

The Case of Experiencers: Receiving, Holding, Doing.

The Problem. While the adverbial constructions with dative-subjects in Russian [1] obligatorily involve experiencers (Perlmutter and Moor 2000; for Icelandic Zaenen, Maling and Thrainsson 1985, Sigurdsson 1989, Harley 1995, and Landau 2003), not all subject-experiencers have dative case [2]. This asymmetry is puzzling. If the two constructions involve different syntax, then we have problems for UTAH (Baker 1988): the same theta-role is assigned in distinct configurations. Yet, if the configurations involved are identical, then the case differences between the two constructions are unexplained. In addition, [1] and [2] raise a question why dative experiencers in subject position are possible in some languages but not in all.

The Proposal. I argue that the constructions in [1] and [2] involve different syntactic configurations, resulting in different theta-role possibilities and different case and agreement properties. In particular, [2] has an additional agentive interpretation that [1] lacks, as seen from three facts. First, the nominative experiencer entails the dative one, but not vice versa as seen from the negation facts [3a,b] (Malamud, pc). Second, the nominative experiencer supports a purpose clause and an agent-oriented adverb [4a], but the dative one does not [4b]. Third, a question in [5a] can be answered using the nominative experiencer [5b] but not the dative one [5c]. To explain the lack of the agentive reading in the dative experiencer, I argue for a configuration in [6a] where the null P [TO] assigns the NP a recipient theta-role (à la Baker 1997, Landau 2003) and the resulting PP is merged into spec of Ev (Harley 1995). Since the individual in [6a] is a 'recipient', it cannot be volitional, which rules out the agentive reading. The configuration in [6a] also explains the case and agreement facts in [1]. The dative case on the NP is licensed by the P (Emonds 1985, Landau 2003), but the agreement on T must be default: while the T attracts the PP into its spec (due to EPP [6b]), the P blocks feature matching between the NP and T.

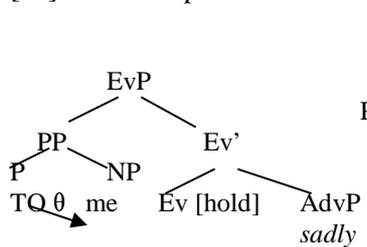
The nominative experiencer [2,7], on the other hand, involves conflation (Hale and Keyser 2002) of an adverbial head Adv with Ev with Voice (Kratzer 1996). If Ev is HOLD, then Voice adds a 'holder' argument (Kratzer 1996), resulting in a non-agentive reading. However, if Ev is DO, we get the agentive reading [4a]. In contrast, the dative-experiencer is always a recipient, and can never have an agentive interpretation even if Ev is DO. For example, the unergative experiencer construction in [8] involves a non-stative verb, but the dative NP is not an agent: adding a purpose clause or an agent-oriented adverbial to [8] is impossible. The syntax of [8] is parallel to that in [6a]. In contrast, [9] is agentive: it tolerates purpose clauses and agent-oriented adverbs; its structure is parallel to [7]. Turning now to the case-agreement facts in [2, 7], since there is no P blocking the NP's phi-features, we see agreement and nominative case – a reflex of phi-feature matching between T and NP (Chomsky 2000).

Finally, to account for the fact that a construction such as [1] is not universal, I extend a proposal in Pytkkanen (2002:Ch3) and claim that Ev does not theta-mark an argument, but may come either bundled with the argument-introducing Voice or separately from it. If Ev and Voice are realized as a single head, a construction such as [1, 6a] is ruled out by the theta-criterion [10]. For this reason, English, a voice-bundling language (Pytkkanen 2002), only has nominative experiencers as subjects [11]. Now, if Ev and Voice are realized as different heads, the PP can be merged into spec of Ev without violating the theta-criterion [cf 6a]. That Ev is distinct from Voice in Russian is further supported by a locative construction (e.g. *U Vani xolodno* = At John cold) where P[at] assigns the NP a 'location' theta-role in a structure similar to [6a]. If Ev were bundled with Voice, we would have a Theta-Criterion violation. In addition, since the NP in [1, 6a] is not an argument of Ev, it can be omitted, yielding an impersonal reading for [1] (e.g. *Grustno* = It is sad). However, [2] cannot have such a reading if the NP is absent.

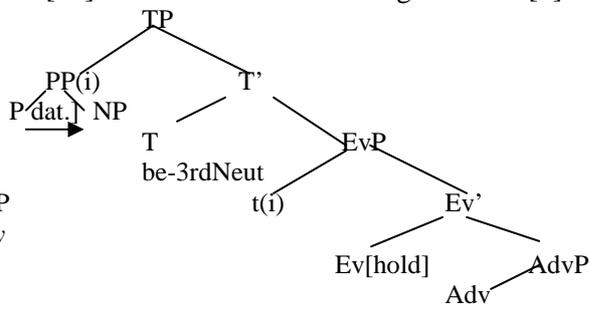
Conclusion. I have argued that the dative and the nominative experiencers have different syntax, which leads to their distinct theta-role options and different case-agreement properties. I further relate the existence of dative experiencers to the voice-bundling parameter (Pytkkanen 2002: Ch3), predicting that languages in which Voice and Ev are separate heads can have dative experiencers as subjects, while voice-bundling languages cannot. In addition to Russian, the prediction is borne out in Japanese - a language that has dative experiencers in subject position (Harley 1995) and is argued in Pytkkanen (2002: Ch.3) to have an event head realized separately from Voice. The same is proposed for Icelandic in Markman(in prep).

- [1] Dime bylo skuchno / grustno / veselo
Dima-dat was-3rdNeut boringly-adv / sadly-adv / happily-adv
Dima was bored / sad / happy
- [2] Dima skuchal / grustil / radovalsja
Dima-nom bored-verb / saddened-verb / happiest-verb
Dima was (being) bored / sad / happy
- [3]a # Dima skuchal / grustil no emu ne bylo skuchno / grustno
Dima-nom bored-verb / saddened-verb but him not was boringly-adv / sadly-adv
Dima was (being) bored / sad, but he was not feeling bored / sad
- b Dime bylo skuchno, no on ne skuchal
Dima-dat was boringly-adv, but he not bored-verb
Dima was feeling bored, but he was not being/acting bored
- [4]a Dima skuchal special'no chtob privlech' k sebe vnimanie
Dima-nom bored-verb purposefully to attract to self attention
Dima was being purposefully bored, in order to attract attention to himself
- b * Dime bylo skuchno special'no chtob privlech' k sebe vnimanie
Dima-dat was boringly-adv purposefully to attract to self attention
Dima felt bored on purpose, in order to attract attention to himself
- [5] a. Chto Dima delaet? b. On skuchaet c. # Emu skuchno
What Dima doing? b. He bores-verb He-dat boringly-adv
a. What is Dima doing? b. He is being bored c. He feels bored

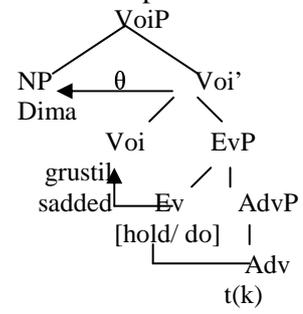
[6a] Dative Exp:



[6b] P blocks feature-matching:

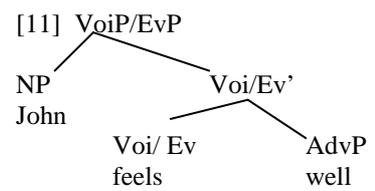
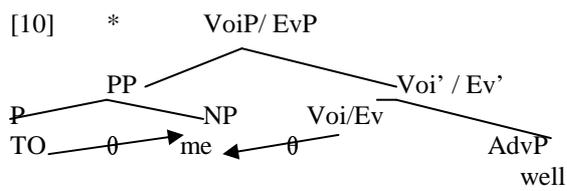


[7] Nominative Exp:



- [8] Mne xorosho igraet-sja (*chtoby vyigrat') /* special'no
Me-dat well plays-sja (*to win) /* purposefully
Playing goes well for me / Playing feels well to me (*in order to win) / (*on purpose)

- [9] On xorosho igraet special'no chtoby vyigrat'
He-nom well Plays purposefully to win
He is playing well on purpose in order to win



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