

Semantic mismatch and microvariation in Telugu Psych-PC predicates: Event structure of ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’

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ABSTRACT

A well-known generalization in Dravidian languages is that Psych-Predicates need dative subjects in order to predicate. This paper discusses the data from Telangana Telugu (TT), which uses nominative subjects with psych-PCs and shows that datives are not obligatory in the presence of ‘-gaa’. It builds on Balusu (2016)’s idea of ‘-gaa’ as a [+eventive] Pred⁰ and explains its dynamic semantics via the subevental structure within Ramchand (2008)’s First Phase Syntax (FPS). Finally, it explains the experiencers in TT which use both ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ and yet give dynamic semantics using dative incorporation.

1 Introduction

Property Concepts (PCs) are notions that are consistently lexicalized as adjectives in languages with lexical adjectives (Dixon 2010). Dravidian languages lack the lexical category of adjectives and use nouns and verbs to function as adjectives (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan 2003, Menon and Pancheva 2014, Balusu 2015, Herur 2016). In this paper, I focus on a certain class of PCs called Psych-PCs² in Telugu language and its aerial variant, Telangana Telugu³. Balusu (2015) shows that in Telugu, Psych-PCs must appear in dative-experiencer constructions in order to mark possession (1)-(2).

- (1) Sita=ki kopam [Dative]
Sita=DAT anger
‘Sita is angry.’ (Lit: Sita has anger) (Telugu, Balusu 2015:2)
- (2) *Sita kopam [Nominative]
Sita=NOM anger
‘Sita is angry.’ (Lit: Sita has anger) (Telugu, Balusu 2015:2)

However, in Telangana Telugu (TT), psych-PCs appear in both nominative and dative subject constructions (3)-(4). In both sentences, TT shows an extra structure of a marker ‘-gaa’ on the PC and an existential copula, [undu] ‘be’ obligatorily. Further, these sentences produce a Change of State (CoS)⁴/dynamic meaning rather than the expected existential/individual meaning that is associated with a stative/existential copula.

- (3) Ram=ki kopam-gaa un-di [Dative] (TT)
Ram=DAT anger-gaa be.3P.Sg.F
‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)
- (4) Ram kopam-gaa unna-Du [Nominative] (TT)
Ram=NOM anger-gaa be.3P.Sg.M
‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)

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²Psych PCs are PC-expressions encoding psychological and somatic properties (Class-M in Balusu 2015). For example: *kopam* ‘anger’ and *bhayam* ‘fear’.

³Telangana Telugu is a variety of Telugu language spoken primarily in the Telangana state. The data presented here is taken from the variety spoken in northern parts of Telangana including the regions of Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Warangal, and Adilabad.

⁴Here, CoS refers to the transitory property of the event (*a la* Kratzer 1986) i.e., the change of a state from being not-angry to the state of being angry.

Observation of the above data poses three preliminary questions:

- a. Obligatory ‘-gaa’ particle: TT predicates need an obligatory ‘-gaa’ marker on the PC and an overt stative verb [undu] ‘be’. What is this ‘-gaa’ marker? Why is it needed obligatorily?
- b. Semantic mismatch: Given the copula is existential in TT, how is the CoS/dynamic meaning obtained?
- c. Dialectical variation: Why are psych predicates restricted only to the dative-experiencer constructions in Telugu while they can appear in both dative and nominative constructions in Telangana Telugu?

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature for prior accounts of the ‘-gaa’ particle in Telugu. Section 3 uses Balusu’s (2016) analysis of the ‘-gaa’ particle as a [+eventive] pred⁰ to resolve the semantic mismatch puzzle. Section 4 uses Ramchand’s (2008) First Phase Syntax (FPS) to analyze the syntax and semantics of ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ in order to address the question of dialectical variation. This poses a further redundancy puzzle that will be taken up in section 5. Finally, Section 6 concludes.

2 ‘-gaa’ particle in Telugu

In Telugu, ‘-gaa’ appears affixed to a PC-noun in multiple contexts such as adjectives, adverbs, raising verbs, and resultatives. There are a few accounts of the ‘-gaa’ particle in the literature. First, Krishnamurti et al. (1987:285) classifies ‘-gaa’ as an adverbial suffix. They give the following example (5):

- (5) Raamu andam-gaa parig-ett-a-Du
 Raamu beauty-adv run-LV-PST-3P.Sg.M
 ‘Raamu ran beautifully.’

Later, Bhaskararao and Subbarao (2004) state that ‘-gaa’ is an adjectivaliser: “*Nouns form adjectives when -gaa, the adjectivalizer, is suffixed. Recall that -gaa is a derivational suffix and functions as an adjectivalizer that ‘adjectivalizes’ a noun into an adjective. The occurrence of the verb unDu-‘be’ is obligatory when denominal predicate adjectives occur*”. They give the following examples (6)-(7):

- (6) Pustakam kastam-gaa undi
 Book difficult-adj be-3P.Sg.F
 ‘(This) book is difficult.’
- (7) Raayi nunna-gaa undi
 Stone smooth-adj be-3P.Sg.F
 ‘(This) stone is smooth.’

Balusu (2016) gives a comprehensive account of ‘-gaa’, where he shows that ‘-gaa’ in Telugu is more than just a morpheme that forms adjectives and adverbs. He lists all the structures in which ‘-gaa’ appears, as shown in (a)-(f) below:

- a. kukka balam-gaa undi [Copular small clauses]
 dog strength-gaa ex.pres.3fsg
 ‘The dog is strong(ish).’
- b. kukka balam-gaa anipistaandi [Raising verbs]
 dog strength-gaa seems.3.fsg
 ‘The dog seems strong.’

- c. neenu kukka-ni balam-gaa uuhinceenu [ECM verbs]
 I dog-acc strength-gaa imagined-3.fsg
 ‘I imagined the dog strong.’
- d. meemu kukka-ni hero-gaa ennukunnaamu [Nomination verb]
 We dog-acc hero-gaa elected-1.pl
 ‘We elected the dog the hero.’
- e. neenu kukka-ni balam-gaa penceenu [Resultative predicates]
 I dog-acc strength-gaa raised-1.sg
 ‘I raised the dog strong.’
- f. neenu kukka-ni koopami/j-gaa kaDigeenu [Depective predicates]
 I dog-acc anger-gaa washed-1.sg
 ‘I washed the dog angry.’

This distribution shows that ‘-gaa’ always occurs with small clauses in Telugu. Based on this, Balusu proposes that ‘-gaa’ is an instantiation of Pred^0 in Telugu and it shows up as a phrasal affix on the non-verbal predicates.

Further, he notes that in Telugu adjectival predicates, the presence and absence of ‘-gaa’ results in meaning difference. The presence of ‘-gaa’ gives a temporary or stage-level meaning (8), whereas, without it, the meaning is individual-level or permanent (9).

- (8) ii sofa veDalpu-gaa undi
 this sofa width-gaa ex.pRes.3fsg
 ‘This sofa is sort of wide (widish).’ [Balusu 2016:6]
- (9) ii soofaa veDalpu undi
 this sofa width ex.pRes.3fsg
 ‘This sofa is wide.’

He analyses this difference as eventive *vs.* non-eventive predication where ‘-gaa’ type-shifts the NP it composes with, into a propositional function. This makes ‘-gaa’ a Pred^0 of an eventive, stage-level predicate structure. Thus, ‘-gaa’ is not just any pred^0 but a [+eventive] pred^0 in Telugu. If that is the case, it makes sense why the psych-PC predicates with the existential copula in TT give CoS semantics. The next section of the paper explores this Semantic mismatch puzzle.

3 Role of ‘-gaa’ particle in the Semantic mismatch puzzle

Given the copula is existential in TT sentences (3) and (4) repeated in (10) and (11), we expect the predicate to form an Individual Level Predicate (ILP)⁵ and give stative/permanent semantics. However, the semantics obtained is that of Dynamic/Change of State (CoS) semantics. This puts forth the puzzle: How is CoS semantics obtained with an existential copula in (10) and (11)?

- (10) Ram=ki kopam-gaa un-di [Dative] (TT)
 Ram=DAT anger-pred be.3P.Sg.F
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)
- (11) Ram kopam-gaa unna-Du [Nominative] (TT)
 Ram=NOM anger-pred be.3P.Sg.M
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)

Before going to the puzzle, first I give evidence to show that ‘-unn’ is actually an existential copula and yet sentences (10) and (11) form a Stage Level Predicate (SLP).

⁵The terms ILP and SLP in the terminology of Carlson (1977,b) from Kratzer, 1995.

3.1 Evidence that ‘-unn’ is an existential copula

McNally (2011) describes ‘existential sentence’ as “*a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something*”. In Telugu, Reddy (1976) lists sentence (12) as an absolute existential which gives the semantics of existence of a particular entity. The verb *-unn* ‘be’ is always used as an existential in Telugu.

- (12) Devudu unn-a-du
God be-PST-3P.Sg.M
‘God exists.’

Further, I use a diagnostic by Milwark (1977) in McNally (2011) that shows that outside the psych-context, only stage-level predicates (13) can appear as a complement of an existential copula while individual-level predicates (14) are disallowed.

- (13) There were many people in line already.
(14) *There were many student anarchists.

This restriction holds with Telugu *unn-* as well. It can take SLPs (15) as complements but not ILPs (16).

- (15) Appatike chala mandi line-lo unn-a-ru
Already many people line-LOC be-PST-3P.Pl
‘There were many people in the line already.’
(16) *Chala mandi vidyarthu-lu telivainavallu unn-a-ru
Many people student-PL intelligent be-PST-3P.Pl
‘There were many students intelligent.’

This shows that *unn-* ‘be’ in Telugu is an existential copula.

3.2 Evidence that the psych-PC predicates in TT are SLPs

Following Kratzer (1986) and Kiss (1998), I use the following diagnostic tests to show that psych-PC predicate in TT sentences (10) and (11) is a SLP:

Perceptual report speech: Only SLPs can be a complement clause of perceptual report speech while ILPs cannot. See (17)-(18).

- (17) Ah abbayi kopam-gaa undadam memu chusamu
that boy angry-gaa be- we see.pst.1P.Pl
‘We saw the boy being angry.’
(18) *Ah abbayi kopam-ayin-a-vadu memu chusamu
that boy angry-become-RC-he we see.pst.1P.Pl
‘We saw the boy being angry.’

This shows that the predicate *kopam-gaa undu* ‘be angry’ can appear as a complement clause of perceptual report speech. This makes it an SLP.

Predicative adjuncts: Only SLPs can appear as secondary predicates while ILPs cannot. See (19)-(20).

- (19) Ah abbayi kopam-gaa piano vaayinchadu
that boy angry-gaa piano play.pst.3P.Sg.M
‘The boy played the piano angry.’

- (20) *Ah abbayi kopam-ayin-a vadu piano vaayinchadu
 that boy angry-become-RC he piano play.pst.3P.Sg.M
 ‘The boy played the piano angry.’

This shows that the predicate *kopam-gaa undu* ‘be angry’ can appear as a secondary predicate. Therefore, it is an SLP.

Spatio-temporal modification: Only SLPs can take temporal modifiers while ILPs cannot. See (21)-(22).

- (21) Ah abbayi ninna kopam-gaa unde
 that boy yesterday angry-gaa be.pst.3P.Sg.M
 ‘The boy was angry yesterday.’
- (22) *Ah abbayi ninna kopam-ayin-a vadu unde
 that boy yesterday angry-become-RC he be.pst.3P.Sg.M
 ‘The boy was angry yesterday.’

This shows that the predicate *kopam-gaa undu* ‘be angry’ can be modified by spatio-temporal adverbs. Therefore, it is an SLP.

Following these diagnostics tests, I show that the predicate in psych-PC predicates in TT is an SLP. Now I move to the question: how does a stative/existential verb ‘-unn’ form an SLP and give CoS semantics?

3.3 The semantic mismatch puzzle

Following Balusu (2016) analysis of the ‘-gaa’ particle as [+eventive] pred⁰ we know that that ‘-gaa’ type-shifts an individual-level predicate to an eventive level predicate. He also shows that the presence (23) and absence (24) of ‘-gaa’ gives a temporary/CoS meaning vs. permanent/individual meaning with psych/somatic predicates in Telugu.

- (23) naaku koopam-gaa undi [Balusu 2016:6]
 I-dat anger-gaa ex.pRes.3fsg
 ‘I am angry (now).’
- (24) naaku koopam undi
 I-dat anger ex.pRes.3fsg
 ‘I’m an angry person.’

This allows us to analyze psych PCs in TT as small clauses of primary predication where the presence of [+eventive] pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ gives dynamic/CoS meaning. In TT psych-PC predicates, ‘-gaa’ type shifts the otherwise individual-level predicate into a dynamic/stage-level predicate resulting in CoS semantics.

With this, I show that ‘-gaa’ is a [+eventive] Pred⁰ in TT, similar to Telugu and it is responsible for the CoS meaning of the psych PC predicates in TT. However, one question that remains is why is ‘-gaa’ obligatory in TT psych PC predicates while it is optional in Telugu? This question will be revisited later in section 5 of the paper.

In the next section, I look into the question of dialectical variation: Why are psych predicates restricted only to the dative-experiencer constructions in Telugu, while they can appear in both dative and nominative constructions in Telangana Telugu?

4 Role of ‘-gaa’ particle in the dialectical variation in Telugu and TT

Balusu (2015) shows that psych-PCs form a separate class (Class M) in Telugu. He describes these PCs as *mass-like PCs encoding psychological and somatic properties*. These cannot occur with nominative subjects and obligatorily need dative subjects. See examples (1-2) repeated in (25-26):

- (25) Sita=ki kopam [Dative]
Sita=DAT anger
‘Sita is angry (now).’ (Lit: Sita has anger)
- (26) *Sita kopam [Nominative]
Sita=NOM anger
‘Sita is angry (now).’ (Lit: Sita has anger)

Similar properties for psych-PCs can be found in other languages across the Dravidian language family. Herur (2016) shows that psych-PCs form an exclusive class in Kannada as well. She describes these as ‘koopaa-group’ PCs that encode psych/somatic properties. These PCs also appear only with dative subjects but not with nominative subjects. For example, see (27-28).

- (27) Avan-ige koopa ide [Dative]
He-DAT angry be-3.N.SG
‘He has anger.’
- (28) *Avanu koopa-kke iddane [Nominative]
He-NOM angry-DAT be-3.M.Sg
Intended: ‘He is angry.’

This begs the question: why are dative subjects obligatory with Psych-PC predicates?

4.1 Dative ‘-ki’ as a linker in Telugu

Balusu (2015) argues that this obligatory requirement of dative subjects arises from the need to mark possession. As PCs in Dravidian are PC nouns but not lexical adjectives, possession is semantically required to achieve truth condition⁶. Therefore, all PC-nouns in Dravidian need possessive morphology in order to predicate. Psych-PCs mark this possession via dative subjects. Syntactically, Dative acts as a linker⁷ between the PC noun and the subject noun. Therefore, dative subjects are obligatory for psych-PCs.

Semantically, datives appear with the arguments of three main semantic values across languages. They are the recipients, goals /benefactives, and experiencers (Næss 2009). While the first two are dynamic, the dative-experiencer psych verbs are systematically stative (Belletti and Rizzi 1988); (Marín and McNally 2011). Fábregas and Marín (2020) show that in Spanish, while datives can be associated with dynamic interpretations outside the psych predicates, within them arguments with datives are systematically stative. They analyze datives as a single left boundary that does not impose any telicity within Piñón (1997)’s boundedness paradigm. Datives only entail that there is an initiation of a movement oriented towards a goal, but not really any kind of process or a change of state is involved.

I follow Ramchand (2008)’s First Phase Syntax (FPS) to analyze this subevental complexity. A verb is represented using a finer structure of Initiation Phrase (Init P), Process Phrase (Proc P), and Result Phrase (Res P) which take phrases with INITIATORS, UNDERGOER, and RESULTS

⁶Following Francez and Koontz-Garbodden (2013)

⁷*Linker* is a novel terminology used here to encompass a range of syntactic constituents that mediate the predicational relationship between the subject noun and the predicate.

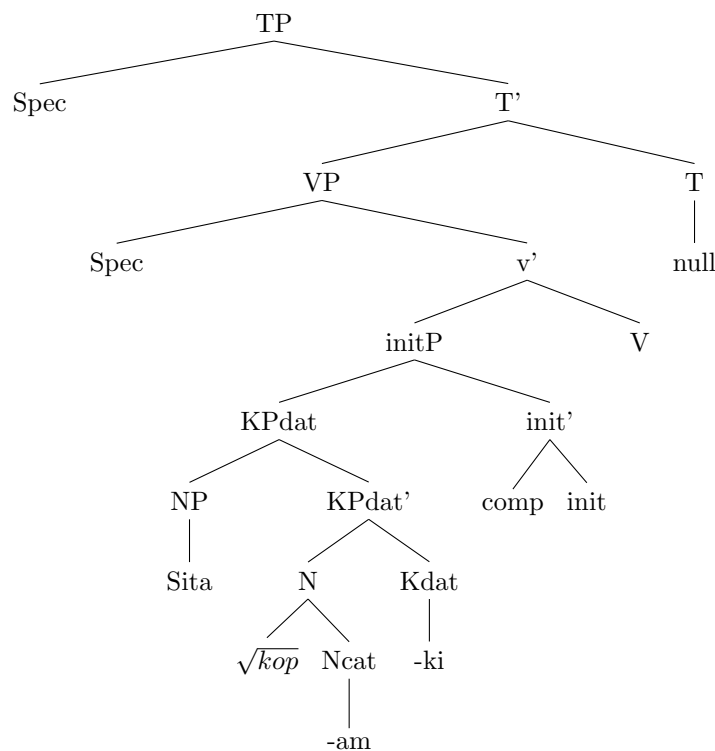
as arguments respectively. Table 1 shows the three types of verbs and their syntax within FPS.

Verb	Arguments	Syntax	Semantics
Stative	INITIATOR	Init P	Description of state
Dynamic	UNDERGOER	InitP+Proc P	Process/Change of state
Accomplishment/telic	RESULTEE	InitP+ProcP+ResP	Attainment of result state

Table 1: Subevental Complexity FPS

Following Fábregas and Marín (2020)’s argument that datives are always stative within psych predicates, I propose that the dative ‘-ki’ in Telugu psych-PC predicates is an init P and therefore gives stative semantics in the experiencer context. This is illustrated below in (29):

- (29) Sita=ki kopam [Telugu]
 Sita=DAT anger
 ‘Sita is angry (now).’ (Lit: Sita has anger)



Here, the PC-noun ‘kopam’ is predicated to the subject noun ‘Ram’ using the predicator ‘K_{dat}’. The K_{dat} ‘-ki’ acts as the linker. This necessitates the dative to appear obligatorily in Telugu. This is an unergative structure with a null copula and gives experiencer meaning. The structure contains only init P and therefore gives stative semantics.

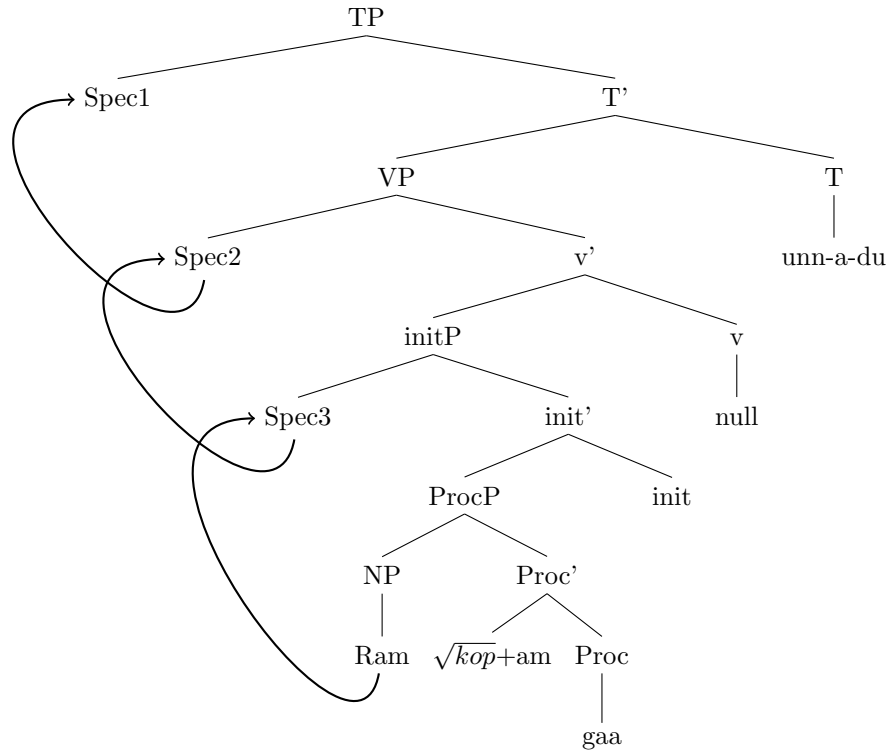
4.2 Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ as a linker in TT

However, The data from Telangana Telugu shows that psych PCs can appear in both dative and nominative subject constructions. Example (3)-(4) is repeated in (30)-(31):

- (30) Ram=*ki* kopam-gaa un-di [Dative]
 Ram=DAT anger-pred be.3P.Sg.F
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)
- (31) Ram kopam-gaa unn-a-Du [Nominative]
 Ram=NOM anger-pred be.pst.3P.Sg.M
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)

In contrast to Balusu’s (2015) argument, this shows that the dative/possessive is not obligatory to form a predicational relationship between the subject NP and the PC-noun in psych-PC predicates. In the absence of dative in sentences like (31), the best candidate to form a predicational relationship is the pred⁰ ‘-gaa’. Therefore, I propose that along with datives, the [+eventive] pred⁰ is also used as a linker between PC-noun and subject noun in TT psych PC predicates. In Telugu, the possession relationship is needed to mediate the predicational relationship between the subject noun and PC-noun. This was done using the dative subject which marks a possession relationship between the subject NP and the PC-noun. This makes datives obligatory in Telugu. However, in TT, ‘-gaa’ mediates the predication relationship between the subject NP and the PC-noun. As a result, we do not get experiencer semantics but that of an expressive. Further, I propose that this ‘-gaa’ particle that Balusu analyzed as a [+eventive] Pred⁰ is a representation of Proc P within the FPS paradigm. This gives dynamic/CoS semantics associated with the [+eventive] Pred⁰. This is illustrated in the structure below, sentence (4) repeated in (32):

- (32) Ram kopam-gaa unn-a-Du [Nominative]
 Ram=NOM anger-pred be.pst.3P.Sg.M
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)



Here, the PC-noun ‘kopam’ is predicated to the subject noun ‘Ram’ using the predicator ‘-gaa’. The Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ acts as the linker. This allows DP to appear without a dative case as a linker. This is a transitive structure so there is an overt copula ‘undi’. Evidence from the agreement data shows that the copula *undu* ‘be’ contains active phi features. Therefore the DP agrees with the subject noun in PNG (33). However, due to the absence of the dative ‘-ki’, the semantics obtained here is not that of an experiencer but that of an expressive. This sentence gives dynamic/CoS semantics due to the ProcP [+eventive] Pred⁰ ‘gaa’.

- (33) Ram/Sita/nenu/nuvvu/vallu kopam-gaa unn-a-Du/di/nu/vu/ru
 Ram/Sita/I/They=NOM anger-pred be.pst.3P.Sg.M/3.P.Sg.F/1P.S/2P.Sg/2P.Pl
 ‘Ram/Sita/I/You/They is/are angry (now).’

4.3 Syntax and Semantics of ‘ki’ and ‘-gaa’

I have shown there are two ways of linking the subject NP and the psych PCs in Telugu. The first one is using only the Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’. These do not need datives as a linker because ‘Pred⁰’ can perform the same syntactic function. However, the absence of a dative case results in expressive semantics rather than experiencer semantics. Balusu (2016) argues that Psych-PC predicates are not possible without Datives. Here we see that the restriction is more refined. Psych-PC predicates obligatorily need datives only in the context of experiencer semantics. In TT, we can see that nominative subjects are indeed possible but give expressive semantics. The same structure is possible in Telugu as well⁸, but only in the expressive context. Taking from Balusu’s explanation of ‘-gaa’ as a [+eventive] Pred⁰ that gives a dynamic/CoS semantics, I analyze the Pred⁰ as a Proc P in terms of FPS. This shows why the structures linked this way have experiencer meaning and dynamic/CoS semantics.

The second way of linking the subject NP with the psych PC is using the Dative linker ‘-ki’. Following Fábregas and Marín’s (2020) argument that datives are statives with only initiation information but not that of the process, I analyze these as init phrases giving stative semantics in terms of FPS. The presence of ‘ki’ gives experiencer meaning and the init P gives stative semantics. This way of linking is possible in both Telugu and TT. However, TT always needs the Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ even though DAT is present and yields dynamic/CoS semantics. This is shown in Table 2 below:

	Experiencer	Expressive
Telugu	DAT PC V (∅) (Sita- ki kopam) (*TT) Sem: Stative	NOM PC-Pred ⁰ V (be) (Ram kopam- ga unnadu) Sem: Dynamic
TT	DAT PC-Pred ⁰ V (be) (Ram- ki kopam- ga undi) Sem: Dynamic	NOM PC-Pred ⁰ V (be) (Ram kopam- ga unnadu) Sem: Dynamic

Table 2: Dialectical Variation

Here, the tricky part of the puzzle is the dative-experiencers in TT i.e., (4) and (30). It contains both DAT and Pred⁰ and gives experiencer meaning with dynamic semantics. There are two questions here. First is that, given the analysis that both DAT and Pred⁰ perform the same syntactic function as a linker, we expect them to appear exclusively. It is redundant to have both of them spelled out at the same time. Then, Why does TT need both of them obligatorily? And the second question is that how is dynamic semantics obtained with both init P and Proc P present? In other words, how does the semantics of ‘-gaa’ override that of ‘-ki’? In the next section of the paper, I look into this question of redundancy and semantics of ‘ki’ and ‘-gaa’.

⁸Data collected in a personal conversation with Telugu FL speakers.

5 The redundancy puzzle

The puzzle: Given the analysis that DAT ‘-ki’ and Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ perform the same syntactic function as a linker, why does the dative-experiencer constructions in TT (4), repeated in (34), need both DAT and Pred⁰ obligatorily?

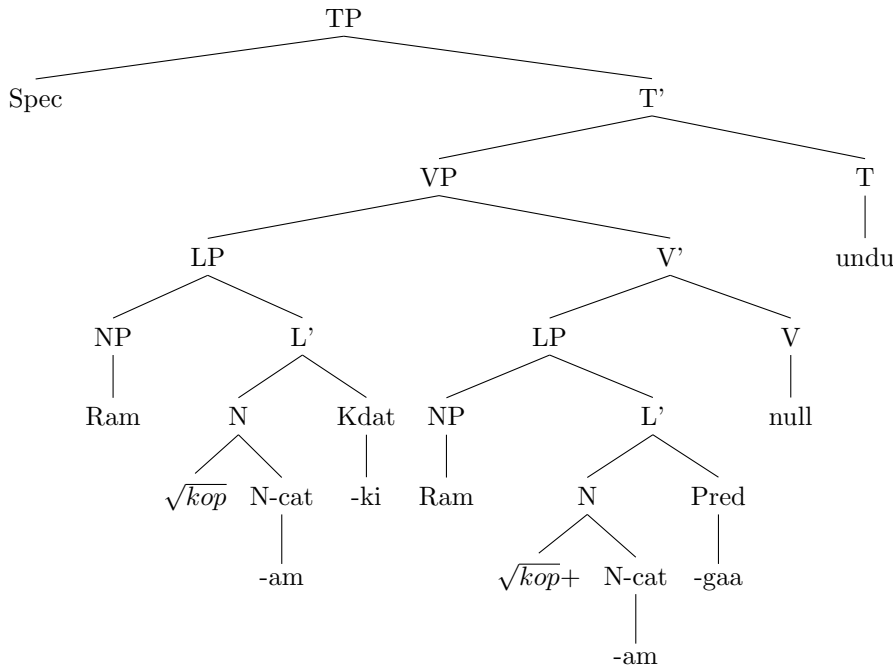
- (34) Ram=ki kopam-gaa un-di [Dative]
 Ram=DAT anger-pred be.3P.Sg.F
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)

We know that the DAT ‘-ki’ forms an unergative structure with initP and Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ forms a transitive structure with Proc P. Here, I give two possible ways in which both ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ can appear in a sentence.

5.1 Merge

Although the syntactic function of DAT and Pred⁰ is the same in psych-PC predicates, they differ semantically i.e, DAT links experiencer predicates while Pred⁰ links expressive predicates. So, we can say these are two separate Link Phrases (LPs) formed separately in a parallel workspace and merged (external) in two different positions. Later an identity deletion operation could delete one of the copies at the spell out. This is shown below in (35):

- (35) Ram=ki kopam-gaa un-di [Dative]
 Ram=DAT anger-pred be.3P.Sg.F
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)



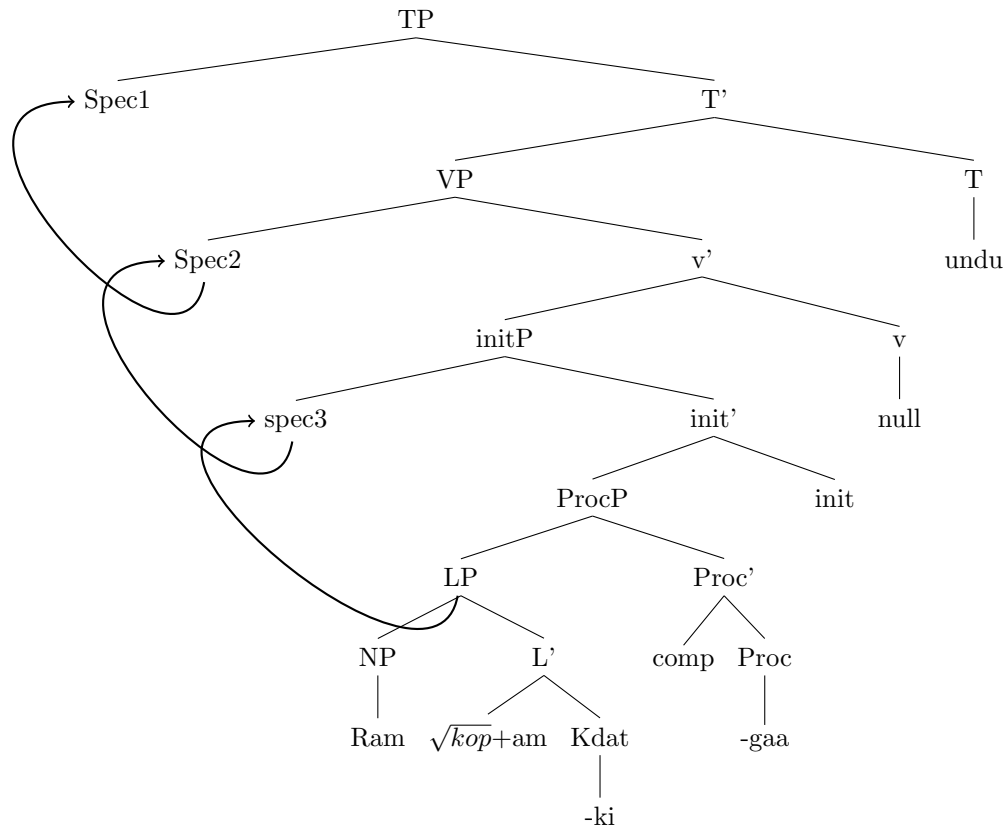
Here, we can see that there are two LPs merged separately in their respective positions. An identity deletion operation deletes the copies of ‘Ram’ and ‘kopam’ because they are phonologically and semantically similar copies but both the linkers ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ are spelt out because are semantically

different despite performing the same syntactic function. Then the variation boils down to TT not allowing dative to appear by itself. It always needs Pred⁰ and the identity deletion operation. However, the challenge here is that of a deletion: that is, which one of the copies is deleted, that eventually determines the word order of the sentence?

5.2 Move

Alternatively, we can also say that there are no two different Link phrases. There is only one Link Phrase formed in a separate workspace. It can be merged either in the higher position or in the lower position. The linker is spelt-out as ‘-ki’ when in the higher position and ‘-gaa’ in the lower position. Both ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ are spelt out when the subject has to move to a higher position. This is shown below in (36):

- (36) Ram=*ki* kopam-gaa un-di [Dative]
 Ram=DAT anger-pred be.3P.Sg.F
 ‘Ram is angry (now).’ (Lit: Ram has anger)



Here we see that the subject ‘Ram’ is merged in the lower position. But it moves to the specifier position of VP. Evidence from agreement morphology shows that although the copula [undu] ‘be’ contains active phi-features, it cannot agree with the subject ‘Ram’ as it is embedded inside the case phrase. As a result, T always gets the default case ‘3PF’ in Telugu (37).

- (37) Ram/Sita/nenu/nuvvu/vallu-ki kopam-gaa undi
 Ram/Sita/I/They=DAT anger-pred be.pst.3P.F
 ‘Ram/Sita/I/You/They is angry (now).’

I choose the second option of movement because the fact that the semantics of the sentence is that of dynamic/CoS shows there is Proc P. Further, if the dative is originated in the specifier position of the proc P it needs to move into an init P because it belongs in the stative space. The evidence from agreement morphology also shows that the subject is there, only that it is not available due to embedding. This structure answers the question as to why ‘-gaa’ is obligatory in TT experiencer constructions as well. It is because TT contains a more elaborate structure of Proc P, evidenced by the dynamic/CoS semantics obtained. This Proc P is realized as ‘-gaa’. Therefore, it is obligatory in TT as opposed to Telugu, where there is only an initP. Therefore we see *Sita-ki kopam* but no obligatory ‘-gaa’ or [undi]. The variation then boils down to the features on the verb: whether it contains only (initP) or (initP+ProcP). Telugu contains only initP and TT contains both (initP+ProcP). Now, the only question that remains is the semantics of (36). That is, how does the semantics of ‘-gaa’ override that of ‘-ki’ to give dynamic/CoS meaning within the experiencer construction?

5.3 Experiencer semantics in TT

Fábregas and Marín (2020) notice that in Spanish, experiencer arguments behave differently from non-experiencer arguments when used with the same verb. They show that with the verb *venir* ‘come’, a dative triggers PCC violation in interaction with the subject (38). However, the effect disappears if the verb is interpreted as a psych predicate (39).

(38) *Nos vinisteis tarde. (Fabregas and Marin, 2020:234)
 us.DAT came.2PL late
 ‘You came late (and that affected us).’

(39) Nos vinisteis bien. (Fabregas and Marin, 2020:235)
 us.DAT came.2PL well
 ‘You produced a positive effect on us.’

They argue that this effect is because experiencers are, in a sense, more isolated from their syntactic context than equivalent non-experiencer arguments. The experiencer internal arguments are ‘protected’ by something that prevents them from checking features with the outside environment, something that at the same time avoids the PCC effect in (39). From our structure in (30), this restriction can be explained via the embedding of dative within the Kase Phrase (KP_{dat}). When these experiencers are contained within the phrase, the aspectual contribution of the dative is isolated from the rest of the predicate. As a result, the stative semantics gets overridden by the dynamic/CoS semantics of ‘-gaa’ that is present further down the structure.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have shown that along with DAT ‘-ki’ as proposed by Balusu (2015), another Pred⁰ ‘-gaa’ can also be a ‘linker’ that forms a predicational relationship between the Psych-PC and the subject noun in Telugu. This allows psych-PCs to appear in nominative subject predicates with expressive semantics. Further, I marked another crucial difference between ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ that they are the arguments of an initP and a procP respectively. This information is used to explain the dialectical variation wherein Telangana Telugu (TT), the structure always contains (initP+procP) which requires ‘-gaa’ obligatory even when ‘ki’ is present. The dynamic/CoS semantics of the TT sentence with both ‘-ki’ and ‘-gaa’ gives evidence for the dative incorporation analysis.

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