

## 1 Experiencer Subjects

### 1.1 The Basic Schema

- typically marked dative (= case on the goal argument of a ditransitive)
- sentence initial
- does not trigger agreement

- (1) a. Marathi (from Pandharipande (1990))

ti-lā rāg ālā  
she-dat. anger came

'She got angry.' (lit. Anger came to her)

- b. Hindi

Ram-ko niind aa gay-ii  
Ram-Dat sleep.f come GO-Pfv.f

'Ram fell asleep.' (lit. Sleep came to Ram.)

- argument is triggered by the other argument, which is non-overtly case marked.
- Unlike most IA languages, Bhojpuri (and a dialect of Magahi) assign different cases to the experiencer subject and to the goal argument of a ditransitive.

- (2) Bhojpuri (from Verma (1990))

- a. Experiencer: *hamraa* 'I.Gen.Oblique'

hamraa ii naa miilal  
I-Gen.Obl this not find

'I did not find it.' (Lit. It did not become found to me.)

- b. Goal: *hamraa ke* 'I.Gen.Obl Dat'

hamraa ke da  
I-Gen.Obl Dat give

'Give it to me.'

### 1.2 A classification of psych-verbs

- (3) (from Belletti and Rizzi (1988), via Landau (2002))
- Class I: Nominative experiencer, accusative theme  
John loves Mary.
  - Class II: Nominative theme, accusative experiencer  
The show amused Bill.
  - Class III: Nominative theme, dative experiencer  
The idea appealed to Julie.

Most Class II verbs are ambiguous between an agentive and a stative reading.

- (4) (=Landau (2002):ex. 9)
- The noise is scaring Mary right now.
  - John embarrassed Maggie (on purpose/unintentionally).

Hindi-internal diagnostic: (potentially) ergative subject, dative/accusative experiencer

- (5) Ram-ne/ havaa-ke jhoke-ne Mona-ko daraa di-yaa  
Ram-Erg air-Gen.Obl gust.Obl-Erg Mona-Acc/Dat scare GIVE-Pfv  
'Ram/a gust of wind scared Mona.'

Class III verbs can only be stative.

- (6) (=Landau (2002):ex. 8)
- \*The solution is occurring to Mary right now.
  - Bob (\*deliberately) mattered to his boss.

Class III verbs in Indo-Aryan constitute the Experiencer subject construction.

- (7) Sanjana-ko uttar suujh gayaa  
Sanja-Dat answer strike GO-Pfv  
'The answer occurred to Sanjana.'

The Indo-Aryan languages also have predicates from Class I.

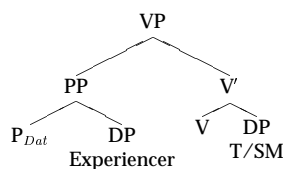
- (8) Samiir Kashmirii jaan-taa hai  
Samiir.m Kashmirii.f know-Hab.MSG be.Prs  
'Samiir knows Kashmirii.'

### 1.3 Landau (2002)'s Proposal

- (9) Experiencers are mental locations i.e. locatives.  
 (10) a. All object experiencers are oblique (or dative).  
 b. Experiencers undergo 'locative inversion.'

Class III verbs are unaccusative.

- (11) Class III verbs (Pesetsky (1995), Landau (2002), Davison (2003))



T/SM = Target/Subject Matter

## 2 Predicate Types

Only a limited class of verbs license dative subjects.

- certain modals: *chaahiye* 'should/want', *paraa* 'compelled to'
- certain unaccusatives: *dikh* 'appear', *mil* 'be found'
- certain nouns or adjectives alongwith a 'light' verb like *ho* 'be', *aa* 'come', *lag* 'contact'.

### 2.1 'Possessive' Structures

Schema: 'NP-Dat N be'

These cases resemble structures that are used to mark possession.

- (12) a. States of bodily condition  
 Uma-ko sirdard hai  
 Uma-Dat headache ne.Prs.Sg  
 'Uma has a headache.' (Lit. to Uma is a headache.)
- b. Emotional States  
 mujhe is baat-kaa bahut dukh hai  
 I.Dat this.Obl thing-Gen great sadness be.Prs.Sg  
 'I am very sad about this thing.' (Lit. to me is great sadness about this thing.)

Other possessive structures in Hindi:

- (13) a. Ordinary Possession  
 Mona-ke-paas **do scooter hē**  
 Mona-near two scooter be.Prs.Pl  
 'Mona has two scooters.'
- b. Inalienable Possession  
 Mona-ke/-kaa **ek laṛkaa hai**  
 Mona-Gen.Obl/-Gen.MSg one boy be.Prs.Sg  
 'Mona has a boy.'

### 2.2 'Canonical' Structures

Schema: 'NP-Dat NP-Nom Pred'

Based on the category of the Predicate, we can further subdivide the canonical structures.

- (14) Pred = N  
 a. Mona-ko **mE pasand hū:**  
 Mona-Dat I like<sub>N</sub> be.Prs.1Sg  
 'Mona likes me.' (Lit. to Mona, I am pleasing.)
- b. Mona-ko **sab baatē yaad thī:**  
 Mona-Dat all things.f memory be.Pst.FPl  
 'Mona remembered everything.'
- (15) Pred of unknown non-verbal category  
 Mona-ko **yeh baat pataa thii** [ki Sita naaraaz hai]  
 Mona-Dat this thing.f known be.Pst.f that Sita.f upset be.Prs.Sg  
 'Mona knew that Sita is upset.'

- (16) Pred = V
- dikh-naa* 'appear'  
mujhe **Rina** bazaar-mē **dikh-ii**  
I.Dat Rina.f market-in see<sub>intr</sub>-Pfv.f  
'I saw Rina in the market.' (Lit. Rina appeared to me in the market.)
  - mil-naa* 'be-found'  
mujhe park-me **yeh gharīi mil-ii**  
I.dat park-in this watch.f find<sub>intr</sub>-Pfv  
'I found this watch in the park.'
  - chaahiye* 'want'  
mujhe khuub-saaraa paisaa chaahiye  
I.dat lots money want  
'I want lots of money.'
  - lag-naa* 'feel/find', small clause complement  
mujhe [**Laila mehnatii**] **lag-tii hai**  
I.Dat Laila.f hardworking.f find-Hab.f be.Prs.Sg  
'I find/consider Laila hardworking.'
  - lag-naa* 'feel/find', finite clause complement  
mujhe (yeh) lag-taa hai [ki **Laila mehnatii hai**]  
I.Dat this find-Hab.MSg be.Prs.Sg that Laila.f hardworking.f be.Prs.Sg  
'I feel that Laila is hardworking.'

Other verbs in this class: *bhaa-naa* 'please', *suujh-naa* 'strike', ....

There are also cases which fit the 'NP-Dat NP-Nom Pred' but where the NP seems to be the source of the  $\theta$ -role to the dative argument, the Predicate being a light verb like *aa* 'come', *lag* 'contact' and a few others.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Also related are cases like *pasand aa-naa* 'like come', which means 'come to like', *yaad aa-naa* 'memory come', which means 'come to mind', and *dikhaai de-naa/par-naa* 'be-visible give/fall', which means 'to see (involuntarily)'.

- Ramesh-ko **Sita** pasand nahī: **aa-ii**  
Ramesh-Dat Sita.f like<sub>N</sub> Neg come-Pfv.f  
'Ramesh didn't (come to) like Sita.'
  - achaanak Anoop-ko **ek chhaayaa** dikhai **di-i/par-ii**  
suddenly Anoop-Dat one shadow.f 'visible' give-Pfv.f/fell-Pfv.f  
'Suddenly, Anoop saw a shadow' (Lit. Suddenly a shadow appeared to Anoop)

- N + *aa* 'come'  
use **niind aa rahii hai**  
s/he.Dat sleep.f come Prog.f be.Prs.Sg  
'S/he is feeling sleepy.' (Lit. Sleep is coming to him/her.)
- N + *lag* 'contact'  
Roumi-ko **bhook lag rahii hai**  
Roumi-Dat hunger.f 'contact' Prog.f be.Prs.Sg  
'Roumi is feeling hungry.' (Lit. Hunger is contacting Roumi.)

To this list could be added *aa* 'come', which takes both NP and infinitival complements.

- NP-Dat + N/Infinitive + *aa* 'come': 'to know'  
  - N + *aa* 'come', where N denotes a body of knowledge  
Nina-ko **mathematics/angrezii aa-tii hai**  
Nina-Dat math.f/English.f come-Hab.f be.Prs.Sg  
'Nina knows mathematics/English.'
  - Infinitival clause + *aa* 'come'  
Nina-ko [**saikil chalaai**] **aa-tii hai**  
Nina-Dat cycle.f ride-Inf.f come-Hab.f be.Prs.Sg  
'Nina know how to ride a bicycle./Nina knows bicycle-riding.'

### 2.3 Modal Structures

Certain modal verbs also involve dative subjects. The relevant modals take infinitival complements and the dative marked subject seems to be the raised subject of the infinitival complement.

- infinitival + *ho* 'be': 'have to'  
Vikram-ko is saal **do kitaabē likh-nii hē**  
Vikram-Dat this.Obl year two books.f write-Inf.f be.Prs.PI  
'Vikram has to write two books this year.'
- infinitival + *chaahiye* 'should': 'should'  
Vikram-ko is saal **do kitaabē likh-nii chaahiye**  
Vikram-Dat this.Obl year two books.f write-Inf.f should.PI  
'Vikram should write two books this year.'
- infinitival + *par* 'fall': 'be compelled to'  
Vikram-ko is saal **do kitaabē likh-nii par-ī:**  
Vikram-Dat this.Obl year two books.f write-Inf.f fell-Pfv.FPI  
'Vikram had to/was compelled to write two books this year.'

The dative on the subject of these modal constructions seems to have a different character from other dative subject constructions. (cf. Masica (1990), Bhatt (1997)).

- (20) a. **yeh** **peṛ** **kal** **kaṭ-ne** **hĒ**  
 this tree.m tomorrow cut<sub>intr</sub>-Inf.MPl be.Prs.Pl  
 'These trees are to be cut tomorrow.'
- b. is **saal** **baarish ho-nii** **chaahiye thii**  
 this.Obl year rain.f be-Inf.f should be.Pst.f  
 'It should have rained this year.'

The option of not receiving dative marking is only available if the embedded infinitival predicate is an unaccusative.

## 2.4 Other Ways

While the dative subject is typically an experiencer, not all experiencers have to be marked dative.

- (21) a. N + *aa* 'come', where N denotes a body of knowledge  
 Ravi-ko **mathematics/angrezii**/\***Lila aa-tii** **hai**  
 Ravi-Dat math.f/English.f/Lila.f come-Hab.f be.Prs.Sg  
 'Tony knows mathematics/English/\*Lila.'
- b. *jaan* 'know'  
**Ravi** Nina-ko/mathematics/angrezii **jaan-taa** **hai**  
 Ravi.M Nina-Acc/math.f/English.f know-Hab.MSg be.Prs.Sg  
 'Ravi knows Nina/English/mathematics.'

## 3 Subjecthood and Licensing

Let us now focus on dative subject constructions like the following.

- (22) Schema: NP-Dat NP-Nom Predicate
- a. Mona-ko **mE** pasand **hū**:  
 Mona-Dat I like<sub>N</sub> be.Prs.1Sg  
 'Mona likes me.' (Lit. to Mona, I am pleasing.)
- b. mujhe **Rina** bazaar-mē **dikh-ii**  
 I.Dat Rina.f market-in see<sub>intr</sub>-Pfv.f  
 'I saw Rina in the market.' (Lit. Rina appeared to me in the market.)

- Where is the dative argument licensed?

- Is the dative argument a subject?

- Is the non-dative argument a subject or a direct object?

Unlike direct objects, the non-dative argument cannot take the overt accusative marker *ko*.

- (23) a. Dative Subject construction:  
 \*Mona-ko mujhe pasand hai  
 Mona-Dat I-Dat like<sub>N</sub> be.Prs.Sg  
 'Mona likes me.'
- b. Transitive verb:  
 Mona-ne mujhe/\*mĒ dekh-aa hai/\*hū:  
 Mona-Erg I.Dat/I see-Pfv be.Prs.Sg/\*be.Prs.1Sg  
 'Mona has seen me.'

Unlike direct objects, the non-dative argument also triggers person agreement.

→ hence the label 'Nominative'.

## 3.1 The Question of Licensing

Unlike ergative case, which is licensed only in the presence of perfective aspect, dative subjects are compatible with any tense-aspect combination.

- (24) Different Tense-Aspect Combinations
- a. Past, Past and Present Perfective  
 Sita-ko **tum** pasand **aa-ye** **the/ho**  
 Sita-Dat you.Pl like come-Pfv.MPl be.Pst.MPl/be.Prs.2Pl  
 'Sita liked/had liked/has liked you.'
- b. Past and Present Habitual  
 Sita-ko **tum** pasand **aa-te** **the/ho**  
 Sita-Dat you.Pl like come-Hab.MPl be.Pst.MPl/be.Prs.2Pl  
 'Sita used to like/likes you.'
- c. Future  
 Sita-ko **tum** pasand **aa-oge**  
 Sita-Dat you.2Pl like come-Fut.2MPl  
 'Sita will like you.'

They can also appear in infinitival clauses.

(25) (from Hook (1990))

- a. [tumhaaraa har-kisi-ko pasand aa-naa] nishchit nahī:  
you-Gen everyone-Dat like come-Inf definite Neg  
'It is not definite that everyone will like you.'
- b. mĒ [un-logō-ko pasand aa-naa] nahī: **chaah-taa**  
I those-people-Dat like come-Inf Neg want-Hab.MSg  
'I don't want those people to like me.'

The above facts motivate the proposal in Davison (2003) that dative case on experiencers is a Lexical case.

### 3.2 Tests for Subjecthood

Subjecthood is a problematic concept in the Indo-Aryan languages.<sup>2</sup>

Many subjecthood tests seem to actually target agenthood and/or nominative case.

#### 3.2.1 Some non-tests

- sentence initiality - putatively **for** treating the Dative NP as a subject, **against** treating the Nominative NP as a subject.
  - agreement - putatively **against** treating the Dative NP as a subject, **for** treating the Nominative NP as a subject.
  - nominative case - putatively **against** treating the Dative NP as a subject, **for** treating the Nominative NP as a subject.
- the points concerning agreement and nominative case are really the same.

#### 3.2.2 Control into Adjuncts

The agent controls the subject of an adjunct (conjunctive participial) clause.

- (26) a. Vinod-ne<sub>i</sub> Sita-ko<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> khiṛkii khol-kar] bulaa-yaa  
Vinod-Erg Sita-Acc window.f open-PART call-Pfv  
'Having opened the window, Vinod called Sita.'  
(NOT: Vinod called Sita after she had opened the window.)
- b. Non-overt Passive agent can control:  
Sita-ko<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>Imp,Arg/\*j</sub> khiṛkii khol-kar] bulaa-yaa gayaa  
Sita-Acc window open-PART call-Pfv Pass-Pfv

<sup>2</sup>See Cardona (1976) for a statement of the problematic aspects of the notion 'subject' in the context of Sanskrit.

'Sita was called (by *x*) after *x* had opened the window.'

The Dative NP can control the subject of the adjunct.

(27) (from Hook (1990))

[PRO aap-kaa xat paa-kar] mujh-ko **baṛii xushii huii**  
you.Hon-Gen letter get-PART I.Obl-Dat much.f pleasure.f be.Pfv.f

'I was very pleased to receive your letter.'

In fact, only the Dative NP can control the subject of the adjunct.

- (28) mujhe<sub>i</sub> **Sita**<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> khiṛkii khol-kar] yaad **aa-ii**  
I.Dat Sita.f window.f open-PART memory come-Pfv.f  
'After I had opened the window, Sita came to my mind.'  
(NOT: After she has opened the window, Sita came to my mind.)

These results are curious given that the Dative argument isn't particularly agentive.

#### 3.2.3 Behaviour in Infinitival Clauses: Infinitival Subjects

Typically it is the subject that receives genitive case in infinitival clauses.

- (29) a. Finite transitive clause:  
Ravi-ne Billu-ko piṭ-aa  
Ravi-Erg Billu-Acc beat-Pfv  
'Ravi beat Billu.'
- b. Infinitive:  
[Ravi-kaa Billu-ko piṭ-naa] aascharyajanak hai  
Ravi-Gen Billu-Acc beat-Inf surprising be.Prs.Sg  
'Ravi's beating Billu is surprising.'

In Dative Subject constructions, it is the nominative argument that appears in the genitive.

(30) (from Hook (1990))

- a. Finite:  
**tum** har-kisi-ko pasand nahī: **aa-ye**  
you.Pl everyone-Dat like Neg come-Pfv.MPl  
'Everyone didn't like you.'
- b. Infinitival:  
[tumhaaraa har-kisi-ko pasand aa-naa] nishchit nahī:  
you-Gen everyone-Dat like come-Inf definite Neg  
'It is not definite that everyone will like you.'

### 3.2.4 Behaviour in Infinitival Clauses: Control into the Clause

Typically it is the subject that becomes the null 'PRO' subject in infinitival clauses, irrespective of whether the predicate is transitive or unaccusative.

- (31) a. Finite transitive clause:  
 Ravi-ne Billu-ko piit-aa  
 Ravi-Erg Billu-Acc beat-Pfv  
 'Ravi beat Billu.'
- b. Control into infinitival transitive clause:  
 Ravi-ne<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> Billu-ko piit-naa] chaah-aa  
 Ravi-Erg Billu-Acc beat-Inf want-Pfv  
 'Ravi wanted to beat Billu.'
- c. Finite unaccusative clause:  
**Ravi** Billu-se piṭ gayaa  
 Ravi.m Billu-Instr beat<sub>intr</sub> GO-Pfv.MSG  
 'Ravi was beaten by Billu.'  
 (Note: this is not a passive, despite the translation.)
- d. Control into infinitival unaccusative clause:  
**Ravi**<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> Billu-se piṭ-naa] chaah-taa hai  
 Ravi.m Billu-Instr beat<sub>intr</sub>-Inf want-Hab.MSG be.Prs.Sg  
 'Ravi wants to be beaten by Billu.'

In Dative Subject constructions, it is the nominative argument that is controlled in an infinitival clause.

- (32) (from Hook (1990):322)
- a. Finite Dative Subject Clause:  
**mĒ** un-logō-ko pasand nahī: aa-yaa  
 I.Sg those-people-Dat like Neg come-Pfv.MSG  
 'Those people did not like me.'
- b. Control into infinitival dative subject clause:  
**mĒ** [un-logō-ko pasand aa-naa] nahī: chaah-taa  
 I those-people-Dat like come-Inf Neg want-Hab.MSG  
 'I don't want those people to like me.'

• These tests are really tests concerning case-licensing, in particular licensing of the nominative.

### 3.2.5 Binding: Coreference

Reflexive anaphors in Hindi are (for most speakers) subject oriented.

- (33) (Subject and Agent are identical.)  
 Mona-ne<sub>i</sub> Tina-ko<sub>j</sub> [apnii<sub>i/\*j</sub> kitaab] di-i  
 Mona-Erg Tona-Dat self's.f book.f give-Pfv.f  
 'Mona<sub>i</sub> gave Tina<sub>j</sub> her<sub>i/\*j</sub> book.'

When the agent and 'subject' are distinct, they can both bind.

- (34) (from Hook (1990):322)
- a. Passive Agent binds anaphor in Passive Subject  
 pitaa-se<sub>i</sub> [apnii, betii] sasuraal bhej-ii nahī: gayii  
 father-Instr self's.f daughter in-laws-house send-Pfv.f Neg Pass-Pfv.f  
 'Father cannot bring himself to send his daughter to her in-laws' house.'
- b. Passive Subject binds anaphor in an object  
 Balban-ko<sub>i</sub> [apne<sub>i</sub> pad]-se haṭaa di-yaa gayaa  
 Balban-Acc self's.M.Obl post-from remove GIVE-Pfv Pass.Pfv  
 'Balban<sub>i</sub> was removed from his<sub>i</sub> post.'

In Dative Subject constructions, both the dative NP and the nominative NP can bind into each other.

- (35) (from Hook (1990):322)
- a. Dative binds into Nominative:  
 mujhe<sub>i</sub> [apne<sub>i</sub> sab rishtedaar] pasand hĒ  
 I.Dat self's.MPI all relative.M like be.Prs.Pl  
 'I like all my relatives.'
- b. Nominative binds into Dative:  
 lekin mĒ<sub>i</sub> [apne<sub>i</sub> sab rishtedaarō]-ko pasand nahī: hū:  
 but I self's.Obl all relatives-Dat like Neg be.Prs.1Sg  
 'but I am not liked by all my relatives.'  
 (word order does not change the binding relationships)

The Nominative argument can bind the Dative argument:

- (36) (from Hook (1990):323)
- a. Nominative binds Dative:  
**ham**<sub>i</sub> ek-duusre-ko<sub>i</sub> pasand hĒ  
 we each-other-Dat like be.Prs.Pl  
 'We like each other.'

b. Dative binds Nominative: (cited as grammatical by Hook, generally judged \*)

\*ham-ko, ek-duusraa, pasand hai  
 we-Dat each-other like be.Prs  
 'We like each other.'

(36b) is taken to be bad because Hindi lacks nominative anaphors. Kashmiri does not have such a restriction, and such bindings are possible there.

(37) (Kashmiri, from Wali and Koul (1997):126)

ma:la:yi chu panun pa:n pasand  
 Mala-dat is self's self like  
 'Mala likes herself.'

(38) mujhe<sub>i</sub> **Ram**<sub>j</sub> [apne<sub>i/2j</sub> ghar-ke-saamne] **mil-aa**  
 I.Dat Ram.MSg self's.Obl home-in-front-of find<sub>intr</sub>-Pfv.MSg  
 'I found Ram<sub>j</sub> in front of my/his<sub>i</sub> house.'

• While the dative argument can bind into the nominative argument and vice versa, other arguments cannot.

### 3.2.6 Binding: Disjoint Reference

Subjects in Hindi trigger obviation on pronominal possessors. (for similar facts in Danish see Vikner (1985), for Norwegian: Hestvik (1992), and for Russian: Avrutin (1994))

(39) a. Ram-ne<sub>i</sub> [us-kii<sub>ni/j</sub> **kitaab**] **paṛh-ii**  
 Ram-Erg s/he-Gen.f book.f read-Pfv.f  
 'Ram<sub>i</sub> read his<sub>ni/j</sub> book.' [inside object]  
 b. **Malini**, Sanjana-se<sub>j</sub> [apne<sub>i/\*j/\*k</sub>/us-ke<sub>ni/j/k</sub> ghar-mê] **mil-ii**  
 Malini Sanjana-with self's.Obl Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home-in met-Pfv.f  
 'Malini<sub>i</sub> met Sanjana<sub>j</sub> at self<sub>i/\*j/\*k</sub>'s/her<sub>ni/j/k</sub> home.' [inside adjunct]

Saxena (1985) and Yamabe (1990) note that dative subjects do not trigger such effects.

(40) (from Davison (2003))

Mohan-ko<sub>i</sub> [apne<sub>i/\*j</sub>/us-ke<sub>ni/j</sub> **mā:baap**] yaad **aa-ye**  
 Mohan-Dat self's.PI/he-Gen.PI mother-father memory come-Pfv.MPI  
 'Mohan<sub>i</sub> remembered his<sub>i/j</sub> parents.'

A similar point can be made for the relevant nominative argument.

(41) **Ram**<sub>i</sub> [apne<sub>i</sub> rishtedaarō-ko] [apni<sub>i</sub>/us-kii<sub>i</sub> harkatō]-kii-vajah-se pasand  
 Ram self's.Obl relatives-Dat self's/he-Gen.f activities-Gen.f-due-to like  
 nahī: **hai**  
 Neg be.Prs.Sg  
 'Ram is not liked by his relatives because of his activities.'

### 3.2.7 Weak Crossover

Scrambling is known to amnesty weak crossover violations. (for Hindi cf. Mahajan (1990), Gurtu (1992), Srivastav (1994), Kidwai (2000) a.o.)

(42) a. \*[us-kii<sub>i</sub> behin]-ne [har/kis larke]-ko<sub>i</sub> dekha-aa  
 he-Gen.f sister-Erg every/which.Obl boy.Obl-Acc see-Pfv  
 '\*His<sub>i</sub> sister saw every boy<sub>i</sub>.'  
 '\*Which boy<sub>i</sub> did his<sub>i</sub> sister see t<sub>i</sub>?'  
 b. [har/kis larke]-ko<sub>i</sub> [us-kii<sub>i/j</sub> behin]-ne dekha-aa  
 every/which.Obl boy-Acc he-Gen.f sister-Erg see-Pfv  
 'Every boy<sub>i</sub> was seen by his<sub>i</sub> sister.'  
 'Which boy was seen by his sister?'

Scrambling of the nominative argument over the dative argument does not seem to have a similar effect.

(43) (from Reese (2002))

a. \*[us-kii<sub>i</sub> behin]-ko [har/kaun-saa aadmii]<sub>i</sub> pasand hai  
 he-Gen.f sister-Dat every/which man.m like be.Prs.Sg  
 '\*His<sub>i</sub> sister likes every man<sub>i</sub>.'  
 'Which man<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> sister like t<sub>i</sub>?'  
 b. ???/(\*)[har/kaun-saa aadmii]<sub>i</sub> [us-kii<sub>i</sub> behin]-ko pasand hai  
 every/which man.m he-Gen.f sister-Dat like be.Prs.Sg  
 'Every man<sub>i</sub> is liked by his<sub>i</sub> sister.'  
 'Which man<sub>i</sub> is liked by his<sub>i</sub> sister?'

The relevant meaning would be conveyed by using an anaphor instead of a pronoun:

(44) [har/kaun-saa aadmii]<sub>i</sub> [apni<sub>i/\*j</sub> behin]-ko pasand hai  
 every/which man.m self's.f sister-Dat like be.Prs.Sg  
 'Every man<sub>i</sub> is liked by his<sub>i</sub> sister.'  
 'Which man<sub>i</sub> is liked by his<sub>i</sub> sister?'

### 3.2.8 Binding: Coreference vs. Binding

Pronominal possessors may corefer with the dative subject. However, binding seems dispreferred.

(45) (from Reese (2002))

a. Pronoun: free, strict, \*sloppy  
 sirf Ram-ko<sub>i</sub> us-kii<sub>ni/j</sub> behin pasand hai  
 only Ram-Dat Dem.Obl-Gen.f sister.f like be.Prs  
 Reading 1: Only Ram<sub>i</sub> likes his<sub>i</sub> sister. (free)  
 Reading 2: Only Ram is such that he likes Ram's sister. (strict)  
 Unavailable Reading 3: Only Ram has the self-sister liking property. (sloppy)

b. Anaphor: sloppy, \*free, \*strict

sirf Ram-ko<sub>i</sub> apni<sub>i/\*j</sub> behin pasand hai  
only Ram-Dat self's.f sister.f like be.Prs

Reading 1: Only Ram has the self-sister liking property. (sloppy)

Unavailable Reading 2: Only Ram<sub>i</sub> likes his<sub>j</sub> sister. (free)

Unavailable Reading 3: Only Ram is such that he likes Ram's sister. (strict)

(46) Binding by QP/Wh-XPs (from Reese (2002))

a. pronominal possessors:

[har/kis aadmii-ko]<sub>i</sub> us-kii<sub>j/??i</sub> behin pasand hai  
every/which man-Dat Dem.Obl-Gen.f sister.f like be.Prs

'Every/which man<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>j/??i</sub> sister(?).'

b. anaphoric possessors:

[har/kis aadmii-ko]<sub>i</sub> apni<sub>i/\*j</sub> behin pasand hai  
every/which man-Dat Dem.Obl-Gen.f sister.f like be.Prs

'Every/which man<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i/\*j</sub> sister(?).'

## 4 Steps towards an analysis

Davison (2003)'s proposal: both the dative and the nominative arguments are equidistant from [Spec,TP], and so either can be raised there.

The raised argument behaves like a subject i.e. binds reflexives, obviates pronouns.

Some problems:

- Ability to simultaneously bind an anaphor and a pronoun. (cf. 41).
- Nothing said about the ability of the dative argument to control into adjuncts. [and the corresponding inability of the nominative]<sup>3</sup>

What an alternate proposal should capture:

Dative argument (but not the nominative argument) controls.

Both can bind anaphors in the other.

Both can corefer with pronominal possessors inside the other.

Neither can bind pronominal possessors in the other.

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<sup>3</sup>Based on putative counterexamples to various generalizations that have been proposed for anaphoric binding and control of the subject of infinitival clauses, Bickel and Yadava (2000) propose that these processes should be given a pragmatic account, and not a syntactic one.

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