

The working of the PCC in Odia is not affected by word order change (“Scrambling”). Specifically, moving the lower NP in front of the higher NP does not make the former higher for the purpose of the PCC. Let us see this elaborating on two of the examples discussed above. (38) and (39) are the linear-order reversals of (6a) and (30), respectively. Example (38) is even worse than the original (6a), with any lexical choice for the theme. Of interest is the fact that the 1st and 2nd person themes remain distinctly worse than the name ‘Montu’ even after being scrambled forward. In a similar vein, example (39) is as bad as the original (30) is for speakers of Dialect A, and it is as OK as the original (30) is for speakers of Dialect B. To generalize, the PCC effect persists after Scrambling.

(38) { ?maNTu-ku | \*tuma-ku | \*mo-te } aaji saaran-ku maar-ibaapaai~ paD-ib-a.  
 Montu-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ today sir-OBJ beat-INF fall-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Sir (OBJ) will have to beat { ?Montu | \*you | \*me (OBJ) } today.’

(39) muha~ra kaLaajaai cinha hi~ { maNTu-ku | %tuma-ku | %mo-te }  
 face-GEN mole mark EMP Montu-OBJ you-OBJ me-OBJ  
 baapaa-maa-ku sahaja-re chinhe-i de-l-aa.  
 father-mother-OBJ ease-LOC acquaint-CP give-PAST-3SG  
 ‘The mole on the face had parents (OBJ) recognize { Montu | %you | %me (OBJ) } easily.’

The status of the PCC as referring to a “deeper” (pre-Scrambling) grammatical level (as is the case in Odia) is not a universal feature, but one of a language-specific choice. Stegovec (2019) reports a species of the PCC for Slovenian that presents the situation squarely opposite to the Odia one, something he calls “reverse PCC”. In Slovenian, in a sequence of clitic pronouns representing the direct and indirect objects, either one can come before the other, and what happens to come second cannot be 1st or 2nd person, irrespective of whether it represents a direct or an indirect object. Thus, the Slovenian PCC is affected by the syntactic operation modifying clitic order, and for that matter is concerned exclusively with it. The Slovenian species is a syntactic rule, and should be placed on the bottom row in table (39), quite opposite the Odia counterpart. Language variation regarding the level at which the PCC applies needs to be investigated.

Bhattacharya & Simpson (2011) and Simpson & Choudhury (2015) demonstrate that, dividing ditransitive verbs into classes in Bangla and Hindi, the ‘give/show’-verbs project a clausal structure in which the recipient outranks the theme, like (a) of (34), while the ‘send’-verb, a structure where the theme outranks the recipient, like (b) of (34). The present article is concerned exclusively with the ‘give/ show’-verb class, so let us now concentrate on this class. Their evidence comes from facts relating to the relative scopes of quantifiers. In Bangla

and Hindi, relative quantifier scope is generally determined by linear order: the preceding NP out-scopes the following NP. Thus, in (40), interpretation (i) obtains. Additionally, in a certain constellation of the ‘give/show’ clause, reverted relative scope relation is also possible: a following recipient NP can out-scope the preceding theme. So interpretation (ii) also obtains. This interpretative prominence of the recipient NP is argued to derive from its structurally superior positioning, quite like in the (a) of (34) (which holds at the level before the theme undergoes Scrambling leftward).

(40) *hori [kono Ek-Ta boi] [prottek SikhOk]-ke di-l-o.* (Bangla)

Hori some one-CL book each teacher -OBJ give-PAST-3

‘Hori gave some book to every teacher.’

possible interpretations: (i) some > every, or (ii) every > some

(Bhattacharya & Simpson 2011:1077, Simpson & Choudhury 2015:538; adapted)

In this connection, it needs to be made clear that there is no conflict between my proposal and Bhattacharya & Simpson’s and Simpson & Choudhury’s findings, concerning the clausal structure of the ‘give/show’-class of verbs. On the one hand, my proposal (for a dialect of Odia (Dialect B)) is that a ‘give/show’ clause, such as (6a) and (22), can not solely have the structure (a) but also have the structure (b) alternatively. On the other hand, their data such as (40) establish an (a)-like structure for a ‘give/show’ clause, but, as far as I can see, this does not contradict additionally positing a (b)-like alternative structure (for Dialect B), or not doing so (for Dialect A), either. I leave the clarification of many associated issues to future inquiry. Specifically, we will then have to take up various ditransitive verbs (of the ‘give/show’ vs ‘send’ classes) in different dialects (such as Dialects A and B as regards the PCC effect), and accommodate their PCC- and scope-related aspects in a coherent view.

The cross-speaker variation regarding the possibility of the promotional passive, mentioned in fn.3, invites an inference concerning the correlation (or lack of it) between the PCC effect in ditransitives and the promotional passive in ditransitives. That is, it is expected that, if the promotional passive is possible in ditransitives, then the PCC effect will be absent. The reasoning runs as follows. In order to promote the theme NP to subject position, the theme NP must be structurally outrank the recipient: this is a Dative-Shifted structure as in (b) of (34). If the recipient structurally outranks the theme as in (a) of (34), the recipient blocks the theme’s promotional movement path in the way. With a Dative-Shifted structure, the PCC effect are eschewed as I have argued.<sup>15</sup>

Occasional pieces of observation of mine seem to conform to this expectation. Those few speakers who I have found to accept the promotional passive of ditransitive like (ii) are all free from the PCC effect with ditransitives (Dialect B). Sahoo’s (2010) examples in Odia align with this pattern: the promotional passive is possible with ditransitives as in (41), and the PCC effect is not observed with ditransitives as in (42). (Transliteration, glossing and layout are adapted from the original text.) Further research is needed also here.

<sup>15</sup> However, the reverse inference does not hold: not all the speakers of Dialect B are expected to accept the promotional passive of ditransitives. This is because, for many speakers, the promotional passive is narrowly circumscribed for transitive verbs generally as in (i) of fn.3, and this regularity itself eliminates the possibility of the promotional passive from ditransitives.

- (41)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{mu}\sim \\ \textit{aame} \\ \textit{tume} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \textit{meri-ku} \\ \textit{Mary-OBJ} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \textit{di-aa} \\ \textit{give-GER} \end{array} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{ga-l-i} \\ \textit{ga-l-u} \\ \textit{ga-la.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \textit{I.NOM} \dots \textit{go-PAST-1SG} \\ \textit{we.NOM} \dots \textit{go-PAST-1PL} \\ \textit{you.NOM} \dots \textit{go-PAST-2PL} \end{array}$   
 ‘{ I | we | you (NOM) } was/were given to Mary (OBJ).’ (Sahoo 2010: ex. (38a), (40), (41))

- (42)  $\textit{tuma-ku} \textit{meri-ku} \textit{di-aa} \textit{ga-l-aa.}$   
 you-OBJ Mary-OBJ give-GER go-PAST-3SG  
 ‘You (OBJ) were given to Mary (OBJ).’ (Sahoo 2010: ex. (38))

## 7 Conclusion

This article has reported cross-speaker variation concerning the PCC effect in Odia, and elucidates that the variation is of the expectable kind, and that it is found in expectable regions of grammar. A group of speakers (Dialect A) have the PCC apply in (i) the family of dative subject constructions and (ii) the family of agentless ditransitive constructions. Another group (Dialect B) limits the PCC’s application to circumstance (i), while circumstance (ii) is free of the PCC effect. The discrepancy of opinion in circumstance (ii) is explained in terms of the (un-)availability of the alternation of Dative Shift (no matter how it is formalized), assuming Dative Shift in Odia is covert. Dialect B can avail itself of Dative Shift, and thereby assign the ditransitive construction a structure immune from the PCC, while Dialect A does not have that option. In circumstance (i) the relative structural height between the experiencer and the objectively-marked theme are fixed for both Dialects A and B, because there is no alternation comparable to Dative Shift that might swap the relative height of those two arguments. Thus, the PCC applies in both dialects. In a wider setting of grammatical system, while the article’s analysis is not confronted with immediate challenge, it points to a number of emergent questions, empirical and theoretical, that the future research should go into.

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