

Datives at Large

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the syntactic and semantic properties of dative arguments. The main source of data is Spanish, where dative arguments can appear with all types of verbs, and can have a wide range of meanings: goal, possessor, source, experiencer, affected object, causee, location, benefactive, malefactive, ethical dative. The challenge for a theory of dative arguments, which form a natural class morphologically, is to explain both what they have in common and how they differ syntactically and semantically. I argue that dative arguments have structural meanings, i.e., the meaning of a dative DP can be derived directly from the position in which it is licensed. To be able to predict the possible meanings of dative arguments, it is crucial to take into account the details of the syntactic configuration, which include the properties of the head that licenses the dative DP and of the functional heads that construct the event structure.

Dative arguments are not direct arguments of the verb; they are, like subjects, licensed syntactically and semantically by a specialized head. This argument introducing head, the Applicative, licenses the dative DP as its specifier and relates this DP to the structure it takes as a complement. The range of possible meanings of a dative DP is predicted from the range of possible complements an applicative head can take (i.e. a DP or a *v*P), and from the range of heads that the applicative phrase can be a complement of. Applicative heads are also sensitive to the type of event expressed by the *v*P (e.g., dynamic or stative, activity or causative). The theory provides a set of positions into which an applicative head can merge and license an argument DP, as well as the set of interpretations the argument can get in each position. The set of positions is universal, but languages can differ with respect to the positions into which an applicative head is allowed to merge. These predictions generalize to applied arguments in languages in which they are not marked by dative case (e.g., English and Bantu languages).

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Once all the compounds and derivatives have been taken away, (...) all the languages in the world are equally inexpressive.
J. L. Borges: *The Analytical Language of John Wilkins*

One of the tenets of formal linguistics is that the meaning of sentences is obtained from the meanings of the parts and the way those parts are combined. This idea defines one of the central tasks for linguists: to provide explicit theories of what the relevant parts are, and by what mechanisms they combine into structures. In the domain of verbal meanings, the task includes identifying the aspects of meaning that are grammatically relevant, and the pieces that are responsible for the licensing of arguments.

Theories of verbal argument structure attempt to answer questions about how arguments are licensed semantically and syntactically; that is, how arguments are projected into a syntactic structure and how they get the meanings they have. Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) define the project of a theory of argument structure as investigating how structure (i.e., syntax) determines possible meanings of verbs and arguments.

These assumptions delimit a certain project: that of ascertaining the extent to which the observed behavior of lexical items is due to structural relations, rather than to the interaction of structure and some other component, that is to say, to matters we will refer to as “questions of interface.” (Hale & Keyser 2002:1)

Central to this project is the asymmetry between possible meanings of external arguments and possible meanings of objects. The number of possible meanings for an external argument, i.e., the subject of a transitive verb or an intransitive activity verb, is very limited.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------|---|-------------|
| (1) | a. Willow rode a white horse | (agent) | } | “doer” |
| | b. Willow danced | (agent) | | |
| | c. The sun melted the butter | (causer) | | |
| | d. Willow loves tomatoes | (experiencer) | } | “possessor” |
| | e. Willow had a dream | (experiencer) | | |
| | f. Willow has a bicycle | (possessor) | | |
| | g. The clover has four leaves | (possessor) | | |

The subjects in (1) are interpreted as agents (a-b), causer (c), experiencer (d-e) and possessor (f-g). At a more abstract level, these meanings can be narrowed further by collapsing agents and causers into ‘doers’ of an event, and grouping experiencers and possessors as ‘possessors’ of a state or individual. Thus, at most two possible meanings are derived for external arguments. Objects, in contrast, can have a much wider range of meanings.

- (2)
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>The engineer cracked the bridge</i> | (patient) |
| b. <i>The engineer destroyed the bridge</i> | (patient/consumed object) |
| c. <i>The engineer painted the bridge</i> | (incremental theme) |
| d. <i>The engineer moved the bridge</i> | (theme) |
| e. <i>The engineer built the bridge</i> | (effected object) |
| f. <i>The engineer washed the bridge</i> | (location/surface) |
| g. <i>The engineer hit the bridge</i> | (location) |
| h. <i>The engineer crossed the bridge</i> | (path) |
| i. <i>The engineer reached the bridge</i> | (goal) |
| j. <i>The engineer left the bridge</i> | (source) |
| k. <i>The engineer saw the bridge</i> | (stimulus/object of perception) |
| l. <i>The engineer hated the bridge</i> | (stimulus/target or object of emotion) |
- (Levin 1999)

Moreover, many objects “cannot be readily assigned roles from the most common semantic role inventories” (Levin 1999).

- (3)
- | | |
|--|--------------|
| a. <i>The engineer praised the bridge</i> | |
| b. <i>The engineer touched the bridge</i> | |
| c. <i>The engineer avoided the bridge</i> | |
| d. <i>The engineer owned the bridge</i> | |
| e. <i>The engineer imagined the bridge</i> | |
| f. <i>The engineer studied the bridge</i> | (Levin 1999) |

The contrast between many possible meanings for objects and few possible meanings for subjects was defined by Marantz (1984) as an asymmetry rooted in the licensing of objects as opposed to the licensing of subjects. Objects are arguments of the verb and, as such, are licensed within the domain of the verbal phrase VP. In contrast, subjects are not arguments of the verb and are licensed outside (external to) the VP. Kratzer (1996) developed this insight into a theory of Voice, a syntactic head responsible for licensing the external argument syntactically and semantically: the external argument is projected as the specifier of Voice, which takes the verbal phrase as its complement. The semantic import of Voice is to relate the external argument to the event described by the verbal phrase. If the event complement of Voice is an activity, the external argument is interpreted as an agent; if the event is causative, the external argument is interpreted as a causer. The meaning of the external argument is thereby derived structurally. Since Voice always occupies the same position in the structure, i.e., above the highest verbal projection, the only possible variation in the meaning of the external argument is determined by properties of the verbal phrase.

Objects, on the other hand, are said to be true arguments of the verb; their interpretation depends heavily on the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb (i.e., the lexical root) that they are complements of, as dramatically illustrated by Levin’s examples above.

In sum, the meaning of external arguments depends on the structure; since there are very few types of verbal phrases, the meaning of external arguments is predictable from their position in the structure. The meaning of objects depends on the lexical content of the root

rather than on the structure; since there are many roots with different meanings, the interpretation of objects is not predictable from the structure alone.

Objects and subjects are not the only kinds of argument. In many languages a third kind of argument is identified by special case marking: dative arguments. How are dative arguments licensed into syntactic structures, i.e., what are they arguments of? Do dative arguments have structural meanings, like external arguments, or are their meanings idiosyncratic and unpredictable, like the meanings of objects? Do they represent a third option? These questions assume, moreover, that a morphologically defined class (marked with dative case) reflects a distinct structural or semantic class. Is this a reasonable assumption? Providing answers to these questions is one of the goals of this dissertation.

Dative arguments appear with verbs of different types (e.g., transitive activities (4), psychological predicates (5), causatives and inchoatives (6), existentials and other unaccusatives (7)), as illustrated with examples from different languages below.

- (4) a. *Izakaya-no mama-ga (Shin-ni) basashi-o dasita* Japanese
 bar.GEN mom.NOM Shin.DAT basashi.ACC served
 'The bartender served Shin basashi'
- b. *Valentine (lui) a coupé les cheveux* French
 Valentine.NOM CL.DAT has cut the hairs.ACC
 'Valentine cut his hair' (Lit. 'Valentine cut him the hair')
- (5) a. *A Elena piacciono molto i filmi francesi* Italian
 Elena.DAT like.PL a-lot the movies French .NOM
 'Elena likes French movies a lot' (Lit. 'To Elena appeal the French movies a lot')
- b. *Ravi-ko seema-par gussaa a-yaa* Hindi
 Ravi.DAT Seema.on anger.M come.PERF.M
 'Ravi got angry at Seema' (Lit. 'To Ravi came anger at Seema')
- (6) a. *Daß Michael (dem Hans) die Gläser zerbrach* German
 that Michael.NOM the Hans.DAT the glasses.ACC broke
 'Michael broke the glasses on Hans' (Lit. 'Michael broke Hans the glasses')
- b. *Ha-radio nišbar (le-Roni)* Hebrew
 the radio broke Roni.DAT
 'The radio broke on Roni/Roni's radio broke' (Lit. 'The radio broke to Roni')
- (7) *(A Laura le) sobraron veinte pesos* Spanish
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT were-extra.PL twenty pesos
 'Laura had twenty pesos left' (Lit. 'To Laura were extra twenty pesos')

In many cases, dative arguments are optional, as indicated by parenthesis above. Thus, dative arguments do not seem to be required or licensed by the verb; rather, they are added as "extra" or "non-core" participants in the events described by the verb. In this sense, dative

arguments seem to pattern with subjects, and differ from objects, in requiring a specialized head for their licensing. Their meaning should be, then, structural and predictable, like the meaning of subjects. Unlike subjects, however, dative arguments can have many different meanings: in informal terms, the range of possible meanings includes goal, possessor, location, experiencer, benefactive, malefactive, affected, dative of interest or ethical dative.

The challenge for a theory of dative arguments, which form a natural class morphologically, is to explain both what they have in common and in what semantic and syntactic properties they differ, accounting for the puzzling mixed properties of dative arguments described above. Additionally, a theory has to be able to predict areas of possible crosslinguistic variation. I will argue that dative arguments have structural meanings, which are predictable from the configuration in which the dative DP is licensed. I propose that dative arguments are not direct arguments of the verb; rather, they are, like subjects, licensed syntactically and semantically by a specialized head. This head –which I will call *Applicative* following the use of the term for extra arguments in Bantu languages– licenses the dative DP as its specifier. Semantically, the applicative head relates the individual expressed by the dative DP to the structure it takes as a complement. The range of possible interpretations of the dative DP derives from the range of possible complements an applicative head can take, and the range of heads the applicative phrase (ApplP) can be a complement of. This proposal requires an articulated theory of possible argument structures. Once the tools of such a theory are combined with the properties and requirements of applicative heads, it is possible to make general predictions about the syntactic and semantic properties of dative arguments. These predictions generalize to applied arguments in languages where they are not marked by dative case (e.g., English, Bantu languages). In other words, such a theory provides a set of positions where an applicative head can merge and license an argument DP, as well as the interpretation the argument can get in each position. The set of positions is a universal set from which individual languages can “choose” all, some but not others, or none. Ideally, it should be possible to derive particular selections from independent morphosyntactic properties of each language, for example, from the morphological properties of the applicative head and mechanisms of case checking.

1.1 Argument structure as event structure

In order to start asking whether there is any systematic connection between morphological dative case and the meaning and syntax of dative arguments, it is necessary to form a hypothesis about how the meaning of a sentence is built from combining its parts; that is, to provide an explicit and articulated theory of possible argument structures and how argument structure relates to event structure and syntax. It is crucial to have an explicit and detailed proposal of how verb meanings are formed and how they interact with the licensing of (the different types of) arguments.

Much work on argument structure, syntax and semantics has formalized the intuitive idea that verbs in sentences express events and arguments express participants in the events.

Research has converged on the idea that systematic relations between meaning and syntactic behavior of verbs and arguments are the product of event structures, that is, argument structure is built on the basis of the event types or predicates that verbs express. Arguments and adjuncts are organized as different kinds of participants or modifiers of events. In (8), for instance, the subject *the witch* is understood as the agent of a dancing event, and the phrase *all night* adds a duration to the event of dancing. Sentence (9) expresses two events: a causing event, to which the subject *the kid* is related, and a caused event described by the verb of which the object *the window* is an argument.

(8) *The witch danced all night*

(9) *The kid broke the window*

Most verbs do not appear in only one type of structure. Rather, verbs participate in what is usually called “argument structure alternations”. Alternations may involve same number of arguments but different semantic roles (10b-c), different number of arguments (10)-(12), or the same number and similar semantic roles of arguments, but with the arguments appearing in different word order and/or requiring a certain preposition (12b-c)-(13).

- (10)
 - a. *Willow drove fast*
 - b. *Willow drove the truck to the store*
 - c. *Willow drove her friends to the store*
- (11)
 - a. *The wind closed the gate*
 - b. *The gate closed*
- (12)
 - a. *Willow bought some cake*
 - b. *Willow bought her friends some cake*
 - c. *Willow bought some cake for her friends*
- (13)
 - a. *They loaded the boxes on the truck*
 - b. *They loaded the truck with boxes*

The sentences above illustrate the fact that not only extra or non-core arguments (e.g., the benefactive *her friends* in (10) and (12)) are optional. Objects and external arguments can also be omitted, as illustrated in (10) and (11), respectively. When considered from a broad enough perspective, then, the licensing of “ordinary” arguments (i.e., subjects and objects) and that of “extra” arguments (e.g., benefactives, possessors) raise similar questions. Both raise the issue of what elements of grammar are responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments, and underlie the observed alternations in argument structure. The notion of event structure as an organizing principle provides a way to sharpen these questions. If arguments are licensed as participants in events, their licensing crucially depends on the type of event expressed by a verb.

I present below the elements of the theory of argument structure that will be employed as the framework for the analysis of dative arguments developed in this dissertation. The framework comprises elements of event structure and event semantics proposed and developed by various researchers. These tools and insights are incorporated into a syntactic approach to argument and event structure in the spirit of Hale & Keyser's research project, (henceforth H&K) and developed by, among others, Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002, Borer 1994, Harley 1995, Marantz 1997, Travis 2000, Nash 2002, Pylkkänen 2002 and Folli & Harley 2003. Within this framework, syntactic 'pieces' (e.g., functional heads and DPs) correspond to elements of the event structure (e.g., event predicates, participants in the event), which are interpreted compositionally by the semantics. Although the elements of the theory of argument structure are introduced here as part of my assumptions, some elements and some distinctions will be proved necessary along the way, which provides them with empirical support and shows their theoretical value.

1.2 Elements of argument structure

In their theory of argument structure, H&K argue that the relation between heads and their arguments is determined by the two possible syntactic relations of complement and specifier. I will assume that arguments are licensed on the basis of the event structures which are possible given these two basic syntactic relations and the three types of heads in (14). Whether an argument is projected as a complement or a specifier is determined by the properties of the head that licenses the argument.

- (14) Three types of heads
- a. Event introducers: little *v*
 - b. Argument introducers: Voice and Applicative
 - c. Roots

I will assume, following Marantz 1997, that verbs are formed in the syntax by the combination of a lexical root and a verbalizing head little *v*. In the spirit of Harley 1995, I will assume further, that there are three types of little *v* that correspond one-to-one to three basic types of events; that is, roots and little *v* combine syntactically to build event predicates. Arguments are licensed as participants or modifiers of the event; they are licensed either by the event predicate or via a specialized argument introducer (i.e., Voice or Appl). Besides these two ways of syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments, I assume, following Levin 1999, that a root can license an argument semantically as its complement.

1.2.1 Event introducers

An event predicate is built from the combination of a verbal functional head little *v* and a root. I propose that there are three sub-types or flavors of little *v* that correspond one-to-one to three different types of simple events (throughout the dissertation I will use the term *event* in a sense that covers also stative eventualities).

(15)	Three types of little <i>v</i>	Three types of simple events	Examples
	a. <i>v</i> DO	ACTIVITIES	<i>dance, sweep, run</i>
	b. <i>v</i> GO	CHANGES	<i>fall, go, die, grow</i> ¹
	c. <i>v</i> BE	STATES	<i>like, admire, lack</i>

The three types of little *v* are distinguished by the character of the event they introduce and by the type of arguments they license, as summarized in the table below.

(16) Properties of the three event introducers *v*

	<i>v</i> DO	<i>V</i> GO	<i>v</i> BE
character of event	dynamic, agentive	dynamic	stative
can take subject DP?	via Voice	no	yes (+root)
can take object DP?	yes (via root)	yes	yes
can embed a <i>v</i> P?	yes, all types	yes, <i>v</i> PBE	no
can embed a SC?	yes	yes	yes

The opposition between dynamic events and states groups *v*DO and *v*GO together as dynamic, and distinguishes *v*BE as the head that creates stative verbs. Within dynamic events, *v*DO creates activity verbs, where the root expresses some manner of acting. Typically, *v*DO combines with Voice as its complement; the Voice head licenses the external argument, interpreted as the “doer” of the activity.² On the basis of the lexical meaning of the root, an appropriate object DP can be licensed (e.g., a DP that names a surface for *sweep* and a DP that names a liquid for *drink*, as in *I swept the kitchen floor, I drank some wine*).

Predicates of change *v*GO (which include verbs of movement and “happening”) do not license an external argument neither directly nor indirectly via Voice. They typically express manners of non-volitional change and select for an object DP interpreted as the individual that undergoes the change (e.g., *fall* and *die*). Verbs built from the combination of a root and *v*GO are typically unaccusative. The event introducer *v*GO can also combine with predicates that express the end state that results from the change or the path along which the theme moves (see Jackendoff 1983, 1990).

Finally, *v*BE can combine with roots that express a state, and licenses a subject DP in its specifier (e.g., *matter* and Spanish *servir* ‘be useful’). Unaccusative existential verbs such as Spanish *faltar* ‘miss/lack’, *sobrar* ‘be extra’, *quedar* ‘be left’ are formed by the combination of the root with *v*BE and the selection of a complement DP (and a location). The structural representation of these types of events appears in §1.3.

¹ I refer here to intransitive, unaccusative *grow*, not the transitive activity verb *grow* as ‘cultivate’.

² Given that *v*DO is defined as ‘agentive’ in opposition to *v*GO, an alternative to consider would be that the external argument is licensed directly as a specifier of *v*DO rather than being licensed by Voice. I will continue to assume, however, that there are both *v*DO and Voice, and that the external argument is truly projected outside the verbal domain. The distinction between these two heads is of relevance for the discussion of ethical datives in §4.3. See Nash 2002 for discussion on Voice for accusative and ergative languages.

Besides simple dynamic or stative events, a sentence can express a *complex event*, that is, an event that consists of two sub-events. Complex or bi-eventive structures are obtained in this framework by the combination of two of the event predicates *vDO*, *vGO* or *vBE*.³

(17)	Possible combinations	Types of complex events	Examples
	a. <i>vDO</i> + <i>vDO</i>	CAUSATIVES	<i>make wash, make laugh</i>
	b. <i>vDO</i> + <i>vGO</i>	CAUSATIVES	<i>make grow, make fall</i>
	c. <i>vDO</i> + <i>vBE</i>	CAUSATIVES	<i>break, burn, close</i>
	d. <i>vGO</i> + <i>vBE</i>	INCHOATIVES	INTR. <i>break, burn, close</i>

In principle, dynamic *vDO* can embed an event of any of the three types. On the basis of the type of the embedded event, three kinds of causatives can be distinguished (17a-c). In Spanish, as in English, causatives that embed a dynamic event (*vDO* or *vGO*) are expressed by two separate verbs, the light verb *hacer* ‘make’ and the contentful main verb (17a-b). These types of causative predicates with *hacer* will not be discussed in this dissertation; their analysis within the framework presented here is left for future research.⁴ Unless otherwise stated, throughout the dissertation “causative” will refer to the causative configuration formed by *vDO* and a state, expressed by a single verb. The structural representation of causatives (17c) and inchoatives (17d) is presented in §1.3.

Two properties of causatives and inchoatives are crucial for the analysis of dative arguments as arguments introduced by an applicative head. First, there is no special predicate CAUSE: being causative is the property of the configuration as a whole. The meaning of causatives and inchoatives is the by-product of the syntactic configuration where a dynamic event projected as a *vDO* or *vGO* takes a stative *vBEP* as its complement. There is no theta-role “causer” either: an individual (or name of event) is interpreted as “causer” when it is licensed as the external argument of a *vDOP* in which there is no manner of acting specified, i.e., no lexical content, and *vDO* takes a *vP* as its complement. The second property concerns the relation between causatives and inchoatives. As the combination of predicates show, causatives do not include inchoatives; rather, they share the embedded stative event and differ in the type of the higher event. Under this view, only two event predicates are represented structurally in each case. The structure of causatives and inchoatives, and its consequences for the licensing of dative arguments are the focus of Chapter 3.

³ Arguably, *vBE* cannot embed anything dynamic, so **vBE* + *vDO* and **vBE* + *vGO* (events have to ‘become’ states before they can combine with *vBE*). Predicates of change can embed a final state, but not a dynamic event, therefore **vGO* + *vGO* and **vGO* + *vDO*. Complex events can also be built by an event predicate that embeds a small clause (SC). Some of these constructions are discussed in §3.3.

⁴ It is interesting to note that there is a contrast between the causatives in 17a and 17b with respect to the availability of dative case for the causee: while the causee of type 17a can appear in accusative or dative case, the causee in 17b (e.g., *make fall, make grow*) can only be accusative (see Strozer 1976 for data and discussion of the alternation accusative/dative with two-verb causatives of type 17a).

1.2.2 Argument introducers

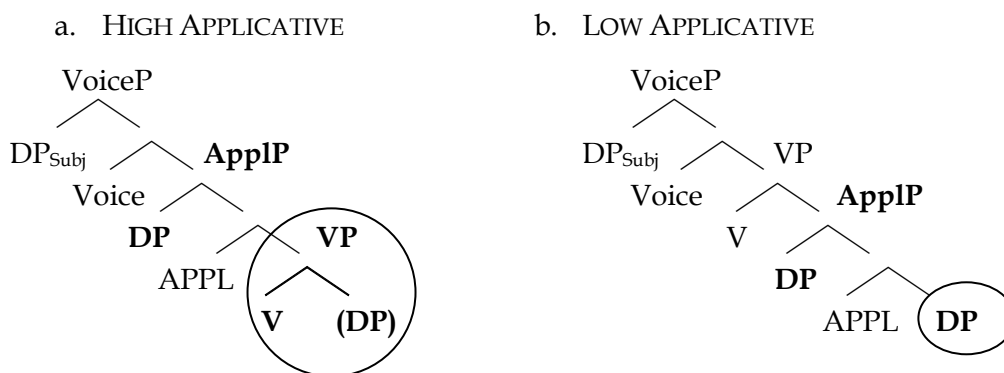
Besides event introducers, there are heads responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments that do not add an event predicate. Voice and Applicative correspond to this type. Argument introducers license an argument DP as their specifier and relate it to the configuration in which they appear. Voice relates the external argument (projected as its specifier) to the event described by the verbal phrase that Voice takes as its complement. Voice combines with its complement *vP* via a semantic rule called Event Identification and adds the external argument as a participant of the event (Kratzer 1996).

An applicative head is another type of syntactic head whose function is to license an argument DP. Building on work in Bantu linguistics on the contrastive properties of prepositional-type of applicatives that incorporate into the verb and verbal applicatives that take a VP as their complement, Pylkkänen (2002) argues that there are two different types of applicative heads that can be identified semantically and syntactically by the type of complement they take (see, among others, Baker 1988, 1996; Bresnan & Moshi 1993; Marantz 1984, 1993; Pesetsky 1995 and Pylkkänen 2001). Pylkkänen defines two distinct types of applicative heads, *high applicative* and *low applicative*, according to whether the applicative head relates the DP in its specifier to an event (a *vP*) or to an individual (the object DP).

High applicatives license the applied argument DP in a position external to the VP, in a manner that parallels the licensing of external arguments. Semantically, the applicative head combines with the complement *vP* as Voice combines with its complement *vP*, that is, the head adds a participant to the event by the rule Event Identification.

Low applicatives relate two individuals. A low applicative head takes an object DP as its complement, then it relates it to the DP licensed in its specifier. Finally, the applicative phrase, ApplP, combines with the verb. Pylkkänen analyzes the double object construction (DOC) as a low applicative construction. She argues that the low applicative head denotes a dynamic relation of transfer of possession where the higher DP can be either the recipient or the source of the lower theme DP. These two meanings correspond to two sub-types of low applicative heads, LowAppl-TO and called LowAppl-FROM, respectively.

(18) Structure of Pylkkänen's High and Low Applicatives



(19) Semantics of Pykkänen's High and Low Applicatives

a. **High Appl:** $\lambda x.\lambda e. \text{APPL}(e,x)$

b. **Low-Appl-TO** (Recipient applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e\langle s,t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e,x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e,x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x,y)$

Low-Appl-FROM (Source applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e\langle s,t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e,x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e,x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x,y)$

According to Pykkänen, these three kinds of applicative heads belong to a universal inventory of functional heads from which individual languages can select.

One of the central claims in this dissertation is that dative arguments are always licensed by an applicative head, never by the verb. Building on Pykkänen's distinction, I will show that applicative heads are sensitive not only to the category of their complements (i.e., whether they take a DP or a *v*P) but crucially also to 1) the position where the object DP is licensed (i.e., as a complement of the root or as a specifier), and 2) the type of event expressed by the *v*P (e.g., dynamic or stative, activity or causative). Furthermore, a third sub-type of low applicative, which expresses a *static* relation of possession between two individuals is introduced in §2.2.2.

Another characteristic of argument introducers is that they can be 'defective', i.e., the head can be present in the structure and license its semantics but not be able to license a DP in its specifier. This is the case of passive Voice or Spanish impersonal *se*, where it is understood that there is an agent of the event, but the agent cannot appear as an overt DP. I will argue, in §4.3, that Spanish ethical datives are cases of a defective applicative head in this sense: the applicative head is present (and is spelled out by a dative clitic), but cannot license a full dative DP in its specifier.

1.2.3 Roots

I assume, following H&K and Marantz 1997, that a verb is formed by the combination of a root and a verbal host (the verbalizing head *v*). In informal semantic terms, non-category-defined roots can express a property or state (e.g., *red-*, *wide-*, *open-*), a manner of acting or moving (e.g., *dance-*, *fall-*, *laugh-*) or a thing or substance (*air-*, *cat-*, *shelf-*). Depending on their meaning, some roots easily combine with a verbalizing head to express an event (e.g., *swim-*); others do not usually make verbs, but become nouns (e.g., *cat-*). The combination of a root with the three different types of *v* introduced in §1.2.1 is done on the basis of semantic compatibility between the lexical meaning of the root and the type of event little *v* expresses. Thus, for instance, a root like *dance-* is compatible only with a dynamic event *v*DO. In contrast, a root like *open-* is compatible with all three types of events and can therefore participate in activities combining with *v*DO (*I was opening beers all night*), in causative and inchoative constructions combining with *v*BE (*That experience opened my mind* and *The door opened*, respectively), and in events of change by combining with *v*GO (*That window doesn't open*). Although the meaning of the root *open-* is constant, the meaning of the verb *open* is

different in each case according to the type of event it describes. Arguments are licensed syntactically and semantically according to the type of verb formed (i.e., the type of event).

Verbs (*v*+Root) and the argument introducers Voice and Appl are not the only elements that can license an argument; roots also can. I follow Levin 1999 in assuming that roots can license an argument *semantically*, that is, a root can take a complement that is compatible with its lexical meaning but that is not required or licensed by the event structure expressed by the verb. This is the case of *the floor* in (20) and, in general, of all the objects of verbs that express activities, i.e., verbs that appear in a simple non-causative transitive structure (what Levin calls “non-core transitive verbs”, NCTV; see §1.3.1).

(20) *Leslie swept the floor* (Levin 1999)

The object of activity verbs has to be compatible with the meaning of the root. Objects that are not compatible with the meaning of the root can still appear as direct objects of an activity verb (21b) as long as they are licensed by a predicate other than the root or verb. Sentences (21c-d) illustrate that in (21b) it is the predicate *silly* rather than the root that licenses the reflexive *himself*, although it appears in the surface to be the direct object of *laugh*. In (21b), *himself* is licensed as the subject of the small clause which combines with the verb as its complement and is interpreted as a resultative.

- (21) a. *Sean laughed*
 b. *Sean laughed himself silly*
 c. **Sean laughed himself*
 d. **Sean laughed silly*

Arguments licensed by roots appear as complements of the root, but never as subjects. I assume that roots do not take subjects; subjects can only be projected by *words* (or predicates formed by more than one word) of a certain type, e.g., adjectives, stative predicative verbs.

1.3 Five types of events

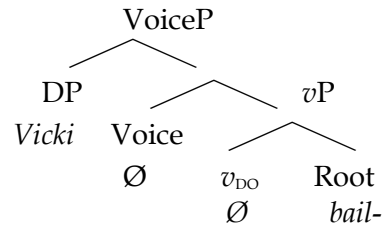
I present below the structural representation of the five types of events introduced in §1.2.1, on the basis of which predictions for the licensing of dative arguments will be made and tested. The structures are illustrated by Spanish sentences. Evidence for these structures will be presented throughout the dissertation. The first three types of events (activities, changes and states) are simple, mono-eventive structures. The two other types (causatives and inchoatives) are complex, bi-eventive structures.

1.3.1 Activities: *v*DO

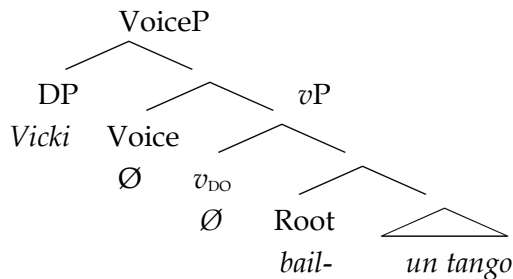
Activity verbs are formed by the combination of a root and *v*DO. The root is usually a manner root that describes the type of “doing” or activity. The functional head Voice takes the *v*P as its complement and projects a specifier, interpreted as the Agent (i.e., ‘doer’ of the activity).

The root, in virtue of its idiosyncratic meaning, can license an object DP that would be interpreted according to the meaning of the root in the context of *v*DO.

- (22) a. *Vicki bailó*
'Vicki danced'



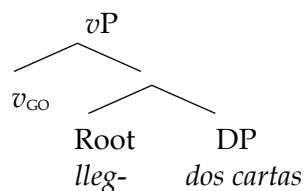
- b. *Vicki bailó un tango*
'Vicki danced a tango'



1.3.2 Predicates of change: *v*GO

Predicates of change are simple dynamic unaccusative verbs formed by the combination of a root and *v*GO. This type of predicate licenses *at least* an object DP, which is interpreted as the theme, i.e., the individual that moves or undergoes the change. I say *at least* because, semantically, predicates of change and movement license a theme and a state or path described by the movement or change (see Jackendoff 1983, 1990). Voice, and the projection of an external argument are semantically incompatible with simple predicates of change.

- (23) *Llegaron dos cartas*
arrived.PL two letters.NOM.PL
'Two letters arrived'

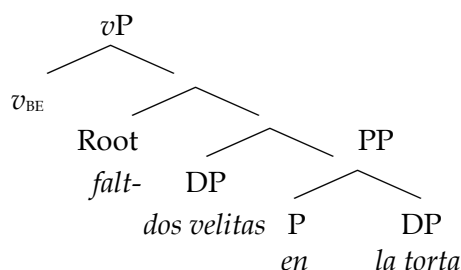


1.3.3 Statives: *v*BE

1.3.3.1 Existentials

An existential verb is formed by merging a root with *v*BE. These verbs typically take an object theme DP and a locative PP. Abstracting away from their stative character, the structure of existentials is similar to the structure of verbs of change (23). Existentials also form simple unaccusative verbs which are incompatible with an external argument licensed by Voice.

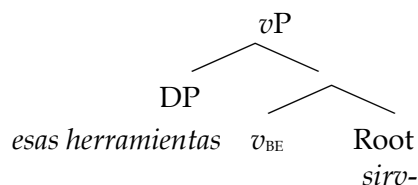
- (24) *Faltan dos velitas (en la torta)*
 lack.PL two little-candles.NOM.PL in the cake
 ‘Two birthday candles are missing from the cake’



1.3.3.2 Predicational

A predicative root (a root that expresses a property) can merge with *v*BE to form a stative verb. The verb thus formed projects a specifier where the DP is merged. These verbs are unaccusatives incompatible with Voice. A stative predicate can also be formed by combining a copular verb with an adjective.⁵

- (25) *Esas herramientas no sirven*
 those tools.NOM.PL not be-useful.PL
 ‘Those tools are not useful’



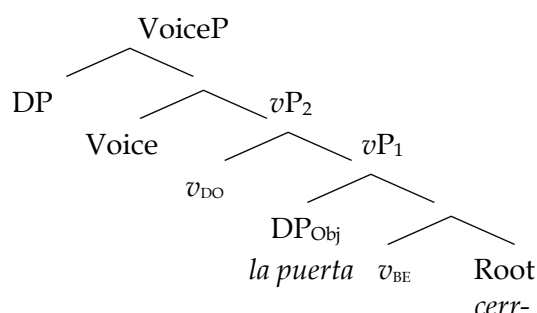
1.3.4 Causatives: *v*DO + *v*BE

Causatives are taken to be a particular kind of structure, not a particular kind of verb. The causative structure is built of two distinct verbal heads *v*: one corresponding to the causing

⁵ Here I am not taking into account transitive stative verbs such as *admire*, *love*, and *envy*. When the structure of these verbs becomes relevant, I will assume that their structure is similar to that of activities (§1.3.1) but where the *v*P is stative (i.e., headed by *v*BE rather than *v*DO).

event, and another corresponding to the caused event. The object DP is the subject of the end result: it is licensed as the specifier of the lower verb (see Levin 1999, Nash 2002 and §3.1 for discussion). The surface subject is the external argument licensed by Voice. In the absence of a manner root that combines with *v*DO (as in the case of activity verbs), the specifier of Voice is interpreted as causer ('doer' of an event). I assume that the causative reading does not arise from the presence of a special CAUSE head, but is the interpretation of the complex structure, of the configuration as a whole; that is, there is a causative reading when there is an event or result embedded under *v*DO.

- (26) *Vicki cerró la puerta*
 Vicki.NOM closed the door.ACC
 'Vicki closed the door'



One could wonder what evidence there is that the lower sub-event is headed by a verb, that is, what evidence there is for the presence of a little *v* rather than having just the root. Recall that in the system I am presenting, roots never take subjects, only words can (e.g., adjectives, and some verbs, some particles). Therefore, if there were not a *v* head in (26), something else would be required to account for this "special" case of a root taking a subject (a DP in its specifier). I will assume that there *is* a verb formed by *v*BE and the root in causative structures. In (26), the causative reading of *cerrar* arises as the reading of the two verbal heads and the root *cerr-*. The same holds for the inchoative structure presented below.

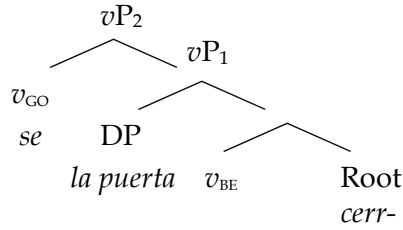
Roots that appear in a causative configuration can usually also appear as inchoatives, or as activities with an agent (human or anthropomorphized), as in the case of *open-* (in §1.2.3).

1.3.5 Inchoatives: *v*GO + *v*BE

Inchoatives correspond to a complex event, composed of a sub-event of change (*v*GO) and an end result (*v*BE). The root merges with the lower little *v* and licenses an argument DP in its specifier, exactly as in causatives. The stative *v*BEP then combines with the dynamic *v*GO, as its complement. In Spanish, *v*GO in this context (i.e., that takes a *v*BEP as its complement but does not combine with a root) is spelled out by a reflexive clitic that agrees with the DP argument in person and number.⁶

⁶ See Folli & Harley 2003 for a related proposal for some resultative constructions in Italian.

- (27) *Se cerró la puerta*
 CL.REF closed the door.NOM
 'The door closed'



Inchoatives share with causatives the structure of the lower sub-event (the argument DP is licensed as the specifier of the lower stative verb) and that both are bi-eventive. What is different between them is the type of the dynamic event that embeds the end result.

1.4 Possible dative arguments

The central claim of this dissertation is that dative arguments have structural meanings. Dative DPs are not licensed as arguments of the verb; they are licensed syntactically and semantically by a specialized head, the argument introducer Applicative. The variety of meanings dative arguments can have derives from the position of the dative DP in the structure in which it is licensed. In particular, I argue that variety of meanings depends on 1) what the complement of the applicative head is (i.e., whether the applicative head relates the dative DP to another DP or to a vP), and 2) what the applicative phrase is a complement of (i.e., whether it is a complement of a dynamic event predicate, a root, Voice or Tense).

Three main types of possible dative arguments are thus predicted. This means an addition of one type to Pylkkänen's (2002) high and low applicatives discussed in §1.2.2. The new type of applicative, which we will call Affected Applicative, is defined as an applicative that takes $vBEP$ as its complement and embeds under a dynamic event introducer, i.e., the ApplP is the complement of vDO or vGO .

- (28) Three distinct types of possible dative arguments licensed by Appl

	Low Appl	Affected Appl	High Appl
Complement of Appl is	DP	vP (SC)	vP
ApplP is complement of	root	dynamic v	nothing; Voice

Further distinctions in the interpretation of applied arguments arise when the distinction between types of applicatives is combined with the distinctions between types of event introducers v . In particular, dative arguments licensed by a high applicative have distinguishable meanings depending on whether the vP the applicative head takes as its complement is headed by vDO , vGO or vBE . Languages with high applicatives can differ with respect to which type of vP the applicative can take as its complement.

Affected applicatives can also vary in meaning depending on the type of the *vP* complement the applicative head takes. Although only the cases of applicatives that take a stative *vP* are discussed here, the approach also makes predictions for the syntax and semantics of applied arguments in causative constructions that consist of a higher *vDO* and an embedded dynamic event headed by *vDO* or *vGO* (e.g., *make somebody wash the car*, *make something grow*).

Low applicatives express a possession relation between two individuals. Pylkkänen argues that this relation is a dynamic and directional relation of transfer of possession by which the applied argument (here the dative DP) is interpreted as the recipient or the source of the theme DP. I argue that this relation is not necessarily dynamic, and that a low applicative can express a static relation between two individuals by which the dative DP is interpreted as the possessor of the theme. As we shall see, in languages with the three subtypes of low applicatives, whether a low applied argument is interpreted as the recipient, the source or the possessor of the theme depends in part on the meaning of the verb and in part on pragmatic factors.

1.4.1 Dative arguments in Spanish

Most of the data on which this study of possible meanings of dative arguments is developed comes from Spanish. Dative arguments in Spanish can appear in the context of all types of verbs and have many different meanings, as illustrated below. Spanish is therefore particularly challenging for a structural and systematic account of their syntactic licensing and interpretation.

(29) Directional ('to') transitive activity verbs \Rightarrow Recipient

- a. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT
'Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary'
- b. *Pablo le puso azúcar al mate*
Pablo CL.DAT put sugar the mate.DAT
'Pablo put sugar in the mate' (Lit. 'Pablo put the mate sugar')

(30) Creation verbs \Rightarrow Benefactive

- Pablo nos preparó sandwichitos de miga a todos*
Pablo CL.1.PL.DAT fixed tea sandwiches all.DAT
'Pablo fixed us all tea sandwiches'

(31) Directional ('from') transitive activity verbs \Rightarrow Source

- Pablo le sacó la bicicleta a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT took-away the bicycle Andreína.DAT
'Pablo took the bicycle from Andreína' (Lit. 'Pablo took away Andreína the bicycle')

- (32) Non-directional transitive activity verbs \Rightarrow Possessor

Pablo le lavó el auto a Valeria
Pablo CL.DAT washed the car Valeria.DAT
'Pablo washed Valeria's car' (Lit. 'Pablo washed Valeria the car')

- (33) Stative transitive verbs \Rightarrow Possessor

Pablo le admira la paciencia /la campera a Valeria
Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience /the jacket Valeria.DAT
'Pablo admires Valeria's patience/jacket' (Lit. 'P admires Valeria the patience/jacket')

- (34) Unaccusative verbs of change or movement \Rightarrow Location/Recipient

A Gabi le llegaron dos cartas de Londres
Gabi.DAT CL.DAT arrived.PL two letters from London
'Gabi got two letters from London' (Lit. 'To Gabi arrived two letters from London')

- (35) Causative verbs \Rightarrow Affected

Emilio le rompió la radio a Carolina
Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Carolina.DAT
'Emilio broke the radio on Carolina' (Lit. 'Emilio broke Carolina the radio')

- (36) Inchoative verbs \Rightarrow Affected

A Carolina se le rompió la radio
Carolina.DAT se CL.DAT broke the radio
'The radio broke on Carolina' (Lit. 'To Carolina broke the radio')

- (37) Unaccusative psychological predicates \Rightarrow Experiencer

A Daniela no le gustan los gatos
Daniela.DAT not CL.DAT like.PL the cats
'Daniela doesn't like cats' (Lit. 'To Daniela don't appeal the cats')

- (38) Unaccusative existentials \Rightarrow Possessor

A Laura le sobraron veinte pesos
Laura.DAT CL.DAT were-extra.PL twenty pesos
'Laura had twenty pesos left' (Lit. 'To Laura were extra twenty pesos')

- (39) Unergatives (intransitives) \Rightarrow Ethical dative (Benefactive/Malefactive)

- a. *Juanita ya le camina (*a Vicki)*
Juanita already CL.DAT walks Vicki.DAT
'Juanita can already walk on her/Vicki'
- b. *Mafalda no les toma la sopa (*a los padres)*
Mafalda not CL.PL.DAT drink the soup the parents.DAT
'Mafalda doesn't eat the soup on them/her parents'

1.4.2 Outline of the dissertation

Each type of applicative construction in (28) is the focus of one of the three core chapters. Chapter 2 analyzes the Spanish double object construction (DOC) in terms of the low applicative construction. Its syntactic and semantic properties are discussed, and contrasted with the properties of prepositional ditransitive constructions (PPD) and the DOC in English. A new sub-type of low applicative, the static Low Applicative-AT is introduced. I argue that the dative clitic is the morphological spell-out of the applicative head. This analysis provides an explanation of the obligatory character of clitic doubling of datives in Spanish. Chapter 3 discusses the structure of causative and inchoative predicates and the predictions that follow with respect to the licensing of dative arguments. It is shown that dative DPs in these configurations have syntactic and semantic properties that distinguish them both from low applicatives and from high applicatives. Predictions for dative arguments are generalized and tested for a series of similar constructions (e.g., resultatives, particle constructions). High applicatives in Spanish are the focus of Chapter 4. Dative subject experiencers are analyzed as high applicatives that embed a stative predicational *v*P. Their properties are contrasted with the properties of existential constructions. The structure and possible meanings of dative DPs with predicates of change (*v*GO) are discussed and analyzed in terms of the contrast between high and low applicatives. Ethical datives are accounted for as high applicatives that take a dynamic *v*DOP as its complement. It is argued that this type of high applicative is (syntactically) defective in Spanish, in the sense that the applicative head is present but does not license a full DP in its specifier.

The table below summarizes the possible types of dative arguments with reference to the section in which they are discussed. The example verbs are in English, but they stand for the corresponding Spanish verbs.

(40) Types of datives in Spanish

1stARG:	DP (LowAppl) §2			<i>v</i> P		
	Dynamic Relation		Static Rel.	Stative <i>v</i>		Dynamic <i>v</i>
	TO	FROM	AT	Embedded (AffAppl) §3	Non-embedded (HighAppl) §4	
Meaning <i>v</i>	Recipient	Source	Possessor	Affected	Experiencer	Benef/Malef
<i>v</i> DO	<i>send, bake</i> §2.2.1.1	<i>steal</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>wash</i> §2.2.2	<i>break</i> §3.1	---	<i>walk</i> §4.3
<i>v</i> GO	<i>arrive</i> §4.2.1	<i>escape</i>	<i>grow</i> §4.2	<i>break</i> Inch. §3.2	<i>happen, grow</i> §4.2	
<i>v</i> BE	<i>owe</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>save</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>envy</i> §2.2.2 <i>lack</i> §4.1.2	---	<i>like, seem</i> §4.1	---

Chapter 2. Datives in double object constructions

In this chapter, I analyze Spanish ditransitive constructions and I argue that the clitic-doubled ditransitive configuration is a double-object construction (DOC); that is, a low applicative construction. The Spanish DOC shares the fundamental syntactic property of the English DOC: the goal/recipient is structurally higher than the theme object. I show that the dative argument in the Spanish DOC can have three kinds of meanings: it can be a recipient, a source or a possessor. In other words, the Spanish DOC not only expresses a dynamic relation of transfer of possession between the two objects, it may express a static relation of possession as well. On this basis, I argue that a third kind of low applicative head should be added to the inventory of low applicatives introduced in §1.2.2, i.e., a low applicative head that relates the indirect object to the direct object as its (static) possessor.

After introducing the basic data on Spanish ditransitives and clitic doubling, in §2.0, I argue that clitic-doubled dative arguments are DPs, and not PPs and that the element *a* that precedes the dative argument is a case marker, rather than a true preposition. Following Demonte 1995 and Cuervo 2000, 2003, I show that the presence or absence of a clitic that doubles the indirect object in ditransitives correlates with systematic semantic and syntactic differences. In the non-doubled configuration, binding, weak crossover and scope indicate that the theme is higher than the goal *a*-DP. The same syntactic tests show that in the clitic-doubled configuration the dative is higher than the accusative theme.

These contrasts are accounted for by analyzing the alternates with and without clitic as corresponding to the two structures of the dative alternation. The structure with a clitic corresponds to the DOC, while a non-doubled indirect object is a prepositional phrase (a prepositional ditransitive, PPD). In the PPD, the goal is merged lower than the theme object, as the complement of the directional preposition *a*. In contrast to the PPD, in the DOC the dative is structurally higher than the theme object. Despite appearing linearly after the object, the dative c-commands the direct object, as revealed by binding, scope and weak crossover effects. These facts cannot be explained by a theory in which it is the clitic (and its position) that binds into the theme.

I assume Pylkkänen's analysis of the DOC as a low applicative construction, which incorporates important properties of the construction that had previously been distributed across diverse analyses. Under this view, the dative is not an argument of the verb; rather, the dative argument is introduced by a specialized head, an applicative head, which merges below the verb and relates the dative to the direct object. The applicative head is responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of the dative argument. In Spanish, I argue, the head assigns inherent dative case to the argument it licenses, and the dative clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head. That is, the clitic spells out the person and number features of the DP licensed by the head in its specifier position. This analysis has welcome consequences for the nature of clitic doubling. It follows that whenever there is a dative argument in Spanish, there is a clitic that doubles it. In other words, if there is no clitic, there is no dative

argument, but a PP introduced by the preposition *a*. Therefore, I not only show that doubling of datives is obligatory in Spanish, contrary to the widely held view that doubling is optional in certain cases, but also provide an explanation for this fact.

In § 2.2 I analyze the kinds of meanings that the Spanish DOC can have and propose that a low applicative can also establish a static possessive relation between two entities, adding a new type of low applicative head (an ‘at’ head) to the inventory of two dynamic low applicative heads proposed by Pylkkänen for recipient and source DOCs (the ‘to’ head and the ‘from’ head). The static low applicative is compatible with verbs that do not imply any directionality, both activity and stative verbs. I argue that the analysis of possessor datives as static low applicatives has empirical and theoretical advantages over previous approaches.

The table below illustrates the possible combinations of the three low applicatives with the different types of verbs as classified by the three types of little *v* described in §1.2.1. The shaded areas indicate the types of low applicatives discussed in this chapter.

	Low Applicatives		
Type of possessive relation:	Dynamic		Static
	TO	FROM	AT
<div> <div>Meaning of Dative</div> <div>Type of Verb</div> </div>	Recipient	Source	Possessor
<i>v</i> DO	<i>send, bake</i> §2.2.1.1	<i>steal</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>wash</i> §2.2.2.2
<i>v</i> GO	<i>arrive</i>	<i>escape</i>	<i>grow</i>
<i>v</i> BE	<i>owe</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>save</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>envy</i> §2.2.2.1

I argue that while it is not possible to know *a priori* which of the three kinds of low applicative heads a language will have, and therefore what kinds of verbs the DOC will be compatible with, there is a structural requirement on the type of objects to which a low applicative can apply. A low applicative head can only take objects licensed below the verb, as complements of the root. The root can form a transitive or unaccusative verb; that is, there must be an object DP, but a structure with an external argument is not required. It will later be shown (Chapter 3) that this requirement prevents low applicatives from applying to objects in the context of causative and inchoative verbs, since these objects are licensed as the subject (specifier) of the lower verbal projection.

I analyze the Spanish ditransitive dative construction in detail, and I show that it exhibits many of the fundamental properties that have been described for the well-studied DOC in English. The crosslinguistic contrasts are derived from either differences in morphosyntactic properties (e.g. Case and related phenomena) or from the two kinds of meanings that Spanish datives in the DOC can have but English’s first objects normally cannot: source and possessor. Together with the detailed structural requirement for low applicatives, the basis

for an explicit and detailed theory of possible crosslinguistic variation in DOCs is developed.

2.0.1 Basic data

Indirect objects in Spanish appear in dative case preceded by the morpheme *a*, as the second object with ditransitive verbs or as the only overt object with some verbs that can alternate between taking an overt direct object or not (such as *gritar* ‘shout’, *pegar* ‘hit’, etc.).

- (1) *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT
‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary’
- (2) *Pablo le gritó (la respuesta) a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT shouted the answer Gabi.DAT
‘Pablo shouted the answer at Gabi’

A dative clitic preceding the verb marks the person and number features of the dative argument: *me*, *te*, *le*, *nos* and *les* correspond to first, second and third person singular, first plural, and second and third plural respectively¹. Drawing from examples such as (3), it has been observed, and it is widely held, that dative arguments are optionally doubled by a dative clitic.

- (3) *Pablo (le) mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary to Gabi
‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary’

This optionality of dative clitic-doubling is surprising, however. Intralinguistically, it contrasts, on one hand, with restrictions on the doubling of accusative arguments (Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988, Torrego 1998, among others) and, on the other, with the obligatoriness of doubling of dative arguments other than dative goals in ditransitives.

2.0.2 Clitic doubling of accusatives

Clitic doubling of accusative arguments in Spanish is sometimes obligatory and sometimes ungrammatical. Varieties of Spanish usually display the same context of obligatory doubling (i.e., pronominal object DPs); some of the dialectal variation arises in dialects that allow more doubling than others. As observed by Suñer 1988, however, even in “doubling dialects”, doubling of accusative arguments is restricted by features of the argument. The following examples show restrictions of specificity (4), animacy (5), and word order (6).

¹ Only third person *le* and *les* have a form different from the accusative and reflexive clitics. *Me*, *te* and *nos* are the form of dative, accusative and reflexive clitics. In some areas of Spain *os* is the second person plural form. Throughout the dissertation, only first or second person will be glossed for the clitic; third person clitics will be marked only as clitic and case, as in (1).

- (4) a. (**La*) *invitó* *a una cantante*
 CL.ACC.FEM invited.3.SG a singer.ACC.FEM
 ‘S/he invited a singer’
- b. (*La*) *invitó* *a la cantante*
 CL.ACC.FEM invited.3.SG the singer.ACC.FEM
 ‘S/he invited the singer’
- (5) a. (**La*) *dibujó* *la manzana* *ayer*
 CL.ACC.FEM drew.3.SG the apple.ACC.FEM yesterday
 ‘S/he drew the apple yesterday’
- b. (*La*) *dibujó* *a María* *ayer*
 CL.ACC.FEM drew.3.SG María.ACC.FEM yesterday
 ‘S/he drew María yesterday’
- (6) a. (**La*) *comió* *la manzana* *ayer*
 CL.ACC.FEM ate.3.SG the apple.ACC.FEM yesterday
 ‘S/he ate the apple yesterday’
- b. *La manzana* **(la)* *comió* *ayer*
 the apple.ACC.FEM CL.ACC.FEM ate.3.SG yesterday
 ‘The apple, s/he ate it yesterday’

In most dialects of Spanish, all the a. sentences above (4-6) are ungrammatical if said with normal intonation. In ‘doubling varieties’, e.g. River Plate or Porteño Spanish, only (4a) is completely ungrammatical; that is, it is possible to double inanimate objects as long as they are specific. The three a. sentences are grammatical, in all dialects, if there is no clitic doubling. As we see, doubling of accusatives requires a specific (generally) animate object DP. Specific topics, even if inanimate can – in fact, must – be doubled by a clitic (6b).

The apparent correlation between the presence of the so-called personal *a* before the accusative DP, and clitic doubling, as illustrated by the contrast in (5a)-(5b), was used by Kayne 1975 to argue that clitics absorb case, and therefore the presence of the preposition *a*, a case assigner, is required. This is usually known as Kayne’s (or Jaeggli’s) generalization.

The correlation, however, does not really hold. As shown by Suñer 1988, there are cases of *a*-DPs in which doubling is neither required nor forbidden (5b), cases where an *a*-DP cannot be doubled (7 below), and, importantly, cases of doubled accusative DPs that are not preceded by *a*, (6b) and (7b).

- (7) a. (**La*) *buscaban* *a alguien* *que los* *ayudara*
 CL.ACC searched-for.3.PL somebody.ACC that them.ACC.MASC would-help
 ‘They were looking for somebody who could help them’

- b. Yo *lo* voy a comprar *el diario* justo antes de subir
 I CL.ACC am-going to buy the newspaper.ACC just before of come-up
 'I am going to buy (it) the newspaper just before coming up' (Suñer 1988)

Suñer shows, then, that the (accusative) particle *a* is not a case assigner, and that clitics are not case absorbers, but a form of object agreement. In spite of the evidence, Kayne's generalization has somehow survived as a valid claim about Romance languages, and has been extended by some authors to Spanish datives (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2002), which are always preceded by *a*, and can be doubled by a clitic.

Still, there could be a difference in the status of *a* in datives and accusatives, as there is a difference between the possibility (and requirements) of doubling of datives and accusatives. The two related questions are: 1) are dative arguments DPs or PPs?, and 2) is dative *a* a preposition/case assigner that is causally related to clitic doubling? Only after answering these empirical questions can we seek a principled account of the facts. We will see that the little evidence that has been advanced to support the ideas that dative *a* is a preposition/case assigner, and that datives are PPs does not withstand scrutiny, and that several authors have already convincingly shown that datives are DPs, not PPs. I will further provide an account of clitic doubling in structural terms that denies a causal relation between doubling and the presence of *a*.

2.0.3 *a*-Datives are DPs

Spanish dative arguments are always preceded by *a*, regardless of the animacy or specificity of the argument.

- (8) a. Hugo (*le*) devolvió los libros *(*a*) Juana / *(*a*) la biblioteca
 Hugo CL returned the books Juana.DAT / the library.DAT
 'Hugo returned the books to Juana/ the library'
- b. Hugo (*le*) quiere devolver los libros *(*a*) la bibliotecaria / *(*a*) una bibliotecaria
 Hugo CL wants to-return the books the librarian.DAT / a librarian.DAT
 'Hugo wants to return the books to the librarian / a librarian'

Strozer 1976 presents several arguments that datives are DPs (called NPs by her, as was standard at that time) and not PPs. She shows that dative *a*-phrases (as well as accusative *a*-DPs) differ from PPs in several ways, and that therefore the burden of proof should be on those who claim that datives are PPs. Among her arguments, she notes that dative *a*-phrases can have an anaphoric relation with a clitic, which in Spanish is impossible for ordinary prepositional phrases, including directional *a* or *a* lexically required by a verb (all the sentences from Strozer 1976: 76-93).

- (9) a. El policía *le* asustaba *a ella*
 the police CL.DAT frightened her.DAT

'The police was frightening to her'

- b. *Nada (*le) funciona sin ella*
nothing CL.DAT works without her
'Nothing works without her'
- c. *Juan (*le) fue de compras a París*
Juan CL.DAT went of purchases to Paris
'Juan went shopping to Paris'
- d. *Luis (*le) renunció a ella*
Juan CL.DAT renounced to her
'Luis renounced her'

Strozer also observes that pronominal indirect object phrases marked for gender (e.g. *a ella* 'her', *a él* 'him'), like pronominal direct object NPs, can only refer to animates and "are not admissible if inanimate", (10a). In contrast to pronominal datives, pronouns with PPs in general (10b) and with *a*-PPs (10c) do not fall under this restriction.

- (10)
- a. *Le pasé la franela a la mesa / *a ella*
'I passed the flannel cloth over the table / it'
 - b. *Lola limpió la mesa con la franela / con ella*
'Lola cleaned the table with the flannel cloth / it'
 - c. *Luis renunció a la lucha / a ella*
'Luis renounced the struggle / it'

Given the evidence that dative *a* phrases differ from the behaviour of PPs in general, and from directional and lexically selected *a*-PPs, Strozer concludes that dative *a*-phrases, as well as accusative *a*-phrases are DPs.²

2.0.4 Dative *a* is not a preposition

Jaeggli 1982, however, argues that the lexical item *a* that appears before indirect objects in Romance is in some languages a realization of dative case, that is, a case marker, while it is a preposition in others. He argues that while *à* is a case marker in French, *a* is a preposition in Spanish. As evidence for his claim, he cites Vergnaud's 1974 arguments for the status of French indirect objects as NPs rather than PPs. One of the tests involves the possibility of omission of the preposition in coordination. While the complement of a preposition can be a coordination of two DPs, this is not the case with dative *à*-phrases, as illustrated below

² There are other functional uses of *a*, for which *a* would be called complementizer in current theory, as illustrated below.

(i) *Empezamos a cantar*
'We started COMP to-sing'

(Jaeggli 1982, from Vergnaud 1974).

- (11) a. **Ils ont parlé à [Marie et le directeur]*
'They talked to Mary and the director'
b. *Ils ont parlé [à Marie] et [au directeur]*
'They talked to Mary and to the director' (*au* = *à+le*)

Jaeggli, assuming that the contrast in French would be directly reproducible in Spanish, claims that Spanish *a* can take a coordination of DPs as its complement (12), in contrast with French, which requires *à* for each phrase (11).

- (12) *Les compraron una casa a {María y el director}*
'They bought a house for María and the director'

Jaeggli concludes that Spanish *a* is a preposition that assigns case to the dative DP. His conclusion, however, does not seem fully justified.³ First, without disputing the acceptability of sentence (12), if the DPs are reversed, a highly degraded (if not ungrammatical) sentence arises.⁴

- (13) */??*Les compraron una casa al director y María*
'They bought a house for the director and María' (*al* = *a+el*)

Second, the possibility of having one or two instances of *a* is generally available when it is a directional preposition.

- (14) *El año pasado, Pablo viajó a Francia y (a) España*
'Last year, Pablo traveled to France and (to) Spain'

In contrast, use of only one *a* in coordinated datives is highly restricted. In both (12) and (15) the single theme is distributed among both recipients: there is one house bought in (12) and one present in (15).

- (15) *Pablo les compró un regalo [a [Valeria y Emilio]]*

³ His second piece of evidence has to do with a comparison of French and Spanish ordering of datives in the *faire-causative* construction. Oddly, Jaeggli compares a French dative (*téléphoner à ses parents* 'call his parents') to Spanish *llamar a sus padres*, in which *a sus padres* is an accusative direct object, not dative.

⁴ It might be that in (12), the second conjunct may be interpreted as having not just the determiner *el* but the contracted form *al* (the contraction of *a+determiner el*), a difference too small to notice. One of my consultants says that while he would be ready to use only one dative *a* in some cases when talking, he would always write two. It is important to note that this does not seem a case of prescriptivism, since there are usually no rules about this issue taught in school, or given in writing manuals or prescriptive grammars.

Pablo CL.DAT.PL bought a present [Valeria and Emilio].DAT
 'Pablo bought Valeria and Emilio a present'
 ⇒ a single present shared by both

This is confirmed by the following example, in which pragmatics excludes the possibility of there being only one kiss.

- (16) a. #*Pablo les dió un beso a Valeria y la hija*
 Pablo CL.DAT.PL gave a kiss [Valeria and the daughter].DAT
 b. *Pablo les dió un beso a Valeria y a la hija*
 Pablo CL.DAT.PL gave a kiss Valeria.DAT and the daughter.DAT
 'Pablo gave Valeria and her daughter a kiss'

One context that facilitates the use of only one *a* (in both dative and accusative functions) is when the names of a couple are coordinated.

- (17) *Gabi les mandó una carta a Vicky y (a) Hugo*
 Gabi CL.DAT.PL sent a letter Vicky and Hugo
 'Gabi sent Vicky and Hugo a letter'

Interestingly, this is only possible when the names are in their usual order; the names of two people in a couple tend to be used in a fixed order, and it is only in that order that omission becomes more acceptable. My friends Vicky and Hugo are always named in that order, from which the contrasting judgments of optionality of *a* in (17) and (18) seem to arise.

- (18) *Gabi les mandó una carta a Hugo y *(a) Vicky*
 Gabi CL.DAT.PL sent a letter Hugo and Vicky
 'Gabi sent Hugo and Vicky a letter'

Use of only one *a* becomes preferable in the case of famous couples, as illustrated bellow. If *a* is used before each name, the salient reading is that there were two letters sent, one to Simon and another to Garfunkel.

- (19) *Susana les mandó una carta a Simon y Garfunkel*
 Susana CL.DAT.PL sent a letter Simon and Garfunkel
 'Susana sent Simon & Garfunkel a letter'

Even if in the case of coordination, dative *a* behaved as the preposition and/or the complementizer *a*, their identical status does not follow automatically. In many languages, for instance, both case markers and adpositions can take coordinated NPs or DPs (e.g. Japanese case markers *-o* and *-ga*, as well as postposition *-e*, appear only once at the end of the coordinated phrase, Shinichiro Ishihara, p.c.).

As mentioned above, the coordination facts surrounding animate accusative *a* parallel

those of dative *a*.⁵

- (20) a. ¿(los) viste *a* Vicky y (a) Hugo?
 CL.ACC.PL you-saw Vicky.ACC and Hugo.ACC
 'Have you seen Vicky and Hugo?'
 b. ¿(los) viste *a* Hugo y *(a) Vicky
 CL.ACC.PL you-saw Hugo.ACC and Vicky.ACC
 'Have you seen Hugo and Vicky?'

Given these facts, if one argues that the acceptability of coordinated dative DPs with a single *a* in (12) and (17) is evidence for the PP status of dative arguments, one would be pressed to say that accusative *a*-phrases are prepositional as well.

There have been diverse approaches to accusative *a* that either argue or assume that accusative *a* is not a preposition, and that accusative *a*-phrases are not PPs but DPs.⁶ Several authors (e.g., Strozer 1976, Suñer 1988) have used the similar behavior of dative and accusative *a*-phrases (and the contrasts with uncontroversial PPs) to extend the arguments concerning accusatives to datives. As far as I know, nobody has presented compelling evidence that accusative *a*-phrases are DPs while datives are prepositional, after Suñer's evidence against Jaeggli's proposal in that respect.

The ability of Spanish *a* to function as either a preposition, a case marker or a complementizer is not an isolated phenomenon. Miyagawa 1997 argues that Japanese *ni* exhibits a similar ambiguity between being a (directional) postposition and a dative case marker. Anagnostopoulou 2002 makes similar claims with respect to Greek *se*. Nor is having the same marker for dative and accusative an exclusive trait of Spanish, either. In Hindi (Rajesh Bhatt, p.c.), the dative case marker *ko* is used also for accusatives, interestingly, when the DP is animate and specific. These crosslinguistic facts suggest that ambiguity of prepositional-like elements is not uncommon.

I will henceforth assume that dative *a*-phrases are DPs, not PPs, and that *a* in a (clitic-doubled) dative is a case marker, while it is a contentfull preposition when it provides a directional meaning.

⁵ The ungrammaticality of omission of *a* in coordination of pronominal arguments is general for accusative, dative or prepositional *a*.

- (i) a. *Nos llamó a vos y *(a) mí* Accusative
 'He called you and me'
 b. *Nos sonrió a vos y *(a) mí* Dative
 'He called you and me'
 c. *Renunció a vos y *(a) mí* Selected preposition
 'He renounced you and me'

⁶ See Torrego 1998, 1999 and Richards 2002 for alternative views on the role of accusative *a*.

2.0.5 Clitic doubling of datives

Clitic doubling of dative arguments, in contrast to doubling of accusatives, is not restricted by the position of the argument, nor by animacy, specificity or definiteness. As Suñer observes, the only restriction on dative doubling concerns unqualified bare nouns, for which doubling is ungrammatical.^{7,8}

- (21) (**les*) *donaré* *todos mis bienes* *a museos*
CL.DAT.PL will-donate.1SG all my belongings to museums
'I will donate all my possessions to museums' (Suñer 1988:395, fn 6)

Doubling in (21) becomes acceptable if *museos* is qualified (22a), or the argument is otherwise made phonologically heavier (22b).

- (22) a. *(les) donaré todos mis bienes a museos locales*
CL.DAT.PL will-donate.1.SG all my belongings to museums local
'I will donate all my possessions to local museums'
- b. *(les) donaré todos mis bienes a museos y bibliotecas*
CL.DAT.PL will-donate.1.SG all my belongings to museums and libraries
'I will donate all my possessions to museums and libraries'

Although optional clitic doubling of datives has sometimes been presented as a general phenomenon, the optionality of doubling a dative argument (specifically, the option *not* to double one) is restricted to non-pronominal dative goals with ditransitive predicates, as exemplified above. However, as noted by several researchers (Strozer 1976, Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Bruhn de Garavito 2000, Cuervo 2003a) clitic doubling is in fact obligatory for all other cases of dative arguments, i.e. datives with other kind of predicates. This is illustrated below for psychological predicates (23a), *se*-inchoatives (23b), two-argument unergatives (24), and for possessor datives (25a-b). Doubling is also obligatory for benefactive datives with transitive predicates (26).

- (23) a. *A Laura* **(le)* *gustan* *las empanadas*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT like.3.PL the empanadas.NOM
 ‘Laura likes empanadas’
- b. *A ningún libro* *se* **(le)* *salieron* *las tapas*
 No book.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT came-off.3.PL the covers.NOM

⁷ In all cases in which clitic doubling is obligatory (see below), there is no grammatical “option” with a bare noun phrase dative; the sentence is just impossible with or without clitic.

(i) *¿Les gustará la película a chicos?
CL.DAT.PL will-like.3SG the movie kids
'Will children like the movie?'

⁸ Throughout the dissertation, glosses and translations have been adapted for consistency.

‘No book’s cover came off’

- (24) a. *Andrea* **(les)* *gritó* *a unos gatos*
Andrea.NOM CL.DAT shouted some cats.DAT
‘Andrea shouted at some cats’
- b. *Andrea* **(les)* *habla hasta a las paredes*
Andrea.NOM CL.DAT talks even the walls.DAT
‘Andrea talks all the time/would talk with anyone’
- (25) a. *Hugo* **(le)* *lavó* *el babero a Juana*
Hugo.NOM CL.DAT washed the bib Juana.DAT
‘Hugo washed Juana’s bib’
- b. *A Hugo* **(le)* *picaban* *las manos*
Hugo.DAT CL.DAT itched.3.PL the hands.NOM
‘Hugo’s hands were itching’
- (26) a. *Carlos* **(les)* *construyó una casa a los suegros*
Carlos.NOM CL.DAT built a house his parents-in-law.DAT
‘Carlos built his parents-in-law a house’
- b. *¿A quién* **(le)* *construyó una casa Carlos?*
whom.DAT CL.DAT built a house Carlos.NOM
‘Who did Carlos build a house for?’

The sentences above show that doubling of the dative argument is obligatory irrespective of word order, applying to pre-verbal datives, (23) and (25b), as well as to post-verbal datives, as in (24). Doubling is obligatory for negatively quantified datives (23b), indefinite datives (24a), inanimate datives (24b) and *wh*-datives (25b).⁹

Strozer 1976 argues for a correlation between clitic doubling and the type of indirect object. She claims that there are two kinds of indirect objects (dative arguments), which she labels IND₁ and IND₂. IND₁ are “ordinary goals” and can only appear with verbs of transfer, e.g. *give*, *sell*, *lend*. IND₂ would be “involved goals”, which can have different meanings in different verbal contexts. One of the syntactic contrasts between these two kinds of indirect objects is that while clitic doubling of IND₁ is optional, clitic doubling of IND₂ is obligatory.

- (27) IND₁ [+TRANSFER]: optional doubling
IND₂ [-TRANSFER]: obligatory doubling

She notes that most verbs that can take IND₁ can also take IND₂, but not vice versa. The

⁹ See also the data presented in §1.4.1.

choice of one or the other “depends on the lexical properties of the verb in a particular construction.” Interestingly, she observes (Strozer 1976: 555-557) that the presence or absence of the clitic with verbs that could take either IND₁ or IND₂ seems to correlate with the dative alternation in English. She notes that matters are obscured in Spanish by clitic doubling and more flexible word order, and leaves the matter for further research.

Masullo 1992 was, to the best of my knowledge, the first to argue for a tight link between clitic doubling and dative case in Spanish. He claimed that “where the clitic can be omitted there is actually no indirect object (more precisely, no dative-marked NP), but a PP introduced by a content preposition.” (Masullo 1992:60). He develops an account of Spanish dative arguments by which datives are the result of incorporation of some element (a preposition, a noun, etc.) into the verb. Structures with a dative argument are predicted to have a non-incorporated alternate, where there is no clitic. In the case of alternates to preposition incorporation, for instance, the configuration with no clitic is the unincorporated structure which requires a contentful preposition: *en*, *para*, *de*, etc. The relationship between sentences a. and b. in (29)-(31) is parallel to the relationship between a. and b. in (28), with a transfer predicate.

- (28) a. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT
‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary’
- b. *Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi
‘Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi’
- (29) a. *Pablo le puso azúcar al mate*
Pablo CL.DAT put sugar the mate.DAT
‘Pablo put sugar in the mate’
- b. *Pablo puso azúcar en el mate*
Pablo put sugar in the mate
‘Pablo put sugar in the mate’
- (30) a. *Pablo le cocinó una torta a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT baked a cake Andreína.DAT
‘Pablo baked Andreína a cake’
- b. *Pablo cocinó una torta para Andreína*
Pablo baked a cake for Andreína
‘Pablo baked a cake for Andreína’
- (31) a. *Pablo le lavó la bicicleta a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the bicycle Andreína.DAT
‘Pablo washed Andreína’s bicycle’

- b. *Pablo lavó la bicicleta de Andreína*
 Pablo washed the bicycle of Andreína
 ‘Pablo washed Andreína’s bicycle’

The parallelism is obscured by the fact that in (28) the same morpheme *a* participates in both constructions. Masullo assumes that *a* is a case marker in (28a), but a content preposition in (28b). His claim amounts to saying that clitic doubling of datives is always obligatory: whenever there is a dative argument, there is clitic doubling; if there is no clitic doubling, there is no dative. This position has been further argued for by Demonte 1995, Bruhn de Garavito 2000 and Cuervo 2000, 2003. The argument opens the possibility of an explanation of doubling and its –apparent– optionality. The explanation, however, does not follow automatically. It crucially depends on the theory of how dative arguments are licensed and what the role of the clitic is. In Masullo’s incorporation approach, for instance, it is not possible to account for the licensing and doubling of all instances of datives in a fully unified way. As he acknowledges himself, there are some datives that are hardly accountable for in terms of incorporation, e.g. there is no non-incorporated variant for *Le gané el partido a Pedro* ‘I beat Pedro at the game’, *Eso le ahorrará dinero* ‘That will save him money’ or *Le saqué el chupete a Juanita* ‘I took the pacifier away from Juanita’. The lack of non-incorporated equivalent of the clitic-doubled construction is general for all datives interpreted as source (the low applicative-FROM discussed in §2.2.1.2), a generalization that his analysis cannot capture. His assumption that the alternates are thematic variants, i.e., that they share the same meanings, is also problematic, as we shall see in §2.2.

Demonte 1995 convincingly argues, through a series of syntactic tests, that the alternation exhibited in (28)-(31) is the form the dative alternation takes in Spanish. It is not clear, however, how her derivational approach to the DOC could be extended to account for the syntactic licensing and interpretation of other dative arguments, e.g. datives with psychological predicates, inchoatives, existentials, unergatives, etc. (see §1.4.1 for examples). As in Masullo 1992, the meaning of the dative argument does not derive from the position in which the dative argument is licensed, so there are no predictions concerning their possible meanings. Demonte’s analysis shares with other derivational approaches the problem of accounting for differences in meaning between the prepositional and the dative variants.¹⁰ With respect to clitic doubling, both the incorporation and the derivational approaches just push the problem of optionality of clitic doubling to the optionality of the transformation.

I develop in this chapter an approach to the dative alternation that can account for the presence of the dative clitic in a simple and systematic way. I will show that the configurations with clitic doubling differ from the configurations with a contentful preposition in a series of syntactic properties. I will further show that there are also systematic differences in the semantics of the two constructions. On the basis of these syntactic and semantic differences, I will argue that the two configurations indeed

¹⁰ See §2.2.2.3 for discussion of previous approaches to possessor datives, as that in (31).

correspond to two distinct argument structures which are not derivationally related.¹¹ The dative argument (clitic-doubled) is licensed by low applicative head; the clitic is the morphological spell-out of the licensing head. The obligatoriness of clitic doubling is thus explained on the basis of two factors: the obligatory co-occurrence of a dative argument and a dative clitic, and the fact that there is no true optionality between the configuration with a clitic and the configuration with a preposition.

The analysis I develop has two main advantages over previous approaches. First, it shows in a principled way that there is no optionality of dative clitic doubling, not even in ditransitives; that is, it offers an explanation of the presence of the clitic. Second, the licensing and doubling of datives in ditransitives is extended to account for the –similarities and contrasts– in the licensing and doubling of dative arguments in other configurations, as we shall see in the next chapters. In other words, the analysis builds a principled, unified approach that is able to account for the somewhat varied syntactic and semantic characteristics of dative arguments while still having restrictive and predictive power.

2.1 The dative alternation in Spanish: datives and PPs

2.1.1 Structures

As stated above, the optionality of the clitic in a sentence like (32) is only apparent. If this is so, we expect to find other contrasts between the sentence with a clitic and the sentence without it.

- (32) *Pablo (le) mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary (to/DAT) Gabi
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary’

If we replace the goal *a Gabi* in (32) with a name of a place, like *a Barcelona* ‘to Barcelona’, clitic-doubling is no longer possible.

- (33) a. *Pablo envió un diccionario a Barcelona*
 Pablo sent a dictionary to Barcelona
 ‘Pablo sent a dictionary to Barcelona’
 b. **Pablo le envió un diccionario a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Barcelona.DAT
 ‘Pablo sent Barcelona a dictionary’

The restriction, however, cannot be described as a restriction on doubling of inanimate datives, since, as we have seen in (23b) and (24b), inanimate objects can be clitic-doubled dative arguments in Spanish (these restrictions are further discussed in §2.3.3.1). A better

¹¹ Here I follow my argumentation in Cuervo 2003a.

parallel for the facts is the restriction on pure locative goals in the English DOC.

- (34) a. *I sent the book to Daniel / to London*
 b. *I sent Daniel / *London the book*

Another suggestive contrast arises when a locative phrase is added to the two structures. If a locative is added to the structure with dative clitic, the sentence is perfectly acceptable (35a). In contrast, a locative added to the structure without a clitic is seriously degraded.¹²

- (35) a. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT to Barcelona
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary to Barcelona’
 b. *??/*Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona*
 Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi to Barcelona
 ‘Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi in Barcelona’

Once again, this contrast parallels a similar contrast in English and Japanese, where double-objects behave like the clitic-doubled Spanish sentence, and the ‘dative-PP’ parallels the sentence without clitic with respect to the effects of adding a locative PP.

- (36) a. *Stephanie sent Daniel a letter to his office*
 b. **Stephanie sent a letter to Daniel to his office*

In Japanese, the morpheme *ni* is ambiguous between a dative case marker and a postposition with directional meaning (Miyagawa 1997), which parallels the ambiguity of Spanish *a*. Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2002 show that a sentence with two *ni*-phrases is only acceptable if the first *ni*-phrase is a ‘high goal’, i.e. a dative, and the second a *ni*-headed directional PP, as in (37a). They show that if the pure locative *Tokyo-ni* or the theme *tegami-o* appear before *John-ni*, as in (37b) and (37c), respectively, *John-ni* can only be another locative, which makes the sentence ungrammatical.

- (37) a. *Mary-ga John-ni Tokyo-ni tegami-o okutta*
 Mary.NOM John.DAT Tokyo.to letter.ACC sent
 ‘Mary sent John a letter to Tokyo’
 b. **Mary-ga Tokyo-ni John-ni tegami-o okutta*
 Mary.NOM Tokyo.to John.to letter.ACC sent

¹² An even sharper contrast arises if the direct object is replaced by a clitic (the dative clitic *le* surfaces as *se* in the context of an accusative clitic).

- (i) a. *Pablo se lo mandó a Gabi a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.DAT CL.ACC sent Gabi.DAT to Barcelona
 b. **Pablo lo mandó a Gabi a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.ACC sent to Gabi to Barcelona

- c. **Mary-ga tegami-o John-ni Tokyo-ni okutta*
 Mary.NOM letter.ACC John.to Tokyo.to sent
 ‘Mary sent a letter to John to Tokyo’ (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2002:ex. 16-17)

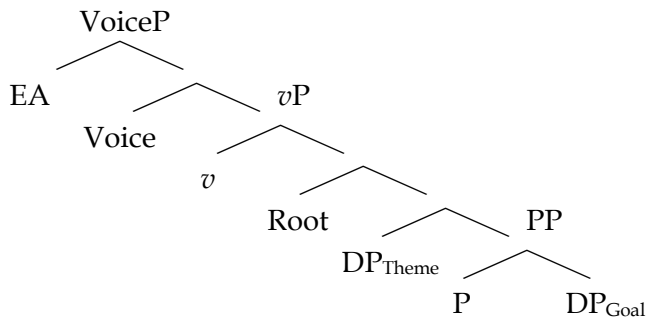
These initial data are suggestive of a syntactic alternation. Notice, however, that there is no difference in word-order between the two ‘alternates’ in Spanish: in both cases, the dative or the PP appear after the direct object in a sentence that can have wide focus (that expresses all new information) and receives normal nuclear stress. In the case of animate directional goals, the only apparent difference is the presence or absence of the clitic. In cases where the doubled dative ‘alternates’ with a PP headed by a preposition other than *a*, the difference is more obvious (29-31).

I present now the structures that I attribute to the prepositional, non-doubled sentences, e.g. sentences b. in (28)-(31). Then, I present the structure corresponding to the ‘real dative’, clitic doubled construction. Evidence for the structures is presented in §2.1.2.

2.1.1.1 Non-doubled: prepositional ditransitives PPD

For the prepositional ditransitives, I assume the structure in (38).

- (38) *Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi/ a Barcelona*
 Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi/ to Barcelona

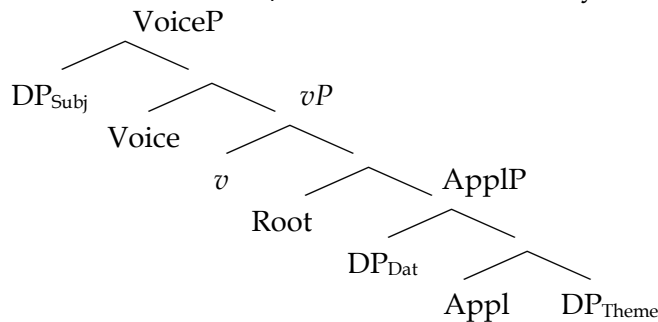


This structure expresses the fact that the theme object asymmetrically c-commands the DP complement of the preposition. Semantically, there is a relation between the theme and the goal, through the preposition. However, as we shall see in §2.1.2.4, movement possibilities and scope facts indicate that the theme DP and the directional PP as a whole behave as two constituents in a symmetric relation. The structure in (38) is largely compatible with Bruening’s (2001) or Miyagawa’s proposals. The differences are not crucial, and could be adapted if some assumptions are changed (e.g., how the arguments combine with the verb). Since this issue is not crucial for the analysis of dative arguments or the comparison with the prepositional construction in (38), I will not take a stand with respect to the category of the node that combines with the root.

2.1.1.2 Clitic-doubled: double-objects DOC

The clitic-doubled dative configuration also expresses a relation between the recipient and the theme. The crucial difference is that in the PPD, the theme is the specifier of the preposition, while in the clitic-doubled DOC this relation is reversed. The dative is related to the lower theme DP through some head, but in this case the dative DP is the specifier and the theme DP is the complement of the relational head. The applicative head is such a relational head. In particular, I will assume the low applicative head proposed by Pykkänen (2002) stands as the source of the double object construction.

- (39) *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi/ *a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT/ Barcelona.DAT
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi/ *Barcelona a dictionary’



The low applicative head licenses the dative argument semantically and syntactically, and relates it to the theme DP. Then, the applicative phrase as a whole combines with the root. Similar in many respects to Pesetsky’s (1995) structure for double-objects, where a null preposition introduces the theme DP, Pykkänen’s low applicatives differ from Pesetsky’s in that the recipient (the higher object) is not a direct argument of the verb, but is introduced by the applicative head as its specifier. The hierarchical relation between the DPs is the same in both proposals: the recipient asymmetrically c-commands the theme DP.

One central claim of my proposal is that the applicative head in Spanish is not null, as in English and many other languages. Rather, it has a spell-out: the dative clitic. In most studied languages where the applicative head is spelled-out as a morpheme, the morpheme is a verbal affix (e.g. in Bantu languages). Spanish is similar to those languages (‘affixation’ following from the clitic nature of the morpheme), but differs from them in that the applicative head varies according to the ϕ -features of the DP it licenses in its specifier. Although this fact might seem surprising at first, several authors have argued for an analysis of Romance clitics as the spell-out of verbal functional heads (see Folli & Harley 2003 and references cited therein). In fact, this seems to be quite a general phenomenon in Romance and to be attested in non-Romance languages as well (e.g., see Nash 1999, 2002 for Georgian).

2.1.2 Syntactic evidence

I have presented two different underlying structures for the doubled and the non-doubled alternates of the dative alternation. Crucially, the hierarchical relation between the two DPs is reversed. In the prepositional structure, PPD, the theme is higher than the goal DP. In the clitic-doubled configuration, DOC, the dative DP is higher than the theme. If there is indeed a structural difference between constructions with and without clitic, and the difference is related to different syntactic positions of the arguments, it should be possible to find contrasts that involve asymmetries in c-command relations. Demonte 1995 presents a series of syntactic asymmetries between the objects in the two constructions. I will present and elaborate here, however, mainly the data in Cuervo 2000, 2003.

2.1.2.1 Binding of anaphors

Barss and Lasnik (1986) observed that the two structures in the English dative alternation exhibit c-command asymmetries. Larson (1988) discusses binding asymmetries in the PPD. In the PPD construction, the direct object can bind an anaphor in the PP (40a), but the PP cannot bind into the direct object (40b).

- (40) a. *I showed John to himself in the mirror*
b. **I showed himself to John in the mirror* (Barss & Lasnik 1986)

Pesetsky (1995) analyzes asymmetries in the DOC that parallel those observed in the PPD alternative.

- (41) a. *I showed John himself in the mirror*
b. **I showed himself John in the mirror*
(42) a. *I denied every worker_i his_i paycheck*
b. **I denied its_i owner every paycheck_i* (Pesetsky 1995)

In the double-object construction, DOC, the first object (the dative) can bind an anaphor (41a) or a possessive (42a) in the direct object, but the direct object cannot bind into the dative, as illustrated in (41b) and (42b).

In spite of the identical surface word order in the two constructions, parallel asymmetries in binding relations can also be observed in Spanish between the doubled DOC and the non-doubled PPD. In the construction without the clitic, the direct object can bind an anaphor in the *a*-PP (43a), but not vice versa (43b).¹³

- (43) PPD
a. *Valeria mostró el maestro a sí mismo*

¹³ The anaphor *sí mismo* can only refer to humans (or animates). It always takes personal *a* when accusative (the same as indefinite personal pronouns *alguien* 'somebody' and *nadie* 'nobody').

Valeria showed the teacher.ACC to himself
 ‘Valeria showed the teacher to himself’

- b. **Valeria mostró a sí mismo al maestro*
 Valeria showed himself.ACC to-the teacher
 ‘*Valeria showed himself to the teacher’

It is not easy to construct acceptable clitic doubled variants of the sentences in (43). There is, however, a contrast between the ungrammaticality of binding of the anaphor by the object (44a), and the deviance of (44b) where the dative binds the anaphor. The deviance of (44b) does not arise from binding, but from the required presence of two *a*-DP: the object anaphor and the dative.¹⁴ The most important contrast here is between grammatical (43a) and ungrammatical (44a).

(44) DOC

- a. **Valeria le mostró el maestro a sí mismo*
 Valeria CL.DAT showed the teacher.ACC himself.DAT
 ‘Valeria showed himself the teacher’
- b. ??*Valeria le mostró a sí mismo al maestro*
 Valeria CL.DAT showed himself.ACC the teacher.DAT
 ‘*Valeria showed the teacher himself’

Demonte 1995 provides clear evidence that the clitic-doubled dative can bind an anaphor in the direct object. By embedding the anaphor in the direct object, she avoids the problem of the double *a*, and sentence (45), equivalent in binding to (44b), is perfectly grammatical.¹⁵

- (45) *El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima de sí misma a María*
 the therapy psychoanalytic CL.DAT gave-back the esteem of herself María.DAT
 ‘The psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary her self-esteem’

2.1.2.2 Binding of possessives

We have just seen that in non-doubled sentences, a direct object can bind an anaphor in the indirect object, but not vice versa. The opposite is true for the clitic-doubled configuration, which strongly suggests that the dative is higher than the accusative object. This implies that word order (Accusative > Dative) in the Spanish DOC does not reflect the hierarchical

¹⁴ See Torrego 1998 and Richards 2002 for alternative analysis of the reasons why such sentences are degraded or ungrammatical.

¹⁵ Although the difference is lost in the translation, *sí misma* differs from English *self-esteem* in that it is always an anaphor that requires an antecedent. For instance, in order to say *Self-esteem is important for that job* a different expression, *uno mismo*, or the noun *autoestima* must be used; **La estima de sí mismo es importante para ese trabajo*.

relationship between object and dative. If this is so, we expect other syntactic phenomena to confirm this hierarchy.

The following predictions arise from the structures presented in (38) and (39) with respect to binding of possessives. In every case, the third person possessive *su* will be used.

(46) Predictions for binding of possessive *su*

- a. In the PPD, the string *su* > PP will be ungrammatical
the string DP > *su* will be grammatical
- b. In the DOC, the string *su* > DP_{Dat} will be grammatical
the string DP > *su* will be ungrammatical

Notice that the predictions for the DOC follow from a structure where the dative DP is higher than the theme. If linear order were considered instead, the predictions for the DOC will be exactly the same as those for the PPD.

Possessives in the PPD

A possessive *su* in the direct object cannot be bound by the goal, as expected.

(47) PPD

- a. **Entregamos sus_i cheques a los trabajadores_i*
we-gave their check.ACC to the workers
'*We gave their checks to the workers'
- b. **Presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i*
we-introduced her_i patient.ACC to the doctor
'*We introduced her patient to the doctor'

In contrast, if possessive *su* belongs to the DP (complement of the preposition *a*), the sentences are grammatical in the reading where the DP binds the possessive, as illustrated below.

(48) PPD

- a. *La policía entregó los bebés_i a sus_i (respectivos) padres*
The police gave the babies.ACC to their_i respective parents
'The police gave the babies to their (respective) parents'
- b. *Presentamos (a) la doctora_i a su_i paciente*
we-introduced the doctor.ACC to her_i patient
'We introduced the doctor to her patient'

Possessives in the DOC

As in the English DOC, a possessive in the theme object can be bound by a clitic-doubled

dative (49), even when in Spanish the dative appears to the right of the direct object.

- (49) DOC
- a. ?*Les entregamos sus_i cheques a los trabajadores_i*
 CL.DAT.PL we-gave their checks.ACC the workers.DAT
 ‘We gave the workers their checks’
- b. *Le presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i*
 CL.DAT we-introduced her_i patient.ACC the doctor.DAT
 ‘We introduced the doctor her patient’

The grammaticality of (49) contrasts sharply with the unacceptability of the sentences below in the reading where *su* in the dative DP is bound by the theme DP.

- (50) a. DOC
 */??*La policía les entregó los bebés_i a sus_i (respectivos) padres*
 The police CL.DAT.PL gave [the babies.ACC]_i their_i respective parents.DAT
 ‘*The police gave their parents the babies’
- b. **Le presentamos (a) la doctora a su_i paciente*
 CL.DAT we-introduced the doctor.ACC her patient.DAT
 ‘*We introduced her patient the doctor’

In this case, the clitic-doubled sentences is ungrammatical or quite degraded (50). The contrast between (50) and (48b) is specially significant, since the only surface difference between the sentences is the presence or absence of the clitic.

It is important to note that a possessive in the dative phrase cannot be bound by the direct object but can, in principle, be bound by the subject. In (50a), this reading is excluded by the abstract nature of the singular noun *policía* and the presence of the distributive *respectivos*. In the absence of these kind of factors, binding by the subject is grammatical (51).

- (51) Possessive in Dative bound by the subject
Valeria_i les entregó el libro a sus_i padres
 Valeria CL.DAT.PL gave [the book.ACC] her parents.DAT
 ‘Valeria gave her parents the book’

A subject can also bind into a PP, with the result that sentences like (48a) are, in the absence of special factors, always ambiguous between a reading where the possessive is bound by the subject and the reading where the possessive is bound by the direct object. In (52), since both actors and movies can have directors, binding is not disambiguated by context.

- (52) Possessive in PP with competition for binding
Los actores_i entregaron las películas_j a sus_{i/j} respectivos directores
 The actors gave [the movies.ACC] to their respective directors.DAT
 ‘The actors gave the movies to their respective directors’

To sum up, binding of a possessive pronoun is consistent with binding of anaphors in providing evidence that in the clitic-doubled configuration the dative argument c-commands the theme DP. These facts could not be captured by a theory that does not make reference to the hierarchical structures, nor by a theory that assumes that the linear order Acc > Dat is the direct reflection of the hierarchical position of the arguments.

2.1.2.3 *Weak cross-over*

The structures assigned to the PPD and the DOC make clear predictions with respect to weak crossover effects (WCO). WCO effects arise when a possessive pronoun is coindexed with a lower constituent that undergoes *wh*-movement, as represented below.

- (53) WCO
 *[*wh*_{-i} ... [*her*_i ...] ... *t*_i ...]

In the English PPD construction, WCO effects are induced when the goal DP *wh*- moves across a theme DP that contains a possessive coindexed with the goal DP. No problems arise when the possessive is in the prepositional phrase (54b).

- (54) PPD
 a. **Who*_i *did Mary give his*_i *check to t*_i?
 b. *What*_i *did Mary give t*_i *to its*_i *owner?*

In the DOC, the effects are reversed: WCO arises when there is a possessive pronoun in the dative bound by a raised *wh*- theme object (55a). The effect does not arise if the possessive is in the direct object and the dative is a *wh*-word (55b).¹⁶

- (55) DOC
 a. **What*_i *did Mary give its*_i *owner t*_i?
 b. *Who*_i *did Mary give t*_i *his*_i *check?*

The claim that the Spanish clitic-doubled ditransitive is a DOC, while the non-doubled ditransitive corresponds to the PPD predicts that WCO in Spanish will reproduce the WCO effects found in English comparing structure to structure, but will look different if the predictions are stated in terms of linear order of arguments.

WCO in PPD

¹⁶ Some English speakers do not like *wh*-extraction of a dative from the double object construction. However, for those who accept (55b), there is no contrast with (i), where there is no pronoun:

(i) *Who did Mary give the check?*

The sentences (56) show that, as expected, WCO effects arise if the possessive is bound by a raised *wh*-PP, but not when the possessive is contained in the PP.

- (56) PPD
- a. *¿A quién_i entregamos su_i cheque t_i?
to whom we-gave his check.ACC
'*To whom did we give his check?'
 - b. ¿Qué (libro) entregamos t_i a su_i dueño_i?
what (book).ACC we-gave to its owner
'What (book) did we give to its owner?'

WCO in DOC

If we assume that the clitic-doubled dative is higher than the theme object, in spite of its appearance to its right, WCO effects should be reversed with respect to the effects in the PPD (56), and parallel those found in English (55).

- (57) DOC
- a. *¿Qué_i (libro) le entregamos a su_i dueño?
what (book).ACC CL.DAT we-gave its owner.DAT
'What (book) did Lilus give to its owner?'
 - b. ¿A quién_i le entregamos su_i cheque?
who.DAT CL.DAT we-gave his check.ACC
'Who did we give his check?'

In order to account for the facts in (57) we have to assume that the trace of the *wh*- object in (57a) is lower than the position of the dative DP; in (57b) the trace of *a quién* must be to the left of (higher than) the position of the object DP.¹⁷

2.1.2.4 Summary of binding

We have seen that in the PPD, the theme DP can bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the DP complement of the preposition *a* (the goal). WCO effects do not arise if a possessive contained in the goal is bound by a theme that *wh*- moves. In contrast, an anaphor or possessive pronoun in the theme DP cannot be bound by the goal, and WCO effects are induced if the goal PP *wh*- moves across a theme that contains a possessive coindexed with it. Therefore, binding data in PPD shows that the theme DP asymmetrically c-commands the DP contained in the *a*-PP, exactly as in the English *to*-PP construction.

Binding facts in the clitic-doubled construction are the opposite of those found in PPD. The

¹⁷ I am simplifying here in that I am leaving aside the issue of whether the *wh*- theme moves across the dative as it moves in affirmative sentences. In fact, I assume it does, but that the traces relevant for WCO are, as for binding, the traces in the position where the arguments are licensed, not in intermediate positions.

theme DP cannot bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the dative DP. WCO effects arise when the possessive is in the dative DP and the theme *wh*- moves. The dative DP, in contrast, can bind into the theme DP. These facts clearly argue for a structure where the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the theme, as in (38). The neutral word order Accusative > Dative must be, therefore, derived by movement, a kind of movement that does not create new binding possibilities.¹⁸ Binding facts are parallel to facts in English if we assume that the Spanish clitic-doubled construction has the same syntax (in the relevant sense) as the English DOC.

It is possible to think of an alternative explanation of the binding facts in the clitic-doubled construction on the basis of the presence of the clitic. One could argue that the possibility for the dative to bind into the accusative object does not arise because the dative DP is higher, but from the position of the clitic. In (49), the dative clitic is in a high functional head (in or above Tense) from which it could be argued that it is able to bind into the accusative, even when the dative DP sits lower than the accusative theme. Such an approach, however, runs into several problems. First, if it is the clitic that can bind into the theme DP, but the theme is higher than the dative DP, then, such an approach would predict that in those constructions, the accusative should also be able to bind into the lower dative DP. This prediction is not borne out, as shown by the unacceptability of the sentences in (50). Second, WCO facts would also be problematic. We might expect WCO effects when the dative *wh*-moves and there is a possessive in the theme, contrary to fact (57b). It is not very clear what role binding by the clitic would play, in general, in a WCO environment. Finally, an even more serious problem would emerge. An approach by which clitics can be binders has to assume that clitics are pronouns (that stand for an argument) that must be interpreted. If this is so, then the dative DP should be higher in the structure than the clitic, as in left dislocation structures.¹⁹

I will conclude, then, that binding and WCO facts do provide evidence for the structures presented in (38) and (39), that is, that the clitic-doubled configuration corresponds to the DOC, while the non-double configuration corresponds to a Theme DP- Goal PP structure.

2.1.2.5 Scope

Aoun & Li (1989) observed that the possible scopal relations between theme and goal are different in the two constructions of the English dative alternation. They show that there is free scope between the theme object and the *to*-dative in the PPD. In contrast, in the double-object construction, the dative can take scope over the theme object, but not vice versa. In the double object construction scope is frozen. Examples below are from Aoun & Li 1989:ex. (61) and (59).

¹⁸ I assume here that the dative DP is not generated in a specifier to the right. See Demonte 1995 for some arguments against projecting the dative to the right.

¹⁹ Thanks to Irene Heim (p.c.) for making me aware of this problem.

- (58) a. *Mary gave some book to everyone* *some > every; every > some*
 b. *Mary gave someone every book* *some > every; *every > some*

Bruening 2001 made similar observations for the relative scope of *a* and *each*.

- (59) a. *Mary gave a doll to each girl* *a > each; each > a*
 b. *Mary gave a girl each doll* *a > each; *each > a*

Similar frozen scope has been shown to occur in other languages as well, including languages not related to English such as Japanese. For Spanish, Demonte 1995 and Cuervo (2003) show that scope is free in the PPD. In contrast, frozen scope obtains in clitic-doubled ditransitives.

- (60) PPD
- a. *Andrés mandó **cada** cuadro a **un** museo (distinto)* *cada > un*
 Andrés sent each painting.ACC to a museum different
 ‘Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum’
- b. *Carolina llevó **un** artículo (distinto) a **cada** revista* *cada > un*
 Carolina took an article.ACC different to each magazine
 ‘Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine’

In (60) we see that *cada* ‘each’ can take scope over an indefinite independently of whether it is in the direct object or in the goal PP. In the double object construction, in contrast, *cada* ‘each’ cannot take scope over the indefinite when it is in the direct object (61a).

- (61) DOC
- a. *Andrés le mandó **cada** cuadro a **un** museo (#distinto)* **cada > un*
 Andrés CL.DAT sent each painting.ACC a museum.DAT different
 ‘Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting’
- b. *Carolina le llevó **un** artículo (distinto) a **cada** revista* *cada > un*
 Carolina CL.DAT took an article.ACC (different) each magazine.DAT
 ‘Carolina took each magazine a (different) article’

We can see in (61) that the scope is frozen in a way that is inconsistent with word order: the direct object cannot take scope over the dative even when it precedes it in linear order (remember that the word order Accusative > Dative is the neutral word order). These scope facts are confirmed in sentences with *todo* ‘every’ and *algún* ‘some’.

- (62) PPD
- a. *Tenés que llevar **todo** candidato a **algún** buen restaurante* *todo > algún*
 have.2SG that take every candidate to some good restaurant
 ‘You have to take every candidate to a good restaurant’

- b. *Tenés que llevar algún candidato a todo buen restaurante* todo > algún
 have.2SG that take some candidate to every good restaurant
 'You have to take some candidate to every good restaurant'

Restaurants can vary with candidates in (62a), or there can be the same one for every candidate. In (62b) the obligation is to visit every restaurant, be it with the same or different candidates.

(63) DOC

- a. *Tenés que recomendarle todo candidato a algún buen profesor* *todo > algún
 have.2SG that recommend.CL every candidate to some good professor
 'You have to recommend every candidate to a good professor'
- b. *Tenés que recomendarle algún candidato a todo buen profesor* todo > algún
 have.2SG that recommend.CL some candidate to every good professor
 'You have to recommend some candidate to every good professor'

In the DOC, the universal quantifier in the theme object cannot take scope over algún in the dative argument. That is, in (63a) the obligation consists in recommending every candidate to some particular professor; the reading where every candidate is recommended to one or other professor is not available.

Bruening 2001 shows that frozen scope facts in the English DOC are not the result of the theme DP being frozen in place. Rather, he argues that both internal DPs can move for scope, but quantifier raising (QR) obeys superiority, i.e., QR cannot alter the relative hierarchical relation between the two objects that share some local domain.

The data just presented is consistent with Bruening's account if the order Acc > Dat does not follow from the initial position of the arguments but is obtained via movement of the accusative object, across the higher dative, to the specifier position of *v*. Even if the position the accusative DP moves to is such that the DP can be interpreted there for scope, when the dative DP has to undergo QR, it would move to a specifier position *above* the accusative, obeying superiority. An alternative would be that the accusative DP has to reconstruct obligatorily to its base position; from where it might undergo QR to a position lower than the moved dative. I leave this issue open pending further research. In any case, scope facts of the Spanish DOC can be better captured by the structure in (38) than by a proposal by which the accusative is higher than the dative, as in the PPD.

In sum, scope facts show that that word order is not the direct reflection of the hierarchical relation between the objects. Facts from binding and weak crossover have been shown to argue in the same direction: the non-doubled construction is a PPD and the clitic-doubled construction corresponds to the Spanish version of the DOC, where the dative is higher than the accusative object.

2.2 Three kinds of low applicatives

Now that I have shown that Spanish ditransitives with a clitic-doubled dative object have the structure of a DOC, I will present a more detailed analysis of the structure and the meanings of the DOC in Spanish. The structure of the DOC that I have assumed in §2.1, that is, Pytkänen's low applicative construction, will play a crucial role for the analysis of dative arguments, in particular, of datives that are interpreted as the possessors of the theme object.

First, in § 2.2.1, I show that in the Spanish DOC, the dative argument can be interpreted as a recipient or as a source. The properties of the construction are discussed, and I argue that their syntax and semantics are naturally captured by saying that Spanish has the two kinds of dynamic low applicatives proposed by Pytkänen, i.e. low applicative 'to' and low applicative 'from'.

- (64) a. Recipient
Pablo le regaló una bicicleta a Andreína
Pablo CL.DAT gave a bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT
'Pablo gave Andreína a bicycle (as a gift)
- b. Source
Pablo le robó la bicicleta a Andreína
Pablo CL.DAT stole the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT
'Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreína'

A dative argument in Spanish can also be interpreted as the possessor of the theme object. In (65), *Valeria* is the inalienable possessor of the forehead. The action expressed by the verb falls on the forehead and, in virtue of the possessive relation, on Valeria.

- (65) *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT
'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead' (Lit: 'Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead')

Possessor datives typically appear with verbs that are not considered ditransitive. This observation is the basis of the analysis of possessor datives as semantically licensed as arguments of the direct object rather than of the verb. Possessor datives have been analyzed before as cases of *possessor raising*, either with literal raising (Demonte 1995, Landau 1999), control structures (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986) or abstract incorporation (Masullo 1992). Pytkänen argues that (Hebrew) possessor datives are an expression of the dynamic Source low applicative. I will argue that possessor datives are better analyzed as one of two (new) kinds of applied arguments, depending on the verb that embeds them. A possessor dative under a stative predicate (e.g. *admirar* 'admire', *envidiar* 'envy', *conocer* 'know') or a non-directional activity verb (e.g. *lavar* 'wash', *besar* 'kiss', *mirar* 'look at', *sostener* 'hold') is an applied argument licensed by a low applicative head with a static meaning. As datives in the DOC, these arguments are related to the theme object and bear no direct relation with the

verb or event. As opposed to recipients and sources, these datives are basically interpreted as the possessor of the object. In some cases, the dative argument is interpreted also as ‘affected’. I will show that the affectedness interpretation depends on the individual verb and pragmatic factors; that is, affectedness is not a core meaning of the construction. Affectedness can arise as an indirect consequence of the dative being the possessor of an affected object, particularly if possession is inalienable. For instance, with a stative verb such as *admirar* ‘admire’, the dative possessor is not interpreted as affected; the dative possessor of *lavar* ‘wash’ or *operar* ‘operate on’ can be, but only if the theme is interpreted as affected too.

Another kind of datives that have been analyzed as possessors appear with causative verbs (e.g. *romper* ‘break’, *quemar* ‘burn’, *arrugar* ‘wrinkle’) and are compatible with the transitive or the inchoative variant of the predicate. In this configuration, the dative is not directly related to the object DP but to the end state of the object (a stative event). This different kind of applicative construction, *affected applicatives*, is the topic of Chapter 3.

In order to account for the data, a new type of low applicative is proposed: a head that establishes a static relation of possession rather than a dynamic one. The dative argument does not get or lose anything as a result of the event, it is just a participant in the event as the possessor of the theme DP. This construction is also found in other Romance languages, in Hebrew, in German and in Georgian. Crosslinguistically, the expression of possession through an applicative construction can be restricted to inalienable possession by an animate possessor, and be restricted to appear only with dynamic events (i.e., with activities *vDO* but not with stative verbs, *vBE*). I show that in Spanish, however, it is not so restricted.

Here, I depart from one of Pylkkänen’s diagnostics for low applicatives: the ‘stative verb restriction’ of low applicatives (§2.2.4.1). I also review the second of Pylkkänen’s diagnostics: the transitivity restriction (§2.2.4.2). I argue that the diagnostic requires a finer-grained definition of the object that a low applicative can apply to. Specifically, I argue that the requirement that a verb must fulfill to be able to embed a low applicative is not exactly as defined by Pylkkänen: to have an object and be an event. Crucially, a low applicative requires an object that is licensed as a complement of the root, as opposed to objects that are licensed as inner subjects, in the sense of Levin 1999 and Nash 2002.

The object a low applied argument (here, a dative) can apply to can be not only the object that appears in the context of a dynamic activity verb, but also the object of unaccusatives and stative verbs. Following the typology of ‘flavors’ of little *v* presented in the Introduction (§1.2.1), a low applicative phrase can combine, in principle, with a root that is embedded under a dynamic agentive *vDO*, a dynamic unaccusative *vGO*, or a stative *vBE*.

As we shall see in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, a low applicative cannot apply to an argument licensed in specifier position. This prevents low applicatives from applying to external arguments. It also prevents them from applying to objects of causatives, inchoatives and psychological predicates, which are licensed as the subject of stative verbs formed by the combination of a root and *vBE*. Furthermore, a low applicative cannot apply to any object that is in a predicational relation, even if the predicate is not a verb but an adjective, an adverb or

a particle, in the context of a small clause.

The table below illustrates the three kinds of low applicatives and how they combine with the three different types of simple eventualities, represented by *vDO*, *vGO* and *vBE*. One or two verbs are given as examples for each cell. The shaded cells are the types of low applicatives discussed in the next section.

(66) Combinatorials of low applicatives and kinds of predicates

Type of Appl/ Types of Verb	Appl-TO Recipient	Appl-FROM Source	Appl-AT Possessor
<i>vDO</i>	<i>send, bake</i> §2.2.1.1	<i>steal, take-away</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>wash, kiss</i> §2.2.2.2
<i>vGO</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>escape</i>	<i>grow</i>
<i>vBE</i>	<i>owe</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>save</i> §2.2.1.2	<i>envy, admire</i> §2.2.2.1

2.2.1 Dynamic relation of two individuals: ‘to’ and ‘from’

Pylkkänen defines low applicatives as heads that relate an individual to the internal argument of the verb. The low applicative head licenses the “extra” argument both semantically and syntactically. The relationship is defined as a dynamic transfer of possession, which can be literal (*Daniel gave Stephanie a tagine*) or metaphorical (*Daniel showed Stephanie a tagine*). She argues for the existence of two types of low applicative heads that specify either a transfer ‘to’ or a transfer ‘from’. Depending on which of the heads licenses the applied argument, this argument is interpreted as the recipient or the source of the theme object.

(67) Pylkkänen’s sub-types of low applicatives (Pylkkänen 2003:22)

Low-APPL-TO (Recipient applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$

Low-APPL-FROM (Source applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y)$

The semantic interpretation is computed directly from the syntactic structure. The applicative head combines first with the theme object (*x*), then with the applied argument (*y*), and finally with the verb.

A language, Pylkkänen argues, can select one or both of these heads from the universal inventory of functional elements. English, for instance, only has the ‘to’ applicative head, while Spanish has both.

(68) **Low-Applicative-TO**: Applied argument as a Recipient

- a. English
Daniel handed Stephanie the magazine
- b. Spanish
Pablo le pasó la bicicleta a Andreína
Pablo CL.DAT passed the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT
'Pablo handed Andreína the bicycle'

(69) **Low-Applicative-FROM:** Applied argument as a Source

- a. English
**Daniel stole Stephanie a magazine*
(intended meaning: Daniel stole a magazine from Stephanie)
- b. Spanish
Pablo le robó la bicicleta a Andreína
Pablo CL.DAT stole the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT
'Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreína'

From the Spanish examples it is not clear where the difference in meaning (interpretation of the dative as recipient or source) comes from. In principle, it could be that there are two different heads, as Pylkkänen proposes, or it could be that the directionality of the applicative is underspecified, and it is the semantics of the verb that determines whether the applied argument is recipient or source. Since under this view low applicatives are restricted to dynamic (directional) verbs, it could be said that a language like English does not 'lack' one of the heads, but that the applicative is only compatible with 'transfer to' predicates. Pylkkänen also presents data from Finnish, another language that has both types of low applicatives and seems to allow us to settle this issue. In Finnish the case of the applied argument correlates with the meaning: recipients have allative case (70a), while sources have ablative (70b).

(70) Finnish

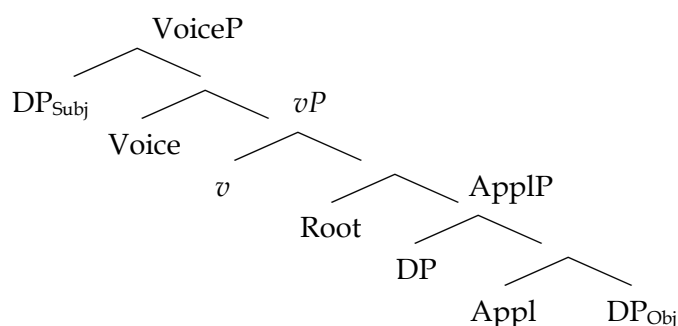
- a. *Eija varasti Liina-lle auto-n*
Eija.NOM stole Liina.ALL car.ACC
'Eija stole a car for Liina'
- b. *Eija varasti Liina-lta auto-n*
Eija.NOM stole Liina.ABL car.ACC
'Eija stole a car from Liina'

These cases are better captured by a proposal in which there exist in fact two different heads that can vary in some morphosyntactic properties (e.g. case assignment). In any case, it follows that in languages that have the two applicatives with the same morphosyntactic properties, a low applicative construction (a DOC) would be ambiguous in the context of a

transfer predicate that is compatible with both directions, ‘to’ and ‘from’.²⁰ As we shall see, in Spanish dative arguments with verbs such as *buy*, *sell* and *rent* are ambiguous in this sense.

One of the crucial aspects of analyzing DOCs as low applicatives is that the applied argument is not a core argument; that is, it is not an argument of the verb. The applicative head licenses the argument and relates it to the theme object independently from the verb. Recall that the structure of low applicatives highlights this by merging the applicative below the verb (or verb root), a property that will turn out to be crucial for my analysis of affected datives in causative and inchoative configurations.

(71) Structure

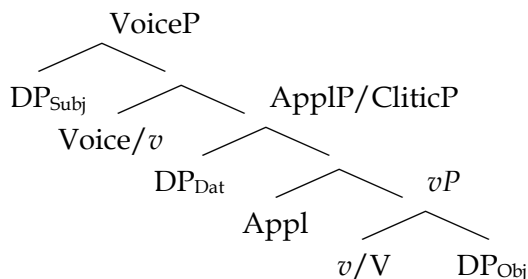


At the same time, the proposal makes room for crosslinguistic morphosyntactic differences. In particular, it makes no claims with respect to case assignment or morphological spell-out of the applicative head.

This contrasts with the structure of DOC proposed by Marantz 1993 and assumed in Demonte 1995 and Anagnostopoulou 2002, among others. Marantz’s structure for the DOC as an applicative construction (72) expresses the correct hierarchical relations among the arguments but fails to capture the correct semantic relations. Abstracting away from several differences in details, in the structures proposed or assumed by these authors, the dative argument (in general, the higher argument in the DOC) is merged above the verb and, as a consequence, it has a relation with the event, but no direct relation with the theme object.

²⁰ David Pesetsky (p.c.) observes that it is still possible that a language like Finnish has two different heads, while a language like Korean has just one type, with underdetermined directionality.

(72)



Moreover, the structure in (72) does not express the difference between a DOC and a ‘high benefactive’ construction (where the applied argument is benefited by the event) in structural terms. The structure above would not be able to capture either the semantic or syntactic differences between DOCs and affected dative constructions described in Chapter 3. The availability of one structure and not the other in a certain language will have to be derived, in the best of cases, from other properties of the language; from stipulations, in the worst case. The singular properties of Pylkkänen’s low applicatives will prove fundamental for an account of (the different kinds of) possessor datives in Spanish and across languages.

2.2.1.1 Applied Recipients

As we have seen in examples before, in the context of a predicate that expresses the transfer of a theme to(wards) a goal, the dative is understood as the (intended) recipient; that is, Spanish has the low applicative-TO. This is the case of predicates such as *dar* ‘give’, *mandar* ‘send’, *arrojar* ‘throw’, *pasar* ‘hand’, that usually take two internal arguments and participate in the DOC of the English type.

- (73) *Pablo le pasó un mate a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT passed a mate Andreína.DAT
‘Pablo handed Andreína the mate’
⇒ Andreína has the mate

This configuration also covers the DOC embedded under verbs of construction (e.g. *cocinar* ‘cook/bake’, *construir* ‘build’, *dibujar* ‘draw’, *diseñar* ‘design’). Although these activity verbs are not transfer verbs, the dative is applied to (related to) the theme DP. Dative DPs in the context of creation verbs are usually referred to as *benefactives*. However, they do not really contrast in meaning with datives in the context of transfer verbs: the dative DP is interpreted as the (intended) recipient of the theme DP.

- (74) *Valeria le diseñó una pollera a Andreína*
Valeria CL.DAT designed a skirt Andreína.DAT
⇒ Andreína has (the design of) a skirt

A distinctive characteristic of Spanish recipients, and datives in the low applicative

construction in general, is that they are not restricted to animates. Rather, the requirement is that the dative must be able to ‘receive’ the theme in some sense. Thus, the dative can be an inanimate object in so far as the theme can be(come) part of it, as exemplified by Demonte’s sentences (Demonte 1995:12).²¹

- (75) a. *Le puse el mantel a la mesa*
 CL.DAT put. 1.SG the tablecloth the table.DAT
 ‘I put the tablecloth on the table’
- b. **Le puse los platos a la mesa*
 CL.DAT put. 1.SG the dishes the table.DAT
 ‘I put the dishes on the table’

Sentence (75b) is unacceptable due to semantics more than due to its syntax; it is clear what the parsing is, and what it means, but the meaning is inappropriate. The acceptability of the combination of a dative DP and accusative DP in Spanish low applicatives correlates with the possibility of the same DPs appearing with the verb *tener* ‘have’ (76). In these sentences, the object in the low applicative is the object of *tener*; the dative DP appears as the subject.

- (76) a. *La mesa tiene (un) mantel* (cf. 75a)
 The table has a tablecloth.ACC
- b. **La mesa tiene (unos) platos* (cf. 75b)
 The table has some dishes.ACC
 (Cf. *Hay platos en la mesa* ‘There are dishes on the table’)

The semantic characteristics of the Spanish DOC are further discussed in §2.3.

2.2.1.2 Applied Sources

A dative argument can also appear in Spanish in the environment of a transfer predicate with “reverse directionality”, such as *robar* ‘steal’, *sacar* ‘take from’, *extraer* ‘take out from’. In this case, the dative is understood as the (possessive) source of the theme object, rather than the recipient.

- (77) *Pablo le robó la bicicleta a Andreína*
 Pablo CL.DAT stole the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT
 ‘Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreína’ (or ‘Pablo stole Andreína’s bicycle’)
 ⇒ Andreína lost her bicycle/has no bicycle

Notice that a source applied argument appears in dative case, and that the applicative head is spelled-out as a dative clitic, i.e., the same morphosyntactic properties of a recipient

²¹ Sentence (75a) can only mean something like “I spread out the tablecloth on the table”; it is not appropriate for a case where the tablecloth is placed folded on the table.

applicative. It is predicted, therefore, that in the context of a verb with underspecified directionality, the dative would be ambiguous between a recipient and a source.²² The prediction is borne out, as illustrated by the examples below, with *vender* ‘sell’ and *alquilar* ‘rent’.

- (78) a. *Valeria le vendió el auto a su hermano*
 Valeria CL.DAT sold the car.ACC her brother.DAT
 1. ‘Valeria sold the/her car to her brother’
 2. ‘Valeria sold the car from her brother’
 3. ‘Valeria sold her brother’s car’ (e.g. Valeria is a car dealer)
- b. *Valeria le alquila la casa de Roca a Roberto*
 Valeria CL.DAT rents the house of Roca.ACC Roberto.DAT
 1. ‘Valeria rents the house in Roca to Roberto’
 2. ‘Valeria rents the house in Roca from Roberto’
 3. ‘Valeria rents out Roberto’s house’ (e.g. Valeria is a realtor)

In (78a), *a su hermano* can be the person to whom Valeria sold a car, or could be the person from whom she sold a car to somebody else (or whose car she sold). Similar ambiguities arise in (78b). The potential ambiguity of the interpretation of the dative argument is also evidenced in the literal and the idiomatic reading of *sacar una foto* below.

- (79) *Valeria le sacó una foto a Gabi*
 Valeria CL.DAT took-out a picture.ACC Gabi.DAT
 1. ‘Valeria took a picture from Gabi’
 2. ‘Valeria took Gabi a picture’

The interpretation of the low applied argument as a source usually requires a directional dynamic verb, although this directionality can be metaphorical, as in (80).

- (80) *Le exigió una explicación al empleado*
 CL.DAT demanded.3.SG an explanation.ACC the employee.DAT
 ‘He demanded an explanation from the employee’ (Masullo 1992:16)

If the predicate is dynamic but not directional (i.e., not a transfer predicate), or if it is stative, the dative is usually interpreted as a possessor rather than a source, as discussed in the next section. In some cases, however, it seems possible to interpret a dative as a source in the context of a stative predicate such as *ahorrar* ‘save’.

- (81) a. *Este método le ahorrará problemas a Juan*
 this method CL.DAT will-save problems.ACC Juan.DAT
 ‘This method will save John problems’ (Masullo 1992:56)

²² Ambiguity of directionality for the indirect object usually correlates with ambiguity for the ‘extra’ role of the subject as a source or a goal/recipient (besides being the agent).

- b. *La decisión le ahorró mucha plata a Valeria*
 the decision CL.DAT saved a-lot-of money.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘The decision saved Valeria a lot of money’

One could express the meaning of sentence (81b) by saying that *Valeria* is the potential source of the money that did not get spent. This metaphorical directionality (“orientation” in Jackendoff 1990) is also found with recipients with stative verbs like *owe* ‘deber’, as illustrated below.

- (82) a. *Pablo le debe una disculpa /mucha plata a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT owes an apology.ACC/a-lot-of money.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo owes Valeria an apology/a lot of money’
- b. *Me debo unas buenas vacaciones en el mar*
 CL.1SG.REF owe.1SG some good holidays.ACC in the sea
 ‘I owe myself some good holidays by the sea’

Source applicatives present a problem for derivational and incorporation approaches (as mentioned in §2.0.5 with respect to Masullo 1992 and Demonte 1995). In most cases, there is no prepositional variant the dative construction could derive from, as illustrated below.

- (83) a. *Pablo le sacó la bicicleta a Andreína*
 Pablo CL.DAT took-away the bicycle Andreína.DAT
 ‘Pablo took the bicycle (away) from Andreína’
- b. **Pablo sacó la bicicleta de /desde Andreína*
 Pablo took-away the bicycle of /from Andreína
 ‘Pablo took the bicycle (away) from Andreína’

Problems for the analysis of source datives as possessors that originate inside the theme DP are discussed in §2.2.2.3.

2.2.2 Static relation of two individuals: possessor datives (‘at’)

A dative argument can be related to a direct object in Spanish also in the context of a predicate that does not express a transfer relation, not even in a metaphorical way.

- (84) a. *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience’ (Lit: ‘Pablo admires Valeria the patience’)
- b. *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead’ (Lit: ‘Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead’)

The non-transfer predicate can in itself be either stative (e.g. as *admirar* ‘admire’, *tener* ‘have’, *ver* ‘see’, *envidiar* ‘envy’) or dynamic (e.g. activity verbs such as *besar* ‘kiss’, *lavar* ‘wash’, *tocar* ‘touch’, (*sos*)*tener* ‘hold’). What is crucial is that in this case there is no sense in which the dative argument ‘gets’ or ‘looses’ the object: it is just understood as the possessor (or location) of the object.

Syntactically and morphologically these possessors are expressed exactly as recipients and sources are: they exhibit the same properties in terms of case, hierarchical position, word order, and spell-out of the head. Semantically, the dative argument is related directly to the object and not to the verb. It makes sense, therefore, to hypothesize that they have the same basic structure as low applicatives, that is, that they *are* low applicatives. In this section I present the relevant data from Spanish, and show that the meaning of these constructions, however, cannot be forced into a dynamic relation of transfer of possession. Instead, I argue that there exist a third kind of low applicative head, which relates an individual to the theme object as its possessor. The semantics of this head is exactly as for the other low applicative heads but rather than having a ‘to’ or ‘from’ meaning, it has an ‘at’ meaning.

(85) **Low-APPL-AT** (Possessor applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e,s,t \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e,x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e,x) \ \& \ \text{in-the-possession}(x,y)$

The semantics of this static applicative head highlights the fact that structurally this kind of possessor dative is expressed as other low applicatives; in other words, that possessor datives *are* an instance of the DOC.

2.2.2.1 Stative verbs

A dative argument can appear with a stative verb in Spanish, such as *admirar* ‘admire’, *envidiar* ‘envy’, *conocer* ‘know’, (*sos*)*tener* ‘hold/have’, *ver* ‘see’, etc. The structure with a dative argument (86a) seems to have an alternative expression with a genitive preposition *de* ‘of’ (86b). What is the nature of this alternation? What is the difference in meaning, if any, between the expressions?

- (86) a. *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience’ (Lit: ‘Pablo admires Valeria the patience’)
- b. *Pablo admira la paciencia de Valeria*
 Pablo admires the patience of Valeria
 ‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience’

The dative *a Valeria* in (86a) is understood as the possessor of the patience, the person whose patience Pablo admires. Sentence (86b) also means that Pablo admires Valeria’s patience. There is, however, a subtle difference between the two, in terms that are difficult to formalize. One could say that there is a different focus of the admiration, that is, a difference

in the object of admiration. A possible paraphrase of (86a) would be that Pablo admires Valeria for her patience. There is an implication in (86a), which is absent in (86b) that Pablo feels admiration both for Valeria and for patience in general. In (86b), the focus of the admiration is just patience, which is embodied in Valeria. There is also some difference of a temporal nature. Sentence (86a) can be felicitously uttered even in the case of Valeria not being specially patient, but behaving so in a certain occasion or under certain circumstances. For (86b) to be felicitous, in contrast, there is a requirement that Valeria be a patient person. A similar contrast arises with another stative verb, *envidiar* ‘envy’, where a dative is also possible.

- (87) a. *Pablo le envidia el auto a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT envies the car.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo envies Valeria’s car’ (Lit: ‘Pablo envies Valeria the car’)
- b. *Pablo envidia el auto de Valeria*²³
 Pablo envies the car of Valeria
 ‘Pablo envies Valeria’s car’

Imagine a situation where Valeria has a fantastic car, let’s say a Jaguar. Then, both sentences can be appropriate. Now, if Valeria has a shabby, unattractive car, sentence (87b) sounds odd, but (86a) can be felicitous. It can mean, for example, that Pablo ‘envies’ the fact that Valeria has a car, no matter what kind of car. In fact, for some speakers of English, *envy* can alternate between a genitive construction and a DOC, as below.

- (88) a. *Daniel envies Linnaea her talent*
 b. *Daniel envies Linnaea’s talent*

For those who accept sentence (88a), the contrast in meaning is, as expected, reported to be similar to the contrast in Spanish. In (88a), Daniel is troubled by Linnaea having a certain talent; in (88b), Daniel wishes he had some particular talent, which Linnaea has. In (88a), Daniel cannot envy the talent without envying Linnaea; in (88b) it is possible to think that Daniel does not envy Linnaea at all. A sharp contrast between the two “variants” arises when the direct object is also animate.

- (89) a. *Stephanie envies Daniel his father*
 b. *Stephanie envies Daniel’s father*

In contrast to (88), sentences (89) are accepted by most speakers, but they are not paraphrases. In (89b), Stephanie envies a man, who is identified as Daniel’s father. In (89a),

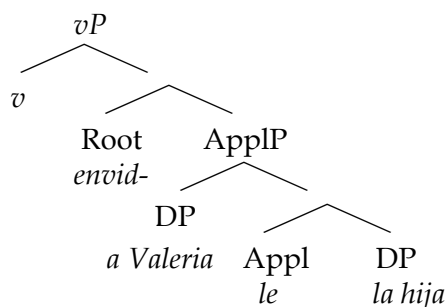
²³ In this sentence, the meaning of the verb is stretched somehow towards meaning ‘be jealous of’, in the sense of ‘wanting to have’. Replacing *envidiar* with *admirar* wouldn’t alter the point here, and might sound more natural as a feeling towards an inanimate entity.

Stephanie does not envy a person (Daniel's father or just Daniel) but rather a situation or relationship. The semantics of the DOC variant highlights, again, that there is a direct relationship between the two objects, and that the whole constituent [Daniel the father] combines with the verb (the two DPs still are interpreted as separate participants in the event). Exactly the same alternation obtains in Spanish:

- (90) a. *Pablo le envidia la hija a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT envies the daughter.ACC Valeria.DAT
 'Pablo envies Valeria the daughter'
- b. *Pablo envidia a la hija de Valeria*
 Pablo envies [the daughter of Valeria].ACC
 'Pablo envies Valeria's daughter'

In both configurations Valeria is related to the theme object. The crucial difference is in the relation between Valeria and the verb. In the genitive construction, *Valeria* is part of the theme object and it is not related with the verb at all. In the dative construction, in contrast, *Valeria* is one of the arguments that, after combining with the theme object, relates to the verb as its complement. The structure of low applicatives allows us to express exactly that: the Applicative Phrase expresses a relation between two individuals that is embedded under the verb. In the semantic interpretation of the Low-Applicative-AT, there are two variables for individuals that relate to the event: the theme and the possessor; in the interpretation of the genitive construction there would be only one for the theme DP. The relevant structures of the sentences in (90) are represented below.

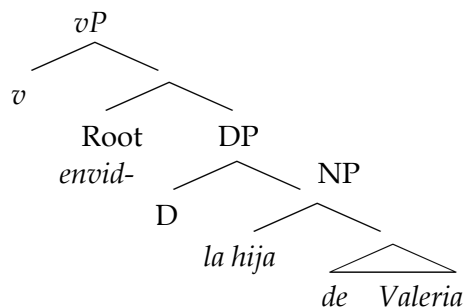
- (91) a. Possessor dative construction



- b. Genitive construction²⁴

²⁴ That the *de*-PP is embedded under the DP, and not related to it as a PP can be related to a DP theme in PPD is supported by the following contrast concerning pronominalization of the theme DP.

- (i) a. *Pablo envidia [a la hija] de Valeria* ⇒ *Pablo la envidia de Valeria
 Pablo envies the daughter of Valeria Pablo envies her of Valeria
- b. *Pablo sacó [la pastilla] [de la caja]* ⇒ √Pablo la sacó de la caja
 Pablo took the pill of the box Pablo took it from the box



Notice that in order to spell out the difference in meaning between the dative construction and the genitive construction, it was not necessary to make reference to the notion of affectedness, inalienability or transfer of possession. In fact, none of these notions are relevant here. There is no sense in either (86a) or (87a) that Valeria is affected at all (the same applies to the first object in the English sentences with *envy* (88a). Example (87a) shows that the dative construction is not restricted to inalienable possession. Finally, we have seen that there is no sense in which Valeria gets or loses anything. Other stative verbs that appear with possessor low applicatives are *imaginar* ‘imagine’, *esperar* ‘expect/hope’, *entender* ‘understand’, *interpretar* ‘interpret/analyze’, *querer* ‘want’ (e.g. *le esperaba un novio mejor a mi tía* ‘I expected my aunt would have a better boyfriend’ and *¿Te interpreta los sueños (a vos)?* ‘Does s/he interpret your dreams?’). This configuration is also exploited in the construction of psychological predicates with *tener* ‘have’, as illustrated below (see also §4.1.1.3).

- (92) *Daniela les tiene miedo / pena / envidia / asco a las arañas*
 Daniela.NOM CL.DAT.PL has fear pity envy disgust the spiders.DAT
 ‘Daniela is afraid of / pities / envies / is disgusted by spiders’

2.2.2.2 Activity verbs

Dative DPs can appear in ditransitive structures with verbs that express an activity. We have seen that when an activity verb is a construction verb (e.g., *cocinar* ‘cook, bake’, *construir* ‘build’, *dibujar* ‘draw’, *cantar* ‘sing’) that takes a theme object and a dative, the dative argument is usually interpreted as a benefactive or intended recipient of the created object. The DOC with this kind of activity verb (usually referred to as accomplishments) is also possible in English as long as the object is overtly expressed.

Many other activity verbs that can take a direct object but are not directional or construction verbs are not, in general, compatible with the English DOC. In Spanish, in contrast, we do find dative arguments licensed with these predicates, as illustrated below.²⁵

- (93) *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT

²⁵ There are many verbs that belong to this class. Just to name a few, *mirar* ‘look at’, *lavar* ‘wash’, *peinar* ‘comb’, *limpiar* ‘clean’, *tocar* ‘touch’, *acariciar* ‘caress’, *besar* ‘kiss’, *observar* ‘observe’, *estudiar* ‘study’.

‘Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead’ (Lit: ‘Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead’)

The semantic properties of the structure are the same with respect to interpretation of the dative. The dative is understood as the (static) possessor of the theme object: there is no transfer of possession, literal or metaphorical. An activity verb like *kiss* can take a surface as its object. In (93) it is understood that Pablo kissed both a forehead and Valeria; and that he did that *at the same time* in virtue of the inalienable possession relationship between the forehead and Valeria. An alternative expression of a similar meaning would involve *Valeria* as the direct object and a locative PP that specifies a location ‘on’ Valeria (94a).

- (94) a. *Pablo besó a Valeria en la frente*
Pablo kissed Valeria.ACC on the forehead
‘Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead’
- b. *?Pablo besó la frente de Valeria*
Pablo kissed the forehead.ACC of Valeria
‘Pablo kissed the forehead of Valeria/Valeria’s forehead’

The alternative with a genitive phrase sounds very odd due to the inalienable possession; in (94b) Valeria is not presented as a participant in the event but just a possessor (see §2.2.3). However, it is a grammatical sentence that a special context could make appropriate. The same oddity seems to arise in the English translation of (94b). Notice that the relation of inalienable possession can be expressed in English too, but only through the prepositional construction with *on*, as reflected in the same translation given to the Spanish alternatives (93) and (94a).

The possession relation between the dative argument and the theme can be inalienable, as above, or alienable.

- (95) *Pablo le lavó el auto a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the car.ACC Valeria.DAT
‘Pablo washed Valeria’s car’

As in the dynamic low applicative constructions, the dative argument can be animate or inanimate. If the dative is inanimate, there must be a whole-part relation between the dative (the whole) and the accusative (the part).

- (96) a. *Valeria le miró las llantas al auto*
Valeria CL.DAT looked-at the tires.ACC the car.DAT
‘Valeria checked the car’s tires’
- b. **Valeria le miró los números a la pantalla*
Valeria CL.DAT looked-at the numbers.ACC the screen.DAT
‘Valeria looked at the numbers on the screen’

Exactly as with recipients and sources (§2.2.1.1), the possibility of inanimate entities participating in the static low applicative construction correlates with their possibility of combining with *tener* ‘have’.

- (97) a. *El auto tiene llantas* (cf. 96a)
the car has tires
- b. **La pantalla tiene números* (cf. 96b)
the screen has numbers
(Cf. *Hay números en la pantalla* ‘there are numbers on the screen’)

2.2.2.3 Previous analyses

There has been a lot of research on possessor datives. Most studies, however, do not present cases with stative verbs such as the equivalents of *admire*, *envy*, *know*. Nevertheless, there is nothing in most approaches that would make us expect a different analysis of the datives in (86a-87a) above from the analysis received by possessor datives in the context of predicates such as *robar* ‘steal’, *ver* ‘see’, *mirar* ‘look at’, *quemar* ‘burn’, *romper* ‘break’, *ensuciar* ‘dirty’ – verbs that appear in examples in the literature. Previous analysis have centered on providing an account of the ‘double’ nature of the dative argument: on the one hand, the dative, as a possessor, seems to be semantically an argument of the theme object; on the other, syntactically, it appears to be an argument of the verb. It has been claimed that the dative also behaves as an argument of the event semantically, as an affected argument. Abstracting away from the details of the proposals, previous research can be divided in three groups: a control analysis (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986), a raising analysis (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Landau 1999) and a source low applicative analysis (Pylkkänen 2002).

In the course of this section, and in Chapter 3, I will try to show how all of the approaches, by focusing on the dative argument, fail to consider a property of the theme object that is crucial to develop a theory that is at the same time broad enough to cover crosslinguistic variation and restricted enough as to provide an explanation of the facts. The crucial property of the object, as we shall see, is the status of the object with respect to its licensing by the verb or by the event it participates in.

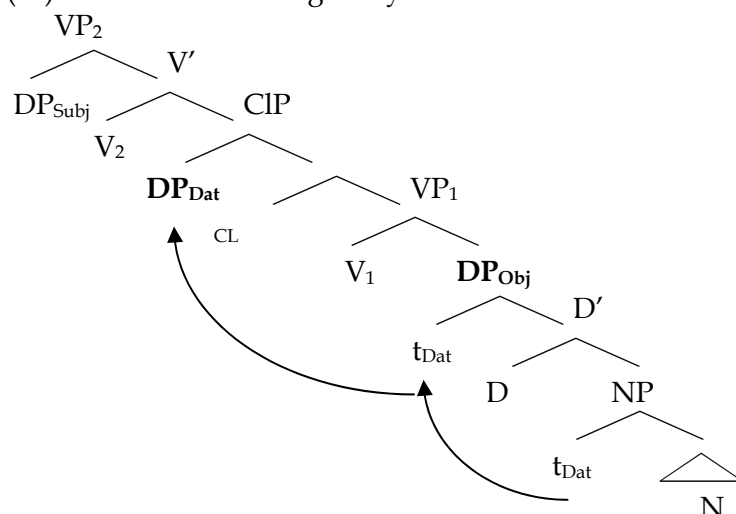
Instead of getting into the details of each approach, I would like to highlight what they all have in common in terms of goals of the explanation and the syntax and semantics of dative possessors, and in terms of their shortcomings. The approach that at first sight is the least able to account for the cases presented in this section, i.e., Pylkkänen’s typology of high and low applicatives, will prove to be the only one that, with some modifications, provides the tools to develop a more adequate analysis.

The basic puzzle that linguists tried to solve with respect to possessor datives has been their semantic and syntactic licensing. How are possessor datives projected into the structure? Why are they restricted to be related to objects, and cannot appear as possessors of subjects?

Raising and control approaches share the proposal that the apparent split between the

semantic licensing of possessors and their syntactic properties is the product of the argument being in two structural positions. In Demonte's 1995 analysis, the possessor DP originates in the specifier of the theme object. The specifier being a position where the possessor cannot receive case, it moves to the specifier of a Clitic Phrase, above the verb.

(98) Possessor raising analysis



Demonte and Landau want to adhere to the idea that arguments do not generally receive additional theta roles by movement, and that meanings are structural. Both argue that the possessor originates inside the DP object in a position that is *different* from the position of genitive complements. They are therefore forced to propose that movement out of the DP is for case reasons only. The restrictions on subjects, i.e., that possessor datives cannot be related to external arguments, is derived from case checking too. If a possessor originates inside the subject DP it would not be able to get case, given that the subject is projected above the position where dative case is checked (98). It is not clear in Demonte's (or Landau's) work what justifies the special Clitic Phrase, nor how it would be restricted to appear just when it is needed. As will become apparent during discussions in the following chapters, an approach in which the meaning of datives is related to their structural position and in which all datives are licensed in the same position cannot capture the different interpretations dative arguments can bear. Additionally, the position where the possessor moves to in Spanish, the specifier of CliticPhrase, seems problematic given that normal word order is Acc > Dat, and that the assumption is that dative case checking takes place in a position higher than Accusative case checking.

If we abstract away from case checking, the raising analyses and the low applicative analysis are very similar: in neither case is the dative possessor an argument of the verb. The dative argument is instead licensed as related to the theme object. In Pylkkänen's approach the meaning of dative possessors also derives from their special original position as the

specifier of the Low-applicative-FROM head.²⁶ She does not discuss case checking, and there is nothing crucial in her approach that would forbid or force the possessor to move for case. Her approach can easily be supplemented with the proper mechanisms of case checking. We shall see that in Spanish, dative case is inherent case (§2.3.2). There is therefore no reason to assume that the dative phrase has to move from its original position, which makes the low applicative analysis more attractive.

The analysis of possessors as Low-applicative-FROM is problematic semantically, however. Pylkkänen imposes a dynamic reading to possessors that is not always present. In order to account for Landau's examples in (99), she makes use of a notion of the dative argument losing something.

- (99) a. *Gil ra'a le-Rina et ha-pupik*
 Gil saw DAT.Rina ACC the-belly button
 'Gil saw Rina's belly button' (Landau 1999: footnote 14, (i))
- b. **Gil ra'a le-Rina et ha-bayit*
 Gil saw DAT.Rina ACC the-house
 'Gil saw Rina's house' (Landau 1999: ex. 49a)

There is something secret and private about some body parts such that, when they are seen by others, a speaker can feel the individual (the dative argument) has lost something. This idea makes the source applicative appropriate. Even if this were satisfactory for examples like (99), it cannot cover possession under stative predicates like *admirar* 'admire', *envidiar* 'envy' and *tener* 'have' (100), nor under non-directional, non-creational activity verbs like *lavar* 'wash' or *mirar* 'look at' (101), where it would be extremely far-fetched to assume some transfer of possession as a result of the event.

- (100) a. *Pablo le admira la paciencia/ la ropa a Andreína*
 Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience/ the clothes Andreína.DAT
 ⇒ *Andreína loses/ gets patience/clothes
- b. *Pablo le tiene el gato a Andreína durante las vacaciones*
 Pablo CL.DAT has the cat Andreína.DAT during the holidays
 'Pablo keeps Andreína's cat during holidays'
 ⇒ *Andreína loses/ gets a cat
- (101) *Gil histakel le-Rina et ha-bayit*
 Gil looked-at DAT.Rina ACC the-house
 'Gil looked at Rina's house' (Landau 1999: ex. 49a)

The examples above are better captured by an approach that proposes that a *static* possession

²⁶ See Landau 1999 for arguments against Kempchinsky's and the control analysis; see Pylkkänen 2002 for arguments against the possessor raising analysis of datives in Hebrew.

relation is a possible meaning. That the source applicative should be distinguished from the possessor applicative is further supported by the following contrasts.

- (102) a. **Pablo le lavó [el auto de la vecina] a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT washed the car of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 Lit. 'Pablo washed Valeria the car of the neighbor'
- b. *Pablo le robó [el auto de la vecina] a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT stole the car of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 Lit. 'Pablo stole Valeria the car of the neighbor'

Sentences (102) show a contrast in the acceptability of a dative argument in the context of the verbs *robar* and *lavar* whose theme object contains a genitive possessor.²⁷ Why is this so? If the genitive possessor has a different meaning than the dative possessor, as in previous analysis, why isn't (a) as natural as (b)? And if the dative possessor is a static possessor in both cases, why is (b) acceptable at all? The possibility for an explanation lies in the existence of both dynamic source applicatives *and* static possessor applicatives, and their possibilities for combination with different kinds of verbs. In (102a), *lavar* is a non-directional, non-creational verb, compatible only with a static low applicative, that is, a possessor. The sentence explicitly states that the car belongs to somebody else, which generates a contradiction, or the need to interpret the dative not as relating to the theme object but to the event of the neighbor's car being washed.²⁸ In contrast, the verb *robar* in (102b) is a directional verb, which is compatible with a dynamic source applicative. The sentence is understood as involving a situation where, for instance, Pablo's or Valeria's neighbor (a woman) lent Valeria her car and Pablo stole it during the time that Valeria had it. Sentence (102) is perfectly natural because *a Valeria* can be interpreted as source (of the theme's "path" that an event of stealing implies) while the neighbour is the owner. In the absence of a genitive possessor, *a Valeria* in (102b) can be interpreted both as source and possessor. The interpretation of a dative as a source is not available with a verb like *lavar* 'wash', which does not imply a path. The contrast in (102a-b) however, is not a structural contrast; both low applicatives have the same structure.

Another case analyzed in the literature on possessor datives involves causative verbs such as *break*.

- (103) a. *Gil šavar le-Rina et ha-miškafayim šel Sigal*
 Gil broke DAT.Rina ACC the glasses of Sigal
 'Gil broke Sigal's glasses on Rina' (Landau 1999:7)

²⁷ Both sentences are perfect if there is no dative argument. Importantly, both sentences are perfect if there is a dative argument but no genitive possessor.

²⁸ I leave aside here the possibility of a high-applicative, benefactive reading for the dative argument. See §4.3 for discussion of dative arguments as benefactives/malefactives.

- b. *Pablo le rompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the neighbor’s radio on Valeria’

Break is not a directional verb; in principle, then, it should only be compatible with a static low applicative-AT, not with a dynamic low applicative-FROM. It should pattern with *wash* in (102a) in not allowing both a static low applicative and a genitive possessor. Sentences (103) show that this prediction is not borne out, neither for Hebrew nor for Spanish. An account for sentences in (103) is developed in Chapter 3 on the basis of the different structure projected by causative predicates. I will show that dative arguments with causative predicates have distinctive semantic and syntactic properties that can be accounted for by their licensing position within a bi-eventive structure.

2.2.3 Possession and affectedness

Some authors have claimed that datives in ditransitive constructions are affected arguments (Jaeggli 1982, Demonte 1995, Bruhn de Garavito 2000, Landau 1999, Cuervo 2000, etc.). The data presented below shows that affectedness is not always part of the meaning of possessor datives. When a sense of affectedness does arise, it can be shown that it is an indirect consequence of the lexical meaning of the verb, combined with the possessive relation between the direct object and the dative argument expressed by the low applicative construction.

First, we have seen that in the case of stative verbs, a dative is understood as the possessor, but there is no sense of affectedness, as illustrated below ((104)=(86)).

- (104) *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience’ (Lit: ‘Pablo admires Valeria the patience’)

The same holds of perception verbs, such as *ver* ‘see’, *oír* ‘hear’, etc. That there is no entailment of affectedness is shown, for instance, in an idiom that involves the verb *ver* ‘see’ and a dative possessor: *no verle el pelo a alguien* ‘not to see somebody’, as in the English idiom ‘not to see hide nor hair of somebody’.

- (105) *Hace dos años que no le veo el pelo a Valeria*
 makes two years that not CL.DAT see.1.SG the hair.ACC Valeria.DAT
 ‘I haven’t seen hide nor hair of Valeria in two years’
 (Lit: ‘I haven’t seen Valeria the hair in two years’)

A dative possessor is not necessarily affected in the context of activity verbs either. With verbs like *mirar* ‘look at’, *estudiar* ‘study’, *observar* ‘observe’, for instance, there is no sense of affectedness of the dative argument.

- (106) *Pablo le miró /estudió /observó los pies a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT looked-at /studied /observed the feet Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo looked at /studied /observed Valeria’s feet’

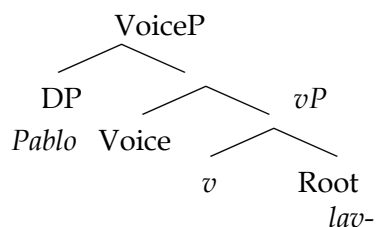
In some cases, however, the dative argument *is* interpreted as somewhat affected. This cases can be divided in two groups: agentive activity verbs that affect the theme object (107), and causative verbs (see (112) and §3.1).

- (107) a. *Pablo le lavó las manos a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT washed the hands Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo washed Valeria’s hands’
 b. *Pablo le operó la rodilla izquierda a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT operated the knee left Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo operated on Valeria’s left knee’

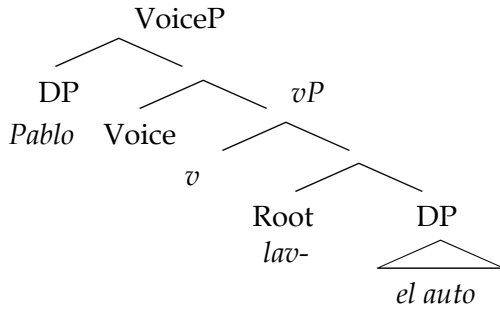
It can be said that *Valeria* is affected in (107). This sense of affectedness of the dative, however, depends on the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb; specifically, on whether it expresses an activity that affects the direct object. As far as it is understood that by washing something, the object is affected, then, indirectly, a dative possessor is affected too. The sense of affectedness is stronger in the case of inalienable possession (107b) because then there is no way of affecting the theme without affecting the possessor (recall the interpretation of dative inalienable possessors with verbs like *kiss* discussed in §2.2.2.2).

It is important to note, however, that this kind of affectedness on the object is not encoded structurally: there is no special position for affected objects of activity verbs (in fact, in most cases a direct object is not required, and the verb can appear without object, as unergative verbs do). Since a low applicative phrase relates to the verb as a constituent (the ApplPhrase is a sister of the verb), it occupies the same position as an object DP would, if there were no dative. The relevant sections of the structures corresponding to the intransitive, transitive and ditransitive variants of *lavar* ‘wash’ are represented below.

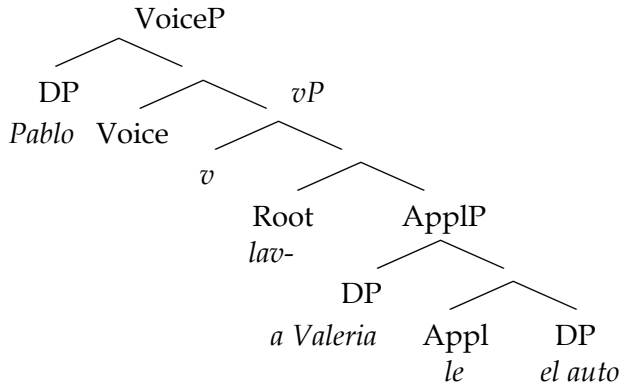
- (108) *Pablo estuvo lavando ayer*
 ‘Pablo was washing yesterday’



- (109) *Pablo lavó el auto*
 'Pablo washed the car'



- (110) *Pablo le lavó el auto a Valeria*
 Lit. 'Pablo washed Valeria the car'



The claim that datives with activity verbs are possessors and not arguments affected by the event predicts that a prepositional genitive possessor should be incompatible with a dative, and either produce ungrammaticality or force a different interpretation of the dative argument. This prediction is borne out, as discussed in the previous section for sentences (102), repeated below.

- (111) a. **Pablo le lavó el auto de la vecina a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT washed the car of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 Lit. 'Pablo washed Valeria the car of the neighbor'
- b. *Pablo le robó la bicicleta de la vecina a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT stole the bicycle of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 'Pablo stole his/her/the neighbor's bicycle from Valeria'

Since (111a) explicitly states that the car belongs to the neighbor, *a Valeria* cannot be interpreted as the possessor of the car, which makes the sentence sound odd. The only reading that the sentence can have is that *a Valeria* is an argument related to the event of somebody washing the car, that is a benefactive high applicative, which are not available in

Spanish with full DP datives.²⁹ In (111b), *Valeria* is interpreted as a source, and whether she is affected or not depends on pragmatic factors.

Dative arguments with causative (or inchoative) verbs constitute a different case, semantically and syntactically. Dative arguments that appear with causative verbs *are* indeed affected arguments. They are structurally different: they are arguments affected by a change of state of the theme object; the dative argument is related to an event, the end state of the theme object. The same applies to datives in resultative constructions (e.g. *wash something clean*). The syntax and semantics of these datives is discussed in Chapter 3. For now it will suffice to recall that a dative and a prepositional possessor are perfectly compatible in the context of causative verbs, as illustrated below for Hebrew (example from Landau 1999:ex. 9) and Spanish.

- (112) a. *Gil šavar le-Rina et ha-miškafayim šel Sigal*
 Gil broke DAT.Rina ACC the glasses of Sigal
 ‘Gil broke Sigal’s glasses on Rina’
- b. *Pablo le rompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the neighbor’s radio on Valeria’

Once we leave causative verbs aside, the discussion of whether affectedness is part of the meaning of possessor datives resembles the discussion of whether the meaning of the English DOC is ‘cause to have’, i.e., whether successful transfer of possession is a structural meaning. It has been shown (among others by Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2001, henceforth L&RH) that whether there is successful transfer of possession depends on the individual verb. Thus, that the recipient *has* something is part of the meaning of *give* (both in the DOC and the *to*-PP construction), but it is not entailed with *send*, *throw*, *bake* or *write*, for instance.

- (113) a. *She gave him the money, but he never got it* (contradiction)
 (L&RH)
- b. *I threw John the ball, but it didn’t reach him because of the strong wind.*
 (Baker 1997:ex. 20b)
- c. *I wrote Sue a letter but she never got it.*
 (Pytkänen 2002: 20)

Given that effective transfer of possession is not required, and even when it seems to be part of the meaning of the sentence, it can be cancelled, it has been concluded that transfer of possession is not entailed by the DOC construction. Nevertheless, in cases where there is possibility of alternation between the DOC and the PP variants, the DOC seems to favor a successful transfer reading.

What I have argued for here amounts to making similar claims with respect to

²⁹ But see §4.3 for an analysis of Spanish ethical datives (expressed by dative clitics but no DPs) as benefactive high applicatives.

affectedness in the possessor dative DOC, as illustrated below.

- (114) a. *Robaron [el libro de María]*
 stole.3.PL the book of María
 ‘They stole María’s book’
- b. *Le robaron [el libro] [a María]*
 CL.DAT stole.3.PL the book María.DAT
 ‘They stole María’s book’
 ‘They stole the book from María’ (Demonte 1995:ex. 46)

In both sentences in (114) *María* can be interpreted as a possessor of the book that was stolen; but only in (114b) is *María* interpreted as a *participant* in the event, as the individual who had the book at the time of the robbery, or the individual that is left without her book. When possession is inalienable, only the dative option is acceptable.

- (115) a. *Le operaron [la nariz] [a Luisa]*
 CL.DAT operated.3.PL the nose Luisa.DAT
 ‘They operated Luisa on the nose’ (Lit. ‘They operated Luisa the nose’)
- b. **Operaron [la nariz de Luisa]*
 operated.3.PL the nose of Luisa
 ‘They operated on the nose of Luisa/on Luisa’s nose’ (Demonte 1995:ex. 46)

This is expected since there cannot be an operation of someone’s nose without the individual being present as a participant in the event (dismembered scenarios not considered).

The claims about the semantics of static low applicatives (i.e., without a dynamic relation between the two arguments) are summarized below.

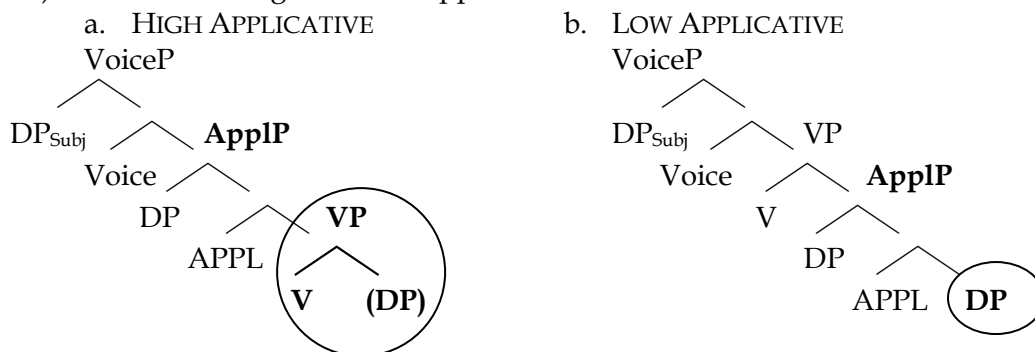
- (116) In static Low applicatives-AT
- the dative argument is a static possessor
 - the dative possessor is a participant in the event described by the verb (as opposed to genitive possessors, who are not participants)
 - affectedness is not a structural meaning (it is not entailed)
 - if there is affectedness, it is affectedness by possession of an affected object
 - if ‘alternation’ with genitive possessor is possible, the dative construction might favor the affectedness reading (because the dative is a participant)

2.2.4 Diagnostics for low applicatives revisited

Pylkkänen develops a typology of applied arguments based on the semantics of the construction. The semantics are expressed structurally. Thus, high applicatives are defined as the relation between an individual (the applied argument) and an event. This relation is

expressed structurally by having the applicative head merge above the verb. Low applicatives, in contrast, establish a relation between two individuals (the direct and the indirect objects) within the event. Structurally, the applicative phrase merges below the verb.

(117) Structure of high and low applicatives



These definitions and their associated structures provide two diagnostics to tease apart the two kinds of applicatives. One diagnostic concerns the semantics of the low applicative head (118), and the other refers to the structural environment for the applicatives (119).

Pylkkänen's applicative diagnostics (2003:23)

(118) Verb semantics

Since low applicatives imply a transfer of possession, they make no sense with verbs that are completely static: for example, an event of holding a bag does not plausibly result in the bag ending up in somebody's possession. High applicatives, on the other hand, should have no problem combining with verbs such as *hold*: it is perfectly plausible that somebody would benefit from a bag-holding event.

(119) Transitivity restrictions

Only high applicative heads should be able to combine with unergatives. Since a low applicative head denotes a relation between the direct and indirect object, it cannot appear in a structure that lacks a direct object.

Based on these diagnostics, Pylkkänen analyses applicative constructions in several languages and finds a "tight correlation between transitivity restrictions and verbal semantics". According to two of my claims, however, both diagnostics should be revised and modified to accommodate, on one hand, the data on static low applicatives, and on the other, the finer grained distinction among possessor datives. I comment on the diagnostic on verbal semantics, and then on transitivity below.

2.2.4.1 Verb semantics

Since Pylkkänen argues for the existence of two dynamic low applicative heads, her diagnostic in (118) makes sense. In English, which lacks high applicatives, for example, sentence (120a) is ungrammatical; while it is natural in Luganda (120b), a language with high

applicatives.

(120) a. **I held him the bag*

- b. *Katonga ya-kwaant-i-dde Mukasa ensawo*
Katonga PAST-hold-APPL-PAST Mukasa bag
'Katonga held the bag for Mukasa' (Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 28b; 31b)

The corresponding Spanish sentence is grammatical, as illustrated below.

(121) *Pablo le sostuvo la valija a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT held the suitcase Andreína.DAT
'Pablo held Andreína's suitcase'

According to the diagnostic on verbal semantics, then, the applicative in (121) could not be low; under the assumption that there are only two kinds of applicatives, high and low, Spanish sentence (121) would correspond to a high applicative of the Luganda type: an applicative head merged above the verb, where the applied argument is understood as a benefactive of the event. This kind of high applicative can be diagnosed by the transitivity test: a high applicative can introduce an argument above an unergative verb such as 'correr' *run* or *caminar* 'walk'. This prediction, however, is not borne out. While the sentence is grammatical in Luganda (122b), it is ungrammatical in Spanish (122a). In this, Spanish patterns with English (122c).

(122) a. **Pablo le caminó/corrió a Andreína*
Pablo CL.DAT walked/ ran Andreína.DAT
'Pablo walked/ ran for Andreína'

- b. *Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga*
Mukasa PAST-walk-APPL-PAST Katonga
'Mukasa walked for Katonga' (Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 31a)

c. **I ran him* (Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 28a)

There is an apparent contradiction, then, in the result of the diagnostics: Spanish seems to have high applicatives according to the verbal semantics diagnostic, while it seems not to have high applicatives according to the transitivity restriction diagnostic. In order to solve this puzzle, we have to recall that in the Spanish sentence with the non-directional verb *hold* (121), the meaning of the dative is not the same as in Luganda. In Spanish, the dative is the *possessor* of the suitcase, not the benefactive of the event of somebody holding a random suitcase. The Spanish construction in (121) is a low applicative, but of the static type

described in §2.2.2.³⁰

In sum, while the transitivity diagnostic seems to be appropriate for low applicatives, the verb semantics diagnostic has to be revised. This diagnostic only works in one direction: if a language cannot have a sentence of the structure of ‘hold somebody something’, then it can be concluded that that language does not have high applicatives or stative low applicatives. From the grammaticality of the sentence, it can not be directly inferred whether the language has high applicatives of the Luganda type or static low applicatives of the Spanish type.³¹ It is necessary to carefully inspect the meaning of the sentence and independently test for the grammaticality of high applicatives (the diagnostic with unergatives such as *run* can be used to test for this).

2.2.4.2 Transitivity restrictions

Pylkkänen argues that if an applied argument can appear with an unergative verb, then the applicative head that introduces it cannot be a low applicative; it must be a high applicative. By definition, low applicatives require an overt object for the applicative head to apply an argument to it. I would like here just to make two observations on how the transitivity diagnostic should be interpreted.

First, it is important to be careful in the selection of unergative verbs used to test a language, and make sure that if an applied argument is accepted it is not the case that there is an implied object. In principle, it is correct that a low applicative can appear with an “unergative” verb only when there is an overt direct object, as illustrated for English and Spanish below.

- (123) a. **Daniel sang Stephanie*
b. *Daniel sang her a song*

- (124) a. **Pablo les bailó a los invitados*
Pablo CL.DAT.PL danced the guests.DAT
‘Pablo danced for the guests’

b. *Pablo les bailó un malambo a los invitados*
Pablo CL.DAT.PL danced a malambo the guests.DAT
‘Pablo danced a malambo for the guests’

³⁰ In fact, *hold* does not seem to be a stative verb, but what I have identified as a non-directional activity. It is predicted to pattern with other non-directional activity verbs such as *wash*, *look at*, *kiss*, etc. Stative verbs such as *admire*, *envy*, *imagine* can also embed static low applicatives in Spanish, but this seems to be, crosslinguistically, a more restricted possibility. As mentioned before, French, German and Hebrew have dative possessor with activity verbs productively, but not with stative verbs. Therefore, for the purpose of the (revised) diagnostic, *hold* is still a better verb once the considerations discussed below are taken into account.

³¹ Notice that even when Pylkkänen does not mention the possibility nor presents data of a language that has both kinds of applicatives, nothing in her typology predicts that a language should have only one kind.

In the intransitive context, verbs like *sing*, *dance* and *run* loosely express an activity that involves making melodic sounds or moving. It is only in the presence of an object that they can behave as construction verbs (accomplishments), and, as a consequence, be able to take a low applicative. Other activity verbs, however, express a more defined kind of activity, and an object can be implied (and recoverable) even when not overt. Examples of these verbs are *write*, *leer* ‘read’, *sonreír* ‘smile’. Not surprisingly, a low applicative might appear even in the absence of an overt object (see §4.3.1 for further discussion).

- (125) a. *Daniel wrote me from Ibiza*
- b. *Valeria les escribió a sus amigos*
 Valeria CL.DAT.PL wrote her friends.DAT
 ‘Valeria wrote (to) her friends’
- c. *Valeria les leyó a los alumnos en la clase*
 Valeria CL.DAT.PL read the students.DAT in the class
 ‘Valeria read for her students in class’

Second, the diagnostic is called “transitivity diagnostic”. This should be understood as the structural requirement of an object DP for a low applicative to apply to. The notion of *object* should be understood as a *complement* of the root. Thus, the notion includes not only objects of transitive activities but underlying objects of unaccusatives (e.g. simple non agentive events formed by *vGO* or *vBE*) as well. A low applicative requires an object but does not require transitivity; i.e., it does not require an external argument. Assuming the structures of complex events introduced in §1.3, the requirement of an object defined as a DP complement of the root excludes the accusative DP in causatives and inchoatives, which is licensed as an inner subject, i.e., an specifier, not a complement. This notion of object is crucial in order to account for the distinctive properties of applicatives licensed in causative and inchoative constructions, as well as to make predictions for the availability and interpretation of dative arguments with existentials and simple unaccusative verbs of change.

2.3 The dative construction is a double object construction

Building on Demonte 1995 and Cuervo 2000, 2003, I have shown that the clitic-doubled dative indirect objects have a structure systematically different from the non-doubled prepositional variant. I have analyzed the doubled dative arguments as applied arguments. Building on Pytkäinen’s (2002) work, I have shown that there exist three kinds of low applicative heads: two dynamic and directional (Low-Appl-TO and Low-Appl-FROM) and one static (Low-Appl-TO).

Now, is the dative construction a double object construction? Do studies on DOC inform the study of dative arguments? Can this study of datives as low applicatives shed light on aspects of DOC of the English kind (i.e., without dative case marking)? In order to address

these questions I will compare Spanish low applicatives to the English DOC, for which the DOC has been extensively studied.

After briefly observing the hierarchical relation of objects in both languages in §2.3.1, I will compare their morphosyntactic properties ('coding properties') in §2.3.2. Finally, in §2.3.3 I present a comparison of the semantics, in terms of thematic roles and restrictions on the different elements of the construction (animacy of the dative, type of verb).

I will show that where the Spanish and the English constructions differ, the differences can be derived from two sources. Morphosyntactic differences between the English and Spanish DOC arise from their different mechanisms of Case and Case checking. The difference in the semantic contexts where the DOC is available in Spanish but not in English is attributed to the two meanings the Spanish applicative construction has and that English lacks: the dative as a source, and the dative as a (static) possessor. The comparison is based on the meanings of the Spanish DOC in terms of the three kinds of low applicatives discussed in §2.2. I will further show that the differences found between English and Spanish are differences that are found crosslinguistically elsewhere.

2.3.1 Syntactic hierarchies

In the Spanish clitic-doubled configuration, the dative argument is higher than the theme object. As was shown in §2.1, facts of binding, weak cross-over and scope exactly parallel of those of the English double-object construction. I have argued that the Spanish facts cannot be explained in terms of the presence or final position of the dative clitic; rather, they require a configuration that reverses the c-command relations of the non-doubled, prepositional variant. These facts follow naturally from the asymmetric c-command relation of the dative over the theme typical of the DOC, if the construction with the dative clitic is a DOC.

If one assumes that the crucial characteristic of the DOC and of the dative alternation is the arrangement of the two internal arguments in the syntax, then these facts alone suffice to conclude that the Spanish clitic-doubled configuration *is* a double object construction. However, I will proceed to test the construction against other characteristics attributed to the (English) DOC. In particular, I will review the 'coding properties' of the construction (e.g., case, word order, passivization), the thematic roles of the two objects, and the meaning of their relationship. The contrasts between English and Spanish can serve as a basis for a principled study of crosslinguistic variation.

2.3.2 Coding properties

In their argumentation for a non-derivational and 'one-verb meaning' approach to the dative alternation, L&RH analyze how the object properties are distributed across the recipient and the theme in English. Following work by Baker 1997, Maling 2001, Marantz 1993, among many others, they claim that the distribution of object properties is "principled and systematic":

- Coding properties of direct objects may choose the recipient
- Properties involving “theta-role assignment” always choose the theme

Coding properties involve word order, case marking, agreement and ability to passivize. L&RH observe (citing work on 260 languages by Siewierska 1998) that there is crosslinguistic complementary distribution of double objects (i.e., two objects with same case marking or absence of overt case, in which the goal is higher than the theme) and dative constructions. This alone may lead us to the hypothesis that double objects and dative constructions are basically the same type of construction. The analysis of coding properties addresses the question of why the constructions ‘look so different’.

In the English DOC there is no overt case marking that distinguishes the two objects. It is argued, however, that they are assigned case in different ways. Pesetsky (1995) argues that the first object, the recipient, receives case from the verb, while theme object receives case from a null preposition G. This is supported by the requirement of strict adjacency between verb and recipient (126) – a requirement standardly assumed for English direct objects – and by the fact that the recipient, and not the theme, moves to subject position in the passive (127).

- (126) a. **Sue gave yesterday Bill a book.*
 b. *?Sue gave Bill yesterday a book.* (Pesetsky 1995:ex. 338)
- (127) a. *Bill_i was sent t_i a book.*
 b. **A book_j was sent Bill t_j.* (Pesetsky 1995:ex. 339)

Pesetsky concludes, then, that case marking of the first object is unexceptional, just a case of marking by V. It is the case marking of the second object that requires an explanation. He accounts for this arguing that the theme gets case from the null preposition G. In the vocabulary of the applicative analysis, the English null low applicative head assigns case to the theme.

In terms of coding properties, then, recipients in English usurp three object properties: case assignment by the verb, requirement of adjacency to the verb, and the ability to passivize. These three characteristics are in fact all related to the mechanisms and consequences of case checking. Since English does not show object agreement, nothing can be said in this respect. Do recipients in Spanish exhibit any of these object properties?

We will see that the answer is no: the higher object of the Spanish DOC does not exhibit any direct object property. However, the lack of object properties for the dative argument in Spanish can naturally be derived from the same source as the object properties of the English recipient: case and case checking.

The higher object of the Spanish DOC is marked with dative case. As we have seen, this is true of all recipients, sources and possessors. The dative argument appears after the accusative object in linear order.

- (128) *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary.ACC Gabi.DAT
 'Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary'

Is dative case dependant on assignment from the verb? Is dative case structural case? In order to answer this, let us examine passives of ditransitives.

The argument that moves to subject position and gets nominative case in the English DOC is the recipient, as illustrated below.

- (129) a. *The university awarded Stephanie a prize*
 b. *Stephanie was awarded a/the prize*
 c. **A prize was awarded Stephanie*

In English passives, the recipient behaves like an underlying direct object: it gets nominative case, moves to subject position and the verb agrees with it. In contrast, the argument that gets nominative case and triggers verb agreement (and may move to subject position) in Spanish is always the theme. The participle agrees in gender and number with the nominative argument, the theme.

- (130) a. *El diario le entregó el primer premio a Carolina*
 the newspaper.M.NOM CL.DAT awarded the first prize.M.ACC Carolina.FEM.DAT
 'The newspaper awarded Carolina the first prize'
- b. *El primer premio le fue entregado a Carolina*
 the first prize.M.NOM CL.DAT was awarded.M.SG Carolina.FEM.DAT
 'The first prize was awarded to Carolina'
- c. **Carolina le fue entregado/a (a) el primer premio*
 Carolina.FEM.NOM CL.DAT was awarded.M/FEM the first prize.M.NOM/ACC/DAT
 'Carolina was awarded the first prize'

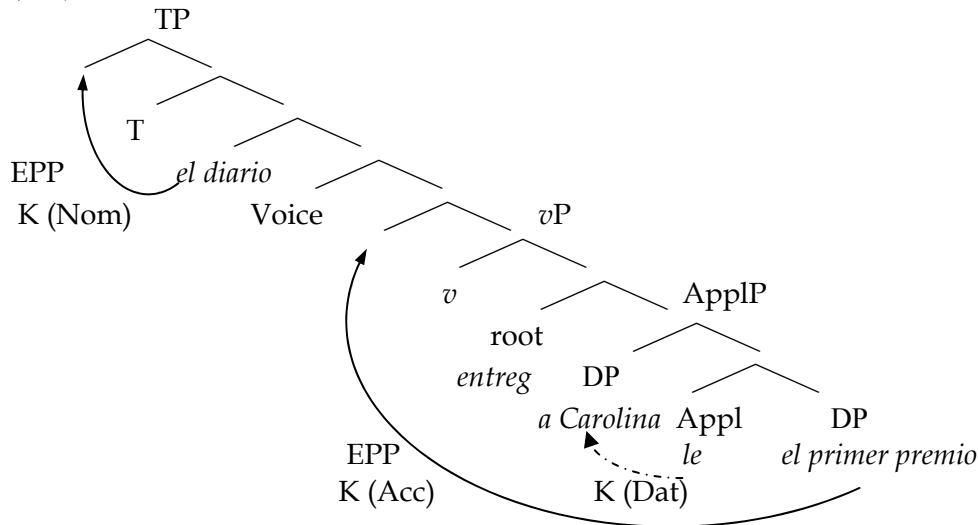
Sentence (130c) shows that the dative recipient cannot get nominative in passives, no matter what case the theme is assigned, or whether or not there is gender or number agreement on the participle. The dative can, however appear preverbally, but always as a dative; the participle agrees with the postverbal nominative theme.

- (131) *A Carolina le fue entregado el primer premio*
 Carolina.NOM CL.DAT was awarded.M.SG the first prize.M.NOM
 'Carolina was awarded the first prize'

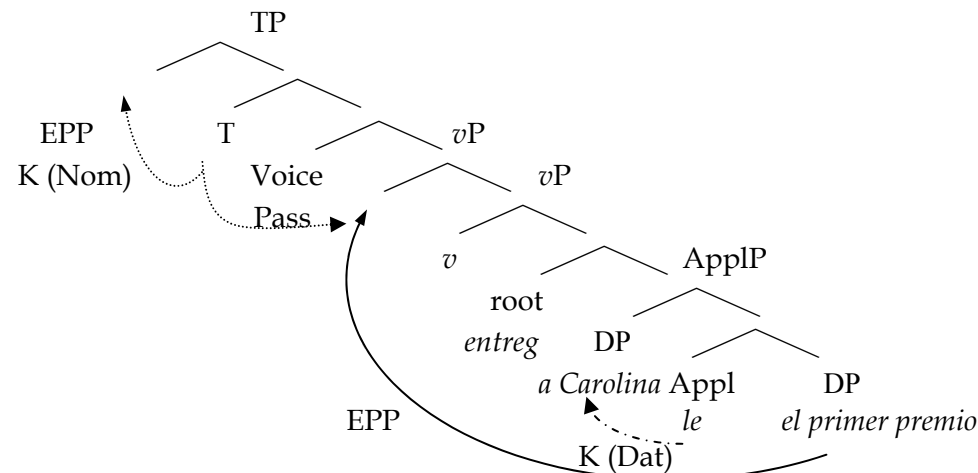
Passivization facts follow if one assumes that dative case is inherent while accusative is structural. In descriptive terms, it seems that if the dative moves to preverbal position, it enables nominative case checking and agreement between Tense and the verb to be done 'downwards'. If the dative does not move, the theme moves across it in order to be visible for

nominative case checking. From this position it can be attracted to subject position, the SpecT (133). This description is consistent with an account of word order Acc > Dat in ditransitive active sentences in terms of movement of the theme object across the dative DP (132). The dative argument is higher than the theme object. Since dative case is inherent, the theme object must move to specifier of *v* in order to be visible for case checking (Cuervo 2003a).

(132) Case and movement in active DOC



(133) Case and movement in passive DOC



Passivization of a clitic-doubled ditransitive is not always acceptable, however. As noted by Demonte, while passivization of a structure with a recipient is fine, passivization of structures that involve benefactives –or sources, or possessors– are not (examples (134a-b) from Demonte, 1995: ex.13).³²

³² The passive sentences are acceptable if there is no dative argument.

- (134) a. *El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado*
the Nobel prize.NOM CL.DAT was given Cela.DAT last year
‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year’
- b. **La casa le fue pintada a Juan anteayer*
the house.NOM CL.DAT was painted Juan.DAT the day before yesterday
‘The house was painted for Juan the day before yesterday’
- c. **La bicicleta le fue robada a Pablo ayer*
the bicycle.NOM CL.DAT was stolen Pablo.DAT yesterday
‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday’
- d. **Los hijos le fueron admirados a Carolina en la escuela*
the children.NOM CL.DAT were admired Carolina.DAT in the school
‘Carolina’s children were admired at school’

Degree of acceptability of passivization of clitic-doubled ditransitives also varies with the definiteness of the theme and of the dative. Although passive sentences with indefinite preverbal themes are acceptable, they usually require special intonation, and cannot receive a wide focus interpretation. This, however, might be related to the properties of preverbal subject position in Spanish and not be directly related to passivization of a ditransitive.

I do not have a satisfactory account of these restrictions on passives of ditransitives. It is interesting, however, that passivization of the DOC seems to be restricted to recipients also in English, as illustrated in (135b-c) with a benefactive and a possessor DOC.

- (135) a. *Stephanie was faxed a/ the contract*
b. **Stephanie was fixed a /the sandwich*
c. **Stephanie and Daniel are envied their cooking abilities*

To sum up, the English DOC contrasts with Spanish dative ditransitives in the coding properties of the recipient, that is, of the higher argument. The table below presents a summary of these contrasts.

(136) Summary of object properties of higher object

Object properties of recipients	Spanish	English
Case from V (v)?	NO	YES
Structural case?	NO	YES
Adjacency to verb?	NO	YES
Passivizes?	NO	YES
Object agreement?	(dative clitic)	----

In conclusion, English recipients show some object properties that Spanish recipients do not show. The theme object in Spanish keeps all the object properties: it gets the same case and in the same manner whether there is a second internal argument or not. All of these properties

can be derived from the properties of case in each language. The differences of the case systems are orthogonal to the relevant issues: the crosslinguistic contrast in case says nothing about the semantics of the constructions or the basic syntactic relation between the two objects. Crucially, the Spanish-English contrasts in these properties, although they hold consequences for the way the sentences ‘look’, do not entail nor suggest that the thematic and structural relations in the DOC are any different across the languages.

2.3.3 Objecthood and theta-roles

We have seen that the dative argument in the Spanish DOC does not ‘usurp’ any of the object properties that theme objects have. This is subject to crosslinguistic variation, as illustrated in the comparison with English. L&RH argue that the object properties that are related to theta-role assignment “always choose the theme”.

The object properties that ‘stay with the theme’ include the ability to appear in nominalizations, compound formation and secondary predication.³³ English recipients cannot participate in these processes. This means that these properties should not be subject to crosslinguistic variation and, under standard assumptions, we should not expect to find any contrast between the impossibility of English and Spanish recipients of participating in nominalizations, compound formation and secondary predication. This is true, but probably in a trivial way. Given that the recipient in Spanish does not usurp any of the direct object properties, there are no reasons to believe that datives would suddenly behave as direct objects with respect to nominalizations or secondary predication.³⁴ I therefore leave this matter aside, and present a comparison of Spanish and English with respect to the several restrictions that the English DOC is subject to.

2.3.3 Restrictions

2.3.3.1 Restrictions on the ‘dative’

Locatives

We have seen that pure locatives cannot participate in the DOC in English or Spanish, as has been repeatedly observed for many other languages too.

(137) a. *Stephanie mailed Taylor / *Toronto an invitation*

b. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi/ *a Barcelona*
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT / Barcelona.DAT
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi/ Barcelona a dictionary’

³³ For a description and analysis of these facts, see Pesetsky 1995, Baker 1997, Maling 2001, L&RH, etc. For a different, structural analysis of incompatibility of secondary predication for the higher object in DOC, see Pytkänen 2002.

³⁴ Spanish does not have a productive compounding mechanism that would be relevant here.

- (138) a. *Pablo cocinó una torta para Andreína/ para la fiesta*
 Pablo baked a cake for Andreína/ for the party
- b. *Pablo le cocinó una torta a Andreína / *a la fiesta*
 Pablo CL.DAT baked a cake Andreína.DAT / the party.DAT
 ‘Pablo baked Andreína / the party a cake’

Animacy

It has been argued that only animates can be the first object of the DOC. In light of examples like (139), however, it has been observed that the restriction is not so much in animacy but in the possibility of ‘receiving’ and/or possessing the object.

- (139) *Pablo le donó un diccionario de portugués a la biblioteca*
 Pablo CL.DAT donated a dictionary of Portuguese the library.DAT
 ‘Pablo donated a Portuguese dictionary to the library’

It could be said, however, that examples such as (139) above are possible because a library can be considered as the group of people that runs it. This has been used as an argument to maintain that the restriction is in fact on animacy (even if metaphoric or by synecdoche). Spanish shows that the relevant restriction is not animacy. The general condition for a dative goal is the possibility of characterizing it as a recipient or intended possessor.

- (140) a. *Pablo puso azúcar en el mate / en la mesa*
 Pablo put sugar in the mate / on the table
- b. *Pablo le puso azúcar al mate*
 Pablo CL.DAT put sugar mate.DAT
 ‘Pablo put sugar in the mate’
- c. **Pablo le puso azúcar a la mesa*
 Pablo CL.DAT put sugar the table.DAT
 ‘Pablo put sugar on the table’

In the examples above, an inanimate object can be a clitic-doubled dative in the DOC as long as the theme object is or becomes an intrinsic part of the dative DP. The sugar becomes part of the mate when added to it, and therefore the DOC is acceptable. The sugar, in contrast, does not become part of a table, and the DOC is disallowed. Although it is standard to consider that ungrammaticality arises when these types of conditions are not met, the restrictions *per se* have more of a ‘semantic anomaly’ flavor than that of ungrammaticality.

Recall there is an interesting correlation between the pairs of objects that can appear in the DOC and the pairs that can appear as the arguments with *tener* ‘have’.

- (141) a. *Pablo le regaló un diccionario a Gabi* \Rightarrow *Gabi tiene un diccionario*
 Lit. ‘Pablo gave Gabi.DAT a dictionary’ Lit. ‘Gabi has a dictionary’

‘Pablo gave Gabi a dictionary as a gift’

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>b. <i>Pablo le donó un atlas a la biblioteca</i>
 Lit. ‘Pablo gave the library.DAT an atlas’
 ‘Pablo donated an atlas to the library’</p> | <p>⇒ <i>La biblioteca tiene un atlas</i>
 Lit. ‘The library has an atlas’</p> |
| <p>c. <i>Pablo le puso azúcar al mate</i>
 Lit. ‘Pablo put the mate.DAT sugar’
 ‘Pablo put sugar in the mate’</p> | <p>⇒ <i>El mate tiene azúcar</i>
 Lit. ‘The mate has sugar’</p> |
| <p>d. <i>*Pablo le puso azúcar a la mesa</i>
 Lit. ‘Pablo put the table.DAT sugar’
 ‘Pablo put sugar on the table’</p> | <p>⇒ <i>*La mesa tiene azúcar</i>
 Lit. ‘The table has sugar’</p> |

Although the restriction for datives in DOC is better expressed as a restriction on recipients or possessors, in some languages the restriction might result in having the same effect as a restriction on animacy (e.g. in English, *The coffee has sugar* *(in it)).

Inalienability

Spanish does not require that the possession expressed in the DOC be inalienable. No comparison is possible with English, which cannot express static possession with the DOC. Differences with respect to restriction on the type of possession is found between Spanish and French. In French, the restriction is stronger: possession has to be inalienable for a possessor to be expressed as a dative argument. As was discussed in §2.2.3, in Spanish inalienability (a whole-part relationship) is required of inanimate datives, but is not necessary for animates (although it is preferred).

2.3.3.2 Restrictions on the verb

English DOC has been shown to be very restricted with respect to the verbs it can appear with. I will briefly mention some of these restrictions, and show how the Spanish construction compares.

The English DOC prefers a verb that expresses an ‘instantaneous causation of ballistic motion’ such as *throw, kick*, etc.; it is degraded with verbs of ‘continuous imparting of force’, such as *pull, drag, push, ride* (Pinker 1989; see Pesetsky 1995, Krifka 2001 for discussion). In contrast, the low applicative construction in Spanish is acceptable with these verbs.

- (142) a. *Pablo le empujó la caja a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT pushed the box Valeria.DAT
 Lit. ‘Pablo pushed Valeria the box’
- b. *Pablo le arrastró la caja a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT dragged the box Valeria.DAT
 Lit. ‘Pablo dragged Valeria the box’

In cases like (142), the dative argument is not usually interpreted as the recipient or final possessor of the theme, but rather as a possessor or benefactive. However, the recipient or goal reading is possible in the right context. Interestingly, Baker 1992 makes similar observations for English. In the context of soccer, a DOC with *push* becomes acceptable:

- (143) a. *Pelé pushed the ball to Maradona*
 b. *Pelé pushed Maradona the ball*

Arguably, by *push* here something like *kick* is meant, an activity verb which defines a path by a starting point whose goal can be defined by the first object of a DOC.

In Spanish, the DOC construction is also possible with verbs of transfer or movement where the dative argument defines the source (as discussed in § 2.2.1.2).

- (144) *Pablo le sacó el chupete a Juana*
 Pablo CL.DAT took.away the pacifier Juana.DAT
 ‘Pablo took Juana’s pacifier’ / ‘Pablo took the pacifier away from Juana’

While in general this is not possible in English (145a), a similar construction, with all the flavor of the DOC, is acceptable with some similar verbs (compare *steal* and *rob*), where the first object is the source and the theme is introduced by the overt preposition *of*.

- (145) a. **Daniel stole Stephanie her magazine*
 b. *Daniel robbed Stephanie of \$10*

Finally, a dative in a ditransitive sentence in Spanish can specify a static possessor of the theme (146). As we saw in detail in 2.2.3, this (alienable and inalienable) possessor construction is extremely productive in Spanish. Again, even when this meaning is very restricted in English, a few stative verbs allow for a DOC where the first object is a static possessor.

- (146) *Pablo le admira la paciencia /la campera a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience /the jacket Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience/jacket’

- (147) a. *Daniel envies Stephanie her culinary abilities*
 b. *Daniel forgave Stephanie her rough words*

In sum, the differences between English and Spanish with respect to the verbs with which the DOC is possible go on the same direction: every type of verb that can appear with DOC in English can do so too in Spanish, but the reverse is not true. This contrast does not imply any structural difference; it can naturally be attributed to the two meanings the low applicative can have in Spanish (i.e., source and static possessor) but that are only rarely found in English.

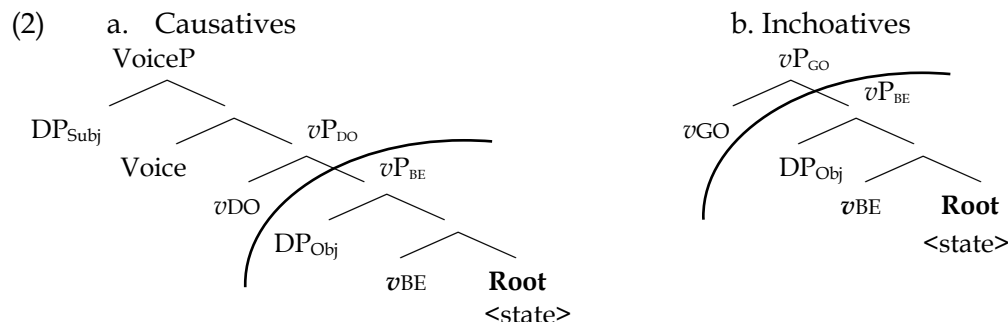
Chapter 3. Affected Applicatives

Dative arguments can appear in Spanish in the context of causative and inchoative verbs (e.g. with *romper* ‘break’, *abrir* ‘open’, *quemar* ‘burn’, and their intransitive variants *romperse*, *abrirse*, *quemarse*).

- (1) a. *Emilio le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
‘Emilio broke the radio on Valeria’ (Lit. ‘Emilio broke Valeria the radio’)
- b. *A Emilio se le quemaron las tostadas*
Emilio.DAT se CL.DAT burned.PL the toasts
‘The toasts burned on Emilio’ (Lit. ‘To Emilio burned the toasts’)

Dative DPs that combine with causative verbs (1a) look exactly like datives in double object constructions: they are preceded by *a*, they are doubled by a dative clitic, and they follow the accusative object in normal word order. However, the meaning of the construction, in particular the role of the dative argument in the situation described by the sentence, is different. The dative argument *a Valeria* is not directly related to the theme object as a recipient, source or possessor. Rather, *a Valeria* is understood as the individual *affected* by the (change of) state of the theme object. *Valeria* is understood as the individual ‘who gets a broken radio’. The same applies to *a Emilio* in the context of the inchoative *quemarse* in (1b). The interpretation of the dative argument as affected correlates with syntactic properties of the sentences it is part of (e.g. the theme object cannot be a bare noun, ambiguity of interpretation of adverbs like *casi* ‘almost’). In sum, in spite of appearances, datives with causatives can, and should, be distinguished both semantically *and* structurally from datives in DOC, and from high applicatives.

A theory of datives such as the one I develop in this dissertation can account for, and in fact predict, the distinctive semantic and syntactic properties dative arguments display in the context of a causative event structure. Dative arguments are licensed by a specialized head as participants in an event. The position where the applicative head merges within the event structure (recall that event structures are represented syntactically) and the properties of the event structure itself determine the meaning of the dative argument. In this chapter, I present evidence for an analysis of causative and inchoative constructions as bi-eventive structures where a resulting state (predicated of the object DP) is embedded under a dynamic event predicate *vDO* (causatives) or *vGO* (inchoatives). Causative and inchoatives share the lower half of the structure: the end result. The contrast between causatives and inchoatives lies on the higher structure. In the case of causatives, an external argument (causer) is projected; there is no external argument in *vGO*: an event of change does not license Voice. The causative and inchoative configurations are schematized below.



I develop a theory of datives in causative and inchoative constructions as arguments applied to a (resulting) state which is embedded under a dynamic event predicate where an external argument is projected (vDO) or not (vGO). Affected arguments are introduced by an applicative head that takes the state vP_{BE} as its complement, then introduces the dative DP and relates it to the vP_{BE} , and finally combines with the higher v . Thus, the dative DP is at the same time external to the lower event and internal to the higher event. The notion of affected argument is defined structurally as an argument that participates in two events. The table below summarizes the basic characteristics of affected applicatives as compared to low applicatives and high applicatives.

Defining characteristics of three kinds of Applicatives

Characteristics	Low Appl	Affected Appl	High Appl
Meaning of applied argument	Recipient/Source/ Possessor	Affected (positively or negat.)	Ben(mal)efactive/ Experiencer
First argument is...	DP-object	vP state/result	vP
External to the event?	no	yes (vP_1) and no (vP_2)	yes
Requires 2 events?	no	yes	no

This analysis sheds new light onto the question of why there is no ‘dative alternation’ with unaccusative verbs and only the prepositional variant is acceptable (‘Baker’s gap’ in dative shift, Baker 1996).

- (3)
- a. *The ring passed to Mary*
 - b. **The ring passed Mary*
 - c. **Mary passed the ring* (intended reading: Mary=Recipient)

In §3.2.1.2 I show that dynamic unaccusative verbs can participate in simple or complex event structures. The verbs that participate in transitive-intransitive alternations (e.g. *break*, *open*, *burn*, *sink*, etc.) are usually causative when transitive and inchoative when intransitive (i.e., they participate in the complex event structures represented in (2)). The incompatibility of the double object construction with inchoative verbs in English (**The door opened Stephanie*) is tied to their incompatibility with causative predicates (**Daniel opened Stephanie the door*). In turn, this incompatibility is accounted for by showing that English lacks the applicative head that could license the ‘dative’ in this configuration (the affected applicative). Baker’s gap,

then, is dramatically reduced to simple unaccusative verbs of change (*vGO* that does not embed an end result, e.g. *grow*, *arrive*, *get*). I show that in some languages, the DOC can in fact appear with these verbs. Spanish and Italian are two such languages.

The analysis of affected applicatives and the event structures in which they participate make interesting predictions concerning the availability of affected arguments with resultative constructions (e.g. *kick the suitcase open*, *cook the meat dry*). Given the structural similarity of causatives and resultatives (both express two events, the lowest of which is a resulting state whose subject is the direct object), it is predicted that languages that disallow ‘datives’ with causatives will do so with resultatives as well. In turn, a language that accepts them in one configuration, will do so in the other as well. These predictions are extended to other configurations with similar properties: deadjectival verbs, prepositional resultatives and some object-particle constructions. In §3.3 the predictions are tested, and confirmed, in English and Spanish.

3.1 Datives in causatives

This section deals with the structure of causative constructions and the position where an applicative head can merge and license an argument. I will not discuss causatives with *hacer* ‘make/do’ that embed a dynamic event rather than a final state. The analysis of the licensing of dative causees in periphrastic causative constructions within the approach developed here will remain as an area for future research.

3.1.1 The contrast causative/ non-causative

The literature on causative constructions is extensive. I will necessarily have to focus here only on the particular aspects that are relevant for the licensing of applicatives within the general approach to argument structure introduced in §1.2. Many authors have investigated the differences in semantic and configurational properties between causative and non causative transitive verbs and structures, and have attempted to capture them in different ways. Two main currents of research place the burden of the differences in the lexicon (the lexicalist approach) or in the syntactic component (the constructionist approach). The structures I will argue for, schematized in (2), rely mainly on work on the licensing of objects by Levin 1999 and the syntactic instantiation of Levin’s proposal in Nash 2002.

Levin 1999 discusses the licensing of objects of transitive verbs. She argues that not all arguments that appear as direct objects of transitive verbs are licensed in the same way. In particular, she notes that some verbs are obligatorily transitive, both intra and crosslinguistically; these are the Core Transitive Verbs, CTV. Other verbs are subject to great variation in their transitivity and do not form a homogeneous class with respect to the thematic role they assign to their object; these are called Non-Core Transitive Verbs, NCTV. Examples of obligatorily transitive verbs are *break*, *widen*, *melt*, *open*. *Sweep*, *sing*, *dance* are some examples of NCTVs. The contrast between canonical and non canonical objects (objects of CTV and NCTV, respectively) lies, for Levin, in which component of the verb’s lexical

semantics is responsible for their licensing. The meaning of verbs is composed of two distinct elements: its idiosyncratic meaning (the meaning associated with the “constant” or root) and an event structure that is associated with it in the lexicon and that is shared with verbs that belong to the same class. The possible event structures she proposes can be simple or complex, although the predicates in the event structure (e.g. BECOME, ACT, CAUSE) do not correspond directly to pieces of syntactic structure.

(4) Levin’s event structures associated with verb

a. Simple

Activities: [x ACT <MANNER>] Ex: *sweep* [x ACT <SWEEP>]

States: [x <MANNER>]

Achievement: [BECOME [x <STATE>]]

b. Complex

Causatives: [[x ACT <MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]

Ex: *break* [[x ACT <MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <BROKEN>]]]

Inchoatives: [CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]

The elements between angle brackets represent the place in the event structure where the constant is integrated with the event structure. According to (4), for instance, the lexical meaning of *break* is a type of state, while the meaning of *sweep* is a manner of acting. The x and y stand for variables for individuals that are licensed as arguments. Verbs that belong to the NCTV category contain only one variable in their event structure. According to the event structure of activity verbs like *sweep*, one would expect to see it as an intransitive verb; that is, only the external argument, the actor, would be licensed. This is correct. An object, however, can be licensed *semantically* by the idiosyncratic meaning of *sweep*, the constant. An object compatible with the meaning of *sweep*, for instance, would be a nominal phrase that names a surface, e.g. *the floor*, *the stairs*. Levin represents this situation by adding an underlined variable to the event structure associated with *sweep*.

(5) *sweep* [x ACT <SWEEP> y]

In contrast, CTVs, such as *break*, contain two variables: one for the actor (doer or causer), and another for the subject of the state. The object of *break* is therefore not only licensed by the lexical meaning of the constant but also by the event structure. However the arguments are licensed by a verb in the lexicon, rules will have to apply to associate the lexical semantics with a syntactic representation. These are called *linking rules*. Levin’s work suggests that objects that are doubly licensed, i.e. objects of transitive verb that are licensed by the constant (semantic licensing) *and* by the event structure are projected in the syntax by straightforward linking rules and have an identifiable structural meaning: patients. These are “canonical” objects. If we go back to the set of possible event structures associated with verbs, we see that the only canonical objects are the objects of causatives and inchoatives.

Ironically, I will present evidence that canonical objects are licensed as inner subjects. The central characteristics of canonical objects are

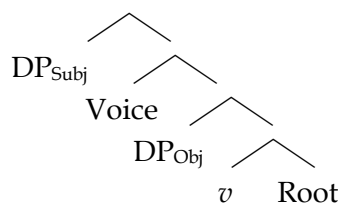
(6) Characteristics of canonical objects (COs)

- a. COs cannot be omitted
- b. COs have structural meanings
- c. COs are objects of causative and inchoative verbs
- d. COs are licensed as the subject of the state embedded in the complex event structure

Nash (2002) incorporates some of Levin's ideas into her syntactic proposal of the structure and licensing properties of causative verbs, as opposed to other transitives. In particular, her syntactic version of how canonical objects are licensed in the syntax (corresponding to property d.) is crucial to my analysis of datives in causative configurations, and that I later extend to inchoatives and resultative constructions.

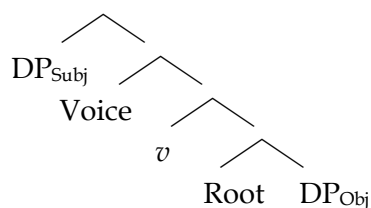
Nash assumes that verbs are formed in the syntax by the combination of a verbal functional head *v* and a root (following H&K 1993, Marantz 1997). She argues that in the case of causative verbs the root first combines with *v*. Then the object DP merges as the specifier of the verb (*v*+Root). The external argument is licensed by a Voice head that takes the *v*P as its complement.

(7) Causative structure (Nash 2002)



In contrast, the object of non-causative verbs is licensed by the root, as its complement. This constituent is then merged with the verbalizing head *v*.

(8) Non-causative activity verbs



What this proposal misses, however, is the intuition that causatives constructions express two events: a causing event, to which the external argument is related, and a caused event, the end state of the object. There doesn't seem to be a structural representation of two events

in (8). I will combine Nash's proposal with the tools presented in the Introduction, repeated below.

(9) Event introducers: three types of *v*

- a. *v*DO
- b. *v*GO
- c. *v*BE

that correspond to three simple event structures

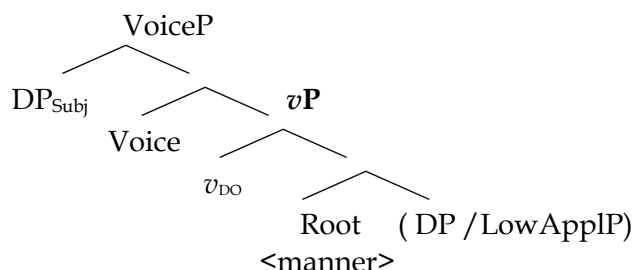
- a. Activities
- b. Verbs of change/happening
- c. States /Existentials

or combine to form bi-eventive structures¹

- a. Causatives: *v*DO + *v*BE
- b. Inchoatives: *v*GO + *v*BE

The proposed structure for activity verbs is the basic structure presented for ditransitives in Chapter 2, and virtually identical to Nash's, except for the specification of the type of little *v*.

(10) Non-causative activities *v*DO:



The relevant characteristics are:

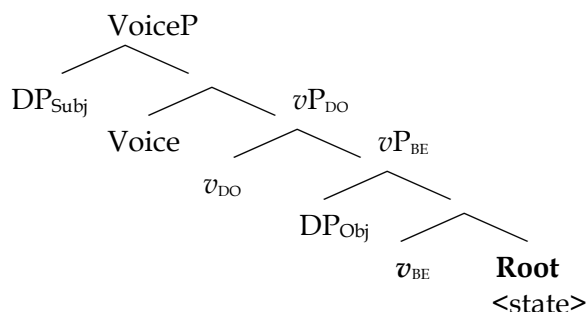
- There is one event, an event of 'doing' or 'acting' (Levin 1999, Jackendoff 1990).
- The root combines with the verbalizing head by specifying a 'manner' of acting.
- The agent is introduced by the Voice head, which in turn is licensed by *v*DO + Manner root.
- The complement of the root can be a DP, a Low Applicative Phrase, a PP, etc.
- There can be no object, i.e. this configuration also applies to unergative verbs.
- There is no predication relation between the verb and the object.

In causatives, in contrast, the verb lexicalizes a state of the object. The object is introduced as the specifier of the stative verb: it is the subject of the lower *v*P. Crucially, there is a

¹ Recall from §1.2.1 that I am only referring to complex structures that can be expressed with *one* lexical verb in Spanish. The analysis of causation of dynamic events from the perspective developed in this work (*v*DO+ *v*GO, e.g. *make grow*, and *v*DO+ *v*DO e.g., *make wash*) is left for future research.

predication relation between the object and the verb. The object cannot be omitted. The external argument is introduced in a similar way as in activity verbs, as the ‘agent’ of the doing. However, the manner of acting is not specified, and the external argument is interpreted just as the ‘doer’ of the causing event, that is, as its initiator or causer.

(11) Causatives:



In (11) the lower event (the state) is represented as a *vP* headed by a *v*_{BE}. This is the proposal for causative structures where the object is licensed as the specifier of a stative verbal head that combined with the root. As we shall see in §3.3, the category of the lower predicate is not crucial for the general proposal, e.g. a resulting state can be expressed by a predication relation between a DP and an adjective, or a particle. As I mentioned in the introduction, it is not crucial for me whether there exists a specialized Cause head, as opposed to *v*_{DO}. For concreteness, I will continue to assume that the higher *v* is *v*_{DO} (‘act’ with no manner specified), and the causative meaning is read off the structure *v*_{DO}+Predication (e.g. do [something be open]).

I will present below evidence from Spanish that supports two crucial properties of the structure of causatives represented in (11). First, I present evidence that the argument that appears as the direct object with causative verbs like *romper* ‘break’, *quemar* ‘burn’, etc., is indeed licensed as an inner subject. I show that objects of causative verbs pattern with subjects with respect to a restriction on bare NPs. Second, I present some evidence for the bi-eventive analysis of causative constructions.

3.1.1.2 The object of causatives is an inner subject

Bare NPs in Spanish are subject to syntactic restrictions: they cannot appear in certain positions. Their distribution has received quite a lot of attention in traditional and generative grammar. Suñer 1982 proposed the following constraint to express the Spanish facts.

(12) The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint

“An unmodified common noun in preverbal position cannot be the surface subject of a sentence under conditions of normal stress and intonation” (Suñer 1982:209)

I will not present here a comprehensive description nor an analysis of the data. I will simply present a few relevant positions where bare nouns are not licensed. (For contemporary

comprehensive data and analysis of this phenomenon see Suñer 1982, Contreras 1986, Masullo 1992, Laca 1999 and references therein). The constraint in (12) captures the fact that subjects cannot generally be bare nouns (13), while objects do not exhibit such a restriction (14c).

- (13) a. **Chicos* festejaron
kids.NOM celebrated
'Kids celebrated'
- b. *Festejaron *chicos*
celebrated kids.NOM
'Kids celebrated'
- c. **Vino* es bueno para la salud
wine.NOM is good for the health
'Wine is good for the health'
- (14) a. **Amigos* cayeron
friends.NOM fell
'(Some) friends dropped by'
- b. Cayeron *amigos*
fell friends.NOM
'(Some) friends dropped by'
- c. *Tus amigos trajeron vino* /*copas*
your friends brought wine.ACC /wine-glasses.ACC
'Your friends brought wine /wine glasses'

In (13a) and (14a), the only argument is nominative and the verb agrees with it. The contrast between (13b) and (14b) shows that the restriction is not a restriction on nominative arguments in general, nor only on preverbal subjects. In (13a-b) the argument is licensed as the external argument (i.e., a subject) of the activity verb, and a bare NP is ungrammatical whether it appears preverbal or postverbally. In (14a-b), in contrast, the NP *amigos* is licensed as a theme object of the unaccusative predicate. If it remains postverbal in object position, the sentence is interpreted as a 'presentational sentence' and there is no predication relation between the NP and verb (14b) (Masullo 1992). If the NP moves to preverbal subject position, there is a predication relation (the sentence is *about* the friends), and a bare NP is ungrammatical (14a). The restriction on bare NPs, then, seems to apply to arguments that are in subject position, be it the initial or a derived position. The relevant notion of subject should include subjects of predication in small clauses.

- (15) *Tu amiga consideraba interesantes* *(*las*) *películas*
your friend considered [interesting the movies.ACC]
'Your friend used to consider the movies to be interesting'

Subjects of small clauses cannot be bare nouns, even when they appear in the sentence as an accusative object. If *películas* is bare in (15) the sentence is ungrammatical; the DP *las películas* in (15) can have a specific or a generic reading.

The structures in (10) and (11) predict that while the object of activities will not be subject to the restrictions on bare NPs, the direct objects of causatives – which are licensed as subjects of the lower *vP* – should be. It is important to remember that ‘subject position’ is a configurational notion, and it is not directly related to verbs. As an external argument is the subject of a predicate, but not the subject of a particular verb or kind of verb, internal subjects are subjects of a predicate built in the syntax. This allows, in general, for lexical roots being inserted in diverse configurations. In the case at hand, for instance, a verb that can appear in a causative configuration could also be used as an activity verb. Whether it is used one way or the other should have consequences for the restrictions on the accusative argument. The verb *derretir* ‘melt’ can be used, as a transitive, as an activity or as a causative. One can imagine a context where there is an activity of melting something, e.g. butter, that actively involves the external argument; this reading is favored by progressive tenses. It can also have a causative reading, by which the external argument might melt something (cause it to melt) by doing something else, e.g. having sat on it accidentally. If the causative /non-causative readings are represented syntactically, and in the causative construction the direct object is licensed as the subject of the lower predicate, it is predicted that the object of the causative cannot be a bare noun.² With an animate subject, as in (16), the prediction is that (16a) is ambiguous while (16b) can only have an activity reading.

- (16) a. *Emilio derretió la manteca*
 Emilio.NOM melted the butter.ACC
 ‘Emilio melted the butter’
- b. *Emilio derretió manteca*
 ‘Emilio melted butter’

Instead of setting up contexts, however, a simpler and clearer way to test for this kind of ambiguity is to replace the subject in (16a) and (16b) with an inanimate object. Inanimate subjects can be causes (subjects in a causative configuration), but cannot be the agentive subject of activity verbs. A bare noun as the object should be incompatible with an inanimate subject, since the latter forces a causative, non-activity reading.

- (17) a. *El sol derretió la manteca*
 the sun.NOM melted the butter.ACC
 ‘The sun melted the butter’

² As will be discussed in §3.2, the same applies to the inchoative version, which takes *se*: *derretirse*.

- b. **El sol derritió manteca*
 'The sun melted butter'

The contrast above cannot be captured by a theory that does not differentiate in the syntax the objects of causatives from the objects of activities.³ The puzzle is solved if we assume that sentence (12a) is the ambiguous expression of two different underlying structures: a causative and an (Agentive) activity. It is the agentive activity reading (where Emilio is actively and directly manipulating butter) that allows for a bare noun object, since there is no resulting event projected, and therefore the accusative is not an inner subject.

The analysis developed here allows us to generalize the restrictions on bare nouns to include not only (deep and surface) subjects of a sentence, but also internal subjects in general, such as subjects of small clauses and the subjects of the lower event in causatives and inchoatives.⁴

(18) The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint Revised

"An unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under conditions of normal stress and intonation"

The notion of predicate in (18) should be understood as involving verbal predicates and other kinds of predicates embedded in a verbal context. This constraint can now be used as a diagnostic for subjecthood. It will prove useful for the analysis of inchoatives (§3.2) and psychological and existential predicates (§4.1).

3.1.1.3 Causatives are bi-eventive

We have just seen evidence for the proposal that objects of causatives, unlike objects of activity verbs, are licensed above the lowest verb (*v*+Root), as its specifier. We will now see evidence for the other side of the same idea: there is a (verbal) predication relation embedded under *v*DO that represents the caused event, i.e., the final state of the theme.

Much research has given theoretical form and substance to the intuition that sentences with transitive verbs that express causation involve two sub-events: a causing event and a caused event. Bi-eventive analysis follows philosophical proposals that a cause relation is a relation between two events (Dowty 1979, Parsons 1990). In the structure of causatives proposed here each event is introduced by a separate syntactic head *v*.⁵ If two events are introduced

³ The contrast in (13) also supports the claim that (16a) is structurally ambiguous, while (16b) is not.

⁴ The position where bare nouns cannot appear could be generalized further to specifier position:

(i) "An unmodified common noun cannot be an A-specifier"

This constraint would then cover the ungrammaticality of bare nouns as dative arguments (see §2.0.5), since datives are always licensed as a specifier. However, one might want to relate the restrictions on bare noun in datives to the presence of the case marker *a*, given that the restriction on bare nouns also applies to accusative arguments with *a*. I leave the issue open at this point.

⁵ Recall that by causative here I mean only to causatives structures that are expressed via one verb. In Spanish, a causative verb like *quemar* or *break* can only express the causation of a state, not of a

syntactically in causatives but only one in activities, we expect to find a contrast in the number of possible interpretations for adverbial modification (Fodor 1970, Hale and Keyser 1993, Higginbotham 1997, among others). In particular, we expect to find some adverb that can modify either of the event predicates of the causative construction, generating ambiguity.⁶ The interpretation should be unambiguous in the case of activities. Since the embedded event is a state, we have to make sure that the adverb used can modify state predicates. *Casi* ‘almost’ fulfills that requirement.

- (19) a. Activity
Pablo casi baila (un tango)
Pablo almost dances (a tango)
1. ... but then he had second thoughts, so he didn’t (dance at all)
- b. Causative
Pablo casi rompe la radio
Pablo almost breaks the radio
1. ... but then he had second thoughts, so he didn’t (do anything that would have cause the radio to break), or
2. he dropped it (so he did something), but the radio didn’t break, (maybe it was scratched or cracked but it went on working or scratched but no more)

The possible interpretations of *casi* in the sentences above show that indeed there are two (event) predicates that can be modified in the causative, but not in the activity. In the causative configuration an adverb such as *casi* can modify: 1) the action of the external argument (the higher *vP*), or 2) the state of the object (the lower *vP*). In a non-causative activity, *casi* can only scope over the event of doing, dancing in the case of (19a).

Pylkkänen (2002) argues that in English the causativizing head CAUSE attaches directly to the root, and therefore there are not two VPs in English causatives. In her discussion of modification in causative structures, she argues that the adverbs that can modify the caused event in English causatives, e.g. *partly*, *half* (among which we could include *almost*), are modifiers of the root. As evidence of this possibility she observes that this adverbs can modify the corresponding adjectives in the absence of a verbal context.

- (20) a. *John partly closed the door*
b. *Roger half filled the glass* (from Tenny 1999, 304:37)
- (21) a. *a partway open door*
b. *a half full glass* (Pylkkänen 2002)

dynamic event like arrive or wash. In order to causativize a dynamic event, *vDO* is spelled out as *hacer* ‘make/do’ or some other light causativizing verb.

The same holds of Spanish *casi*:

- (22) a. *una puerta casi cerrada*
 ‘a door almost closed’
 b. *una radio casi rota*
 ‘a radio almost broken’

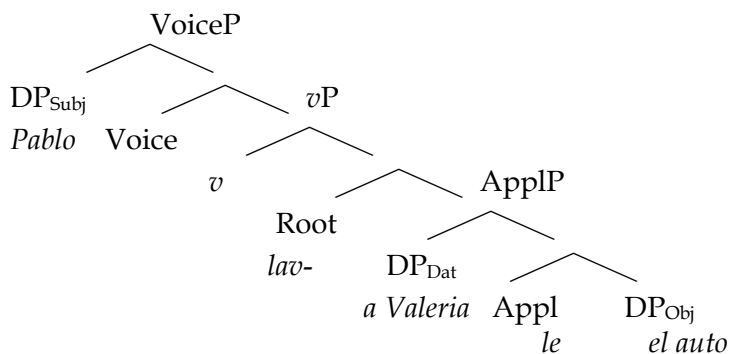
The fact that *half*, *partway* and *casi* can appear both with a verb and an adjective derived from the same root does not entail, however, that they are root modifiers. They might also be modifiers of words (verbs and adjectives, i.e., not category neutral roots) that express a state⁷. Given that both the adjective *rota* in (22b) (formed by adjectivizing head *a* plus the root *romp-*) and the verb in (19b) at the level of the caused event (formed by the verbalizing *vBE* and the root *romp-*) express a state, it follows that a modifier that can modify states will, in principle, be able to modify both. In the lack of positive evidence that *casi* can modify a root directly, I will keep to the (null) assumption that it cannot.

Now that I have presented some evidence for the structures proposed in (10) and (11), I will discuss the consequences of the different structures for the position an applicative head can merge in.

3.1.2 The contrast causative/ non-causative with Dative arguments

We saw, in § 2.2.2.2, that non-causative activity verbs can embed a static low applicative when they appear with an overt direct object.

- (23) *Pablo le lavó el auto a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT washed the car Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo washed Valeria’s car’ (Lit. ‘Pablo washed Valeria the car’)



In (23), there is a direct relation between two individuals. The dative argument is interpreted as the possessor. The direct object has whatever role the lexical meaning of the verb (root)

⁶ Adverbial modification could, in principle, be a question of scope or site of attachment. See Larson 2003 for an interesting recent proposal based on predication. I leave the issue open.

⁷ That *casi* can modify other types of verbs is irrelevant here.

assigns it. The root lexicalizes a manner of acting, i.e., an activity. The external argument licensed by Voice is involved in the activity of washing, as an agent.

With respect to the morphosyntax, recall the central characteristics of the structure:

(24) Morphosyntax of Spanish low applicative constructions

- Word order: accusative > dative
- Case: inherent dative case for applied argument; accusative for the theme
- Doubling: the dative DP is obligatorily doubled by a clitic.

(25) Structure of Spanish low applicative constructions

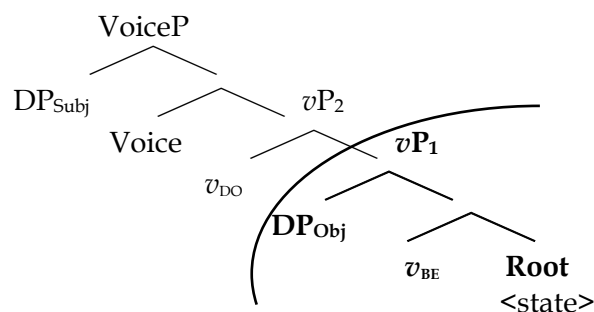
- the dative DP asymmetric c-commands the accusative DP
- ApplPhrase merges below the verb; it combines with the root.
- There is no predication between the dative DP and the object DP; nor predication between the verb and the applicative phrase, or any of its arguments.

A dative DP can also appear with causative verbs such as *romper* ‘break’, *quemar* ‘burn’, *arruinar* ‘spoil/ruin’, *abrir* ‘open’, etc. (26). Are the properties of applicatives in the context of causative verbs the same?

- (26) *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’ (Lit. ‘Pablo broke Valeria the radio’)

The structure of causatives, in particular the licensing of the object as the subject of the lower verb, makes us expect some differences in the position where an applicative head can merge and the semantic properties that follow. No differences are expected in the morphosyntactic properties. Recall the structure of causatives, (27)=(11).

(27) Causatives:

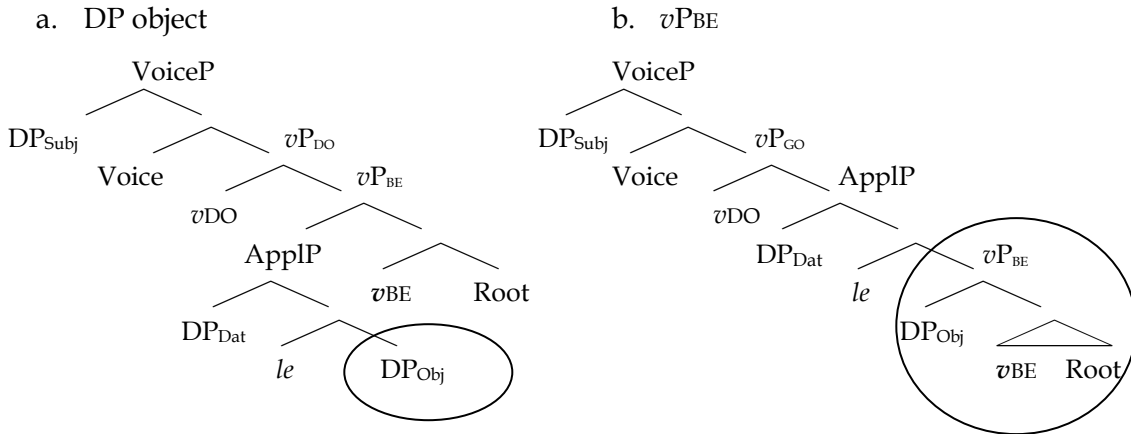


Here the object is licensed as a specifier above the root. Recall that this object is a canonical object, licensed syntactically in a particular position that has a particular meaning: patient or affected object. The object participates in both events: as an object of the higher causing event, and as a subject of the caused event (the state). An applicative head, which needs an

object DP to apply to, cannot merge below the root in this structure because the root does not take a complement. So, where does the applicative head that licenses the dative DP in (26) merge? What does it apply to?

There are in principle two possibilities: 1) the applicative head takes the DP object as its complement, introduces the dative DP and then combines with the lower verb as its subject or 2) the applicative head takes the lower vP as its complement, introduces the dative DP as its specifier and then combines with the higher functional verb v_{DO} .

(28) Complement of applicative is either:



Option a. is problematic. First, we would lose the possibility of integrating Pylkkänen's semantics of low applicatives as applying to an object DP with the proposal that some objects are special *structurally* and are in fact inner subjects. If a low applicative is defined as applying to an object, but inner subjects qualify as objects just as complements of roots do, the notion of 'object' relevant for the applicative head would not be defined structurally but on some other grounds. Second, we know independently that applicatives do not apply to external arguments (as already observed by Borer & Grodzinsky 1986 for Hebrew possessor datives, see also Pylkkänen 2002). If an applicative could apply to the inner subject of the causative structure, we would miss the possibility of generalizing the restriction to subjects in general. If what is crucial is the syntactic structure in terms of events and predication, it is desirable that all restrictions that apply to subjects would apply to a structural notion of subject. We have seen that such a generalization is possible for restrictions on bare nouns. I will hypothesize that the same structural notion of subject restricts the combination of a low applicative with a DP. If option 2 allows us to predict and account for the syntactic and semantic properties of dative arguments in causative structures, this will be taken as evidence that the relevant notion of object that a low applicative can apply to is complement of a root.

An additional problem with option 1 involves the movement of the DP object. The object checks case in the higher vP. In order to do this, the object would have to raise from a

position that seems too embedded in the structure of the lower subject; this movement would be a violation of the left branch condition.⁸

I will proceed directly, then, to analyze and test the predictions structure (28b) makes with respect to the syntax and semantics of the dative argument in contrast to the properties of low applicatives (DOC).

(29) Predictions of structure (28b): the applicative applies to the *vP*

- Morphosyntax: No differences are expected with respect to morphosyntactic properties, i.e., case, doubling or word order.
- Binding/WCO: The dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the DP object. Same facts of binding and weak crossover as DOC.
- Scope: Dative DP and DP object in different domains. Might expect free scope between dative and accusative DPs.
- Semantics:
 - The dative DP is applied to the end state of the object DP; it is not directly related to the DP \Rightarrow possession of the object should be not entailed. The dative DP is the ‘possessor’ of an end state of the object.
 - The dative DP participates in two events: it is an ‘object’ of the causing event and it is the ‘possessor’ of the end state. It should be an affected argument.

3.1.2.1 Morphosyntax

As we can see, the morphosyntactic properties of (30) are the same as those of low applicatives.

- (30) *Pablo *(le) rompió la radio a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’ (Lit. ‘Pablo broke Valeria the radio’)

Sentence (30) can be uttered ‘out of the blue’, with normal intonation. As in DOC, neutral word order is Acc > Dat. The dative argument is obligatorily doubled by a clitic.

3.1.2.2 Binding

Data from binding of anaphors and possessives and from weak crossover effects indicate that the dative argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme object.

Binding of anaphors

Binding facts reproduce the facts of binding in the low applicative construction presented in §2.1.2.1.

⁸ Movement of the clitic might not be problematic in spite of its embedded location within the subject if clitic movement does not obey the tighter constraints on incorporation (head to head movement) that apply to the verbal heads and applicatives spelled out by verbal affixes.

- (31) *El trabajo en el colegio le debilitó la estima de sí misma a María*
 the work in the high-school CL.DAT weakened the esteem of herself María.DAT
 'Working at the high-school weakened María's self-esteem'

An anaphor in the accusative object DP can be bound by the dative argument, even when the dative DP appears to the right of the binder.

Binding of Possessive *su*

As in the DOC/low applicative construction, the dative argument in the causative structure can bind a possessive pronoun in the theme object (a), but the theme object cannot bind a possessive in the dative argument.

- (32) a. *La policía les rompió sus_i computadoras a los programadores_i*
 The police CL.DAT.PL broke their_i computers.ACC [the programmers.DAT]_i
 *'The police broke their computers on the programmers'
- b. **El jefe les rompió las computadoras_i a sus_i programadores*
 The boss CL.DAT.PL broke [the computers.ACC]_i their_i programmers.DAT
 *'The police broke the computers on their programmers'

Weak crossover

If the dative asymmetrically c-commands the theme, we expect to find weak crossover effects when a possessive pronoun in the dative is coindexed with a theme object that undergoes *wh*-movement. In contrast, when the possessive is in the theme object, *wh*-movement of the dative should be acceptable (33b).

- (33) a. *¿Qué_i le quemaste a su_i dueño t_i ?
 what.ACC CL.DAT burnt.2.SG its owner.DAT
 *'What did you burn its owner?'
- b. ¿A quién_i le rompiste t_i su_i computadora?
 who.DAT CL.DAT broke.2.SG his computer.ACC
 *'Whom did you break his computer?'

In sum, binding and weak crossover facts are the same as in DOC. They show that the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the DP object.

3.1.2.3 Scope

We saw in §2.1.2.5 that in the Spanish DOC, as in English, an indefinite dative argument must scope over *cada* 'each' or *todo* 'every' in the direct object. When the direct object is an indefinite and *cada* or *todo* is in the dative, *cada* or *todo* can scope over the indefinite. This is illustrated with *todo* below.

(34) DOC

- a. *Tenés que recomendarle todo candidato a algún buen profesor* *todo > algún
have.2SG that recommend.CL every candidate to some good professor
'You have to recommend every candidate to a good professor'
- b. *Tenés que recomendarle algún candidato a todo buen profesor* todo > algún
have.2SG that recommend.CL some candidate to every good professor
'You have to recommend some candidate to every good professor'

In contrast to the DOC, the dative in the causative construction is not in the same minimal domain as the DP object: the dative DP is external to the lower *v*P of which the object is the subject. Under the assumption that quantifier raising (QR) obeys superiority and that QR cannot disrupt the hierarchical order of two arguments that share the same domain, (Bruening 2001), we might expect a contrast between scope in DOC and scope in the causative construction.

- (35) a. *Emilio le abrió cada puerta a un actor (distinto)* cada > una
Emilio CL.DAT each door.ACC an actor.DAT different
'Emilio opened each door for a (different) actor'
- b. *Emilio le abrió una puerta (distinta) a cada actor* cada > una
Emilio CL.DAT opened a door.ACC (different) each actor.DAT
'Emilio opened a (different) door for each actor'
- c. *Emilio le arruinó cada fiesta a una persona (distinta)* cada > una
Emilio CL.DAT ruined each party.ACC a person.DAT different
'Emilio spoiled each party for a (different) person'

It seems to be possible to interpret *a un actor* in (a) under the scope of *cada*. Judgments, however, are quite difficult, and seem to depend on world knowledge. I will therefore leave the matter open at this point, pending future research.

3.1.2.4 Semantics

The applicative in (28b) does not take the object DP as its complement; it takes a stative *v*P – a predication structure – which corresponds to the caused state. Thus, the dative in this construction cannot have the same meaning as datives introduced by low applicatives, since it is not related to the DP object but to the state. In turn, the Applicative Phrase is embedded under a higher verbal head, *v*DO, that introduces another event, the unspecified activity that causes the change of state of the object. The dative argument is also related to the causing event, this time as an object. The individual licensed by the applicative is structurally 'sandwiched' between the two verbal heads corresponding to the two sub-events. I will show

that these aspects of the configuration are exactly reflected in the meaning that datives with causatives express.

In a similar fashion to a dative in a dynamic low applicative-TO, which is interpreted as getting the DP object, the dative in a causative also ‘gets something’: it gets a certain state of an object. In (1), repeated below as (36), Valeria gets *a broken radio*.

- (36) *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria*
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’ (Lit. ‘Pablo broke Valeria the radio’)

One could express the relationship between the dative and the state with several paraphrases: as possessive ‘*Valeria has a broken radio*’, locative ‘*A broken radio at Valeria*’, or experiential ‘*Valeria suffers/enjoys a broken radio*’. There always seems to be some overlap between the expression of location, possession and experience. The important thing here is that the meaning is not that Valeria gets, has or loses *an object*.

The dative is also indirectly related to the external argument and the causing event. The external argument indirectly *affects* the applied argument by causing the radio to be broken. In the case of (36), Pablo did something and did that something to Valeria.

It is this position between two eventualities that generates the meaning of affectedness. Affectedness of a dative argument as a structural meaning does not arise if there are not two eventualities: a causing or a change event, that embeds a result or state. (See Alsina 1992 for a similar discussion of causees –in our terms, applicatives merged between a *vDO* and a lower, caused event that is also dynamic event *vDO* or *vGO*). Following Pykkänen’s semantics of high applicatives (i.e. applicatives that take a *vP* as its complement), I propose the following semantics for this ‘affected’ applicative head.

- (37) **Affected Applicative:** $\lambda x.\lambda e_s.\text{Affected}(e_s, x)$

The semantic combination of the head with the *vP* proceeds by Event Identification (Kratzer 1996), a rule that allows one to add conditions (e.g. a participant) to an event without adding an event predicate. Event Identification is the rule by which Voice combines with the verb in order to license the external argument semantically. The semantics of the head in (37) is explicitly ‘affected’. Given that I argue that affectedness is a structural meaning (as I argue causation is), this might seem redundant. In fact, there might not be much semantic content in the applicative heads in general, and interpretation of the dative is always structural. Although I tend to think that the semantic role of the applied argument is not specifically dictated by the applicative head, some languages seem to have, for instance, just malefactive applicatives and not benefactive, recipients but not sources, etc. I will leave this issue open here, and use Affected Applicative as a cover term for the applicative that is ‘sandwiched’ between two events, the lower of which is a state.

The structure and the semantics attributed to the affected applicative predict that there should be semantic differences between possessor datives, as developed in §2.2 and affected

datives. I argued that affectedness in low applicatives is not entailed; if the dative argument is interpreted as affected, affectedness arises as a result of the idiosyncratic meaning of the lexical verb (e.g. *ver* ‘see’ Vs. *operar* ‘operate on’) and the possession relation between object and dative. I will show now that the reverse holds for datives with causative verbs, where possession . The central claims are:

(38) Affected applicatives

- Affectedness is a structural meaning, i.e., entailed
- When the dative is understood as the possessor of the theme object, to assume possession is a way of (pragmatically) accounting for the affectedness of the dative as a result of the change of state of the theme object.

3.1.2.4.1 Possession (of the theme by the dative)

Since possession is the core meaning of static low applicatives-AT, a low applicative-AT is incompatible with a genitive possessor, as illustrated by the contrasts below.

(39) Possessor Low applicatives

- a. *Pablo lavó el auto de Valeria*
Pablo washed the car of Valeria
‘Pablo washed Valeria’s car’
- b. *Pablo le lavó el auto a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the car Valeria.DAT
‘Pablo washed Valeria’s car’
- c. **Pablo le lavó el auto de la vecina a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the car of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
Lit. ‘Pablo washed Valeria the car of the neighbor’

Since *lavar* ‘wash’ is not a directional verb, Valeria cannot be understood as a Source or recipient either. It is possible to imagine an interpretation that would make sentence (39c) acceptable. This interpretation, however, implies that Valeria is related with the *event* of some car being washed, as a high benefactive (see §4.3 for discussion). What is crucial here is that Valeria *cannot* have the same interpretation in (39b) and (39c). The contrasts are even sharper if inalienable possession is involved.

(40) Inalienable Possessor Low applicatives

- a. *Pablo lavó las manos de los chicos*
Pablo washed the hands of the kids
‘Pablo washed the kid’s hands’

- b. *Pablo le lavó las manos a los chicos*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the hands the kids.DAT
‘Pablo washed the kid’s hands’
- c. **Pablo le lavó las manos de Valeria a los chicos*
Pablo CL.DAT washed the hands of Valeria the kids.DAT
Lit. ‘Pablo washed the kids the hands of Valeria’

Affected applicatives (causative), in contrast, are understood as affected, independently of being the possessors of the theme object. Sentence (41) illustrates that a dative with a causative verb is acceptable even if it is stated in the sentence that it is not the possessor of the theme DP (see Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999:1902 for a similar observation).

(41) Affected applicatives

- a. *Pablo rompió la radio de Valeria*
Pablo broke the radio of Valeria
‘Pablo broke Valeria’s radio’
- b. *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’
- c. *Pablo le rompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.DAT
‘Pablo broke the neighbor’s radio on Valeria’

In the case of causative *romper* not only it is possible to say (41c) without much context, but the interpretation of *Valeria* can be quite similar to the interpretation in (41b). That possession is not part of the entailed meaning of affected datives is even more evident in the case below, where there is no question of possession of the door.

- (42) *Emilio le abrió la puerta a Carolina*
Emilio CL.DAT opened the door Carolina.DAT
‘Emilio opened the door for Carolina’
 \Rightarrow Carolina has a door

This doesn’t mean that affected datives are not possessors at all. There is often a possessive meaning with affected applicatives as with low applicatives. They are just of a different nature.

We saw in §2.3.3.1 that a sentence with a dative low applicative can be paired with a sentence with the verb *tener* ‘have’ where the dative appears as the nominative subject and the accusative stays the accusative object.

- (43) *Pablo le puso azúcar al mate*
 Pablo CL.DAT put sugar the mate.DAT
 ‘Pablo put sugar in the mate’
 ⇒ *El mate tiene azúcar*
 ‘The mate has sugar in it’ (Lit. ‘The mate has sugar’)

The relation is clearly between two individuals: the mate and the sugar. The matching *tener* sentence for a sentence with an affected dative, in contrast, would have the dative as the subject and a predication relation (like a small clause) as the complement.

- (44) *Emilio le rompió la pata a la mesa*
 Emilio CL.DAT broke the leg the table.DAT
 ‘Emilio broke the table’s leg’
 ⇒ *La mesa tiene la pata rota / tiene rota la pata*
 ‘The table has a broken leg’ (Lit. ‘The table has the leg broken’)

That the complement of the verb *tener* is a predicative phrase or small clause (SC), not a DP, is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of omitting the subject *la pata*, (45a) of omitting the predicate *rota* (45b), or having a bare noun *patas* as the subject of the predicate (45c). If an accusative clitic replaces the DP, it does not replace the predicate, which has to be explicit (45d).

- (45) a. **La mesa tiene la pata*
 b. **La mesa tiene rota*
 c. **La mesa tiene patas rotas / rotas patas*
 d. *La mesa la tiene *(rota)*

Abstracting away from the syntactic implementation, the verb *tener* ‘have’ expresses a relation between two constituents, or is the spell-out of some (combination of a) relational head (and a light verb).⁹ The subject of *tener* is always a possessor of some individual or some state. Under this reasonable assumption, the *tener* paraphrase in (45) reveals that in the applicative construction (44), the table is related to the state of the legs being broken.

The contrast between the object of *tener* in the sentences paired with low applicatives (43) and with affected datives (45) clearly argues that the constituent the dative argument relates to is different in one case from the other. The object of *tener* is a DP in the low applicative-paired sentence (43) because the low applicative establishes a possession relation between the dative and the object DP. The object of *tener* in the affected applicative-paired sentence is a SC because the affected applicative relates the dative to a clause (the *vP*).

⁹ Here, I abstract away completely from the implementation of this idea, and I just use it as an intuition. The literature on ‘have’ is immense. I will not attempt any connection with particular proposals.

3.1.2.4.2 Affectedness

Affectedness is not entailed in low applicatives. Even an animate dative in an inalienable possession relation with the theme does not have to be affected. In fact, there is no affectedness at all in possessor low applicatives embedded under stative verbs such as *admirar* ‘admire’, *envidiar* ‘envy’, *ver* ‘see’, *oír* ‘hear’, just like in the possible stative possessors DOC in English (46a), or the inalienable prepositional variant (46b):

- (46) a. *Daniel envies Stephanie her brothers*
b. *Daniel kissed Tatjana on the cheek*

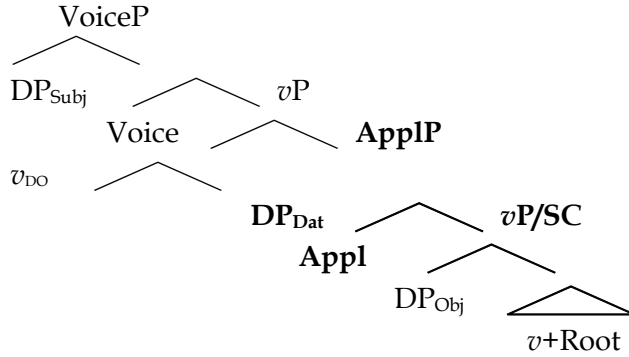
Low applicatives are not easily paired with paraphrases like *what I did to X was to VP*, although it is sometimes possible (47a-b). In contrast, the phrasing is a natural paraphrase for causatives (47c-d).

- (47) *Lo que Pablo le hizo a Valeria fue ...*
‘What Pablo did to Valeria was...’
- a. *... *comprarle un libro*
‘... to buy her a book’
- b. ?... *lavarle el auto*
‘... to wash her car’
- c. ... *romperle la radio*
‘... to broke the radio on her’
- d. ... *arreglarle la computadora*
‘...to repair the computer on her’

3.1.3 Summary

The position where the object is projected in a causative configuration makes it *structurally impossible* for an applicative head to relate an argument to the DP object. In causative configurations, the DP object is the subject of the stative predicate; e.g. in (27) there is a predication relation between the object *la radio* and the predicate *romper* ‘break’. No head can take the DP as an argument with exclusion of the predicate. Therefore, the applicative phrase must be outside the lower *vP*. A representation of the proposed structure of the affected applicative appears below.

(48) Affected applicative in causatives



The structure above accounts for the c-command relations that hold between the dative and the object (binding and weak crossover indicate that the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the object). As in the DOC, the object moves to a higher head where it checks accusative case. The theme object appears before the dative (which gets inherent case from the Appl head) as a result. As in low applicatives, the clitic is the spell-out, in the applicative head, of the ϕ -features (person and number) of the applied DP.

The event structure that the syntactic structure builds is crucial to account for the semantics of affected datives. An affected applicative is defined structurally as an applicative that takes a resulting state vP as its complement and is embedded under a dynamic vDO . In other words, affected datives are datives licensed between the two sub-events of a bi-eventive configuration.

3.2 Datives in inchoatives

The structure and meaning of inchoative predicates has been a matter of debate. Perlmutter (1978) classified verbs of change of state (inchoatives) as unaccusative, i.e. the surface subject of the clause is a deep object. One of the points at issue is whether these verbs are simple or complex in terms of their event structure. Whether there is causation in inchoatives is also a still unsettled matter.

According to one view, represented by Chierchia 1989 and Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, inchoatives always have Cause. Inchoatives differ from causatives in not projecting an external argument. Recall Levin's event structure for inchoatives and causatives.

(49) Complex event structures (Levin 1999)

Causatives: [[x ACT <MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]
 Inchoatives: [CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]

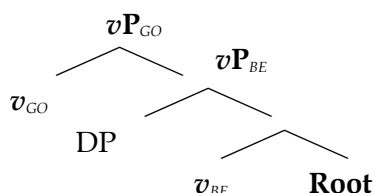
For Levin, event structures like (49) are not syntactic structures; they are part of the meaning of verbs in the lexicon and their elements do not correspond directly to parts of structure. Therefore, causation of inchoatives can be or not be represented in the syntactic structure: the literature includes different positions on this issue.

Another view (e.g., Harley 1995) argues that change of state verbs are simpler than causatives: there is no causation in inchoatives.

3.2.1 Inchoatives are bi-eventive

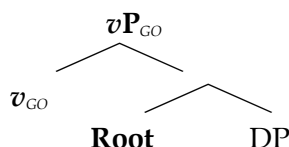
I will argue that there is no causation in inchoatives. Structurally, this means that there is no *vDO* and, as a consequence, there is no Voice and no external argument. It does not necessarily mean that there is less structure, or that inchoatives are simpler than causatives. I will propose the change of state structure consists of two parts: one corresponds to the change, the other to the state. An event of change is built in my system by little *vGO*, the dynamic unaccusative functional verbal head, and *vBE*, which combines with the root and lexicalizes the end state of the object that undergoes the change.

(50) The structure of inchoatives:



The structure in (50) is a configurational decomposition of the predicate BECOME into COME to BE. As we shall see, Spanish provides morphological evidence for this proposal. The bi-eventive inchoative structure is contrasted with the mono-eventive structure of unaccusative verbs of change, that I refer to as *simple verbs of change* (51).

(51) The structure of simple verbs of change:



Inchoatives, as bi-eventive predicates composed of an event of change and an end state share some structure with causatives (the embedded structure *vPBE*) and with events of change (the *vGO* event predicate). We expect, then, that there might be roots that can appear both in causative and inchoatives, and roots that can participate both in inchoatives and simple events of change. There also might be roots that can participate in all three structures. The distinct meanings of the three structures make predictions with respect to the semantic compatibility of DPs in the different positions (e.g. *I opened the door/The door opened; I lengthen the trousers/*The trousers lengthen*). The alternation causative/inchoative is discussed in §3.2.1.1; in §3.2.1.2 I present cases of verbs that participate in inchoative/simple change structures.

The bi-eventive structure of inchoatives predicts ambiguity of interpretation of adverbial modifiers that are compatible with dynamic events of change and with states. *Casi* ‘almost’ satisfies this requirement and will be used as one of the ways of testing the structure, in §3.2.1.3.

The object DP, the only argument of inchoatives, is licensed as the specifier of *v*PBE, i.e., as a subject. As such, it should be subject to the restriction on bare nouns discussed in §3.1.1.2. The predictions for the argument of inchoatives and the argument of simple verbs of change are tested in §3.2.1.4.

The embedded event of inchoatives is the same as the event embedded in the causative configuration: an stative *v*P headed by *v*BE whose specifier is the accusative DP object. Therefore, the possibilities in inchoatives for syntactic licensing of an applicative argument and for its meaning are parallel to the predictions made and tested for applicatives in causatives. This is discussed in §3.2.2.

3.2.1.1 Inchoatives “from” causatives: *romperse* Vs *romper* (tr.)

In Spanish, the intransitive variant of transitive causative verbs appear with clitic *se*. The class of verbs that participate in this alternation include *romper(se)* ‘break’, *abrir(se)* ‘open’, *cerrar(se)* ‘close’, *quemar(se)* ‘burn’, *hundir(se)* ‘sink’, *derretir(se)* ‘melt’. Recall that within the approach introduced in §1.2 the causative/inchoative alternation is the consequence of roots that can participate in the two types of event structures.

- (52) a. Causative
 El sol derritió la manteca
 The sun melted the butter’
 ‘The sun melted the butter’
- b. Inchoative
 La manteca se derritió
 the butter CL.REF melted’
 ‘The butter melted’

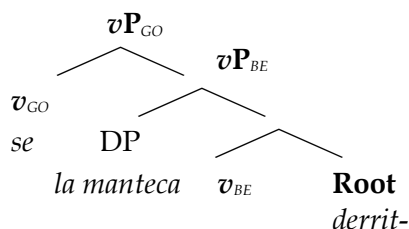
The clitic *se* that appears in the citation form corresponds only to the third person, and varies according to the argument DP. That is, the clitic spells out the ϕ -features corresponding to the person features of the argument undergoing the change of state. This is exemplified below, with a first person reflexive clitic *me*.

- (53) *Me derretí con ese calor horrible*
 CL.1.SG melted with that heat horrible
 ‘I melted in that horrible heat’

The *se* in inchoatives, then, is a ‘true’ reflexive clitic, as opposed to invariant impersonal *se* (see §4.3 for a brief discussion of impersonal *se*). Why would a reflexive clitic appear in a change of state verb which is an unaccusative predicate (e.g. intransitive *derretir* ‘melt’) that

takes only one argument? The structure in (54) allows us to account for this in a natural way by articulating the (syntactic/semantic) event structure.

- (54) Spanish inchoatives
La manteca se derretió
 'the butter CL.REF melted'



An event of change, headed by v_{GO} can take a complement as the argument that undergoes some change, as in verbs of movement, and a phrase that expresses the end location or state of the change. In (54) the complement of v_{GO} is not an object DP but a vP_{BE} that expresses the end state. The complement stative vP licenses the DP object internally, as its subject; this DP is the same argument that undergoes the change. The clitic spells out – in the higher verbal head – the ϕ -features of the argument that undergoes the change but that in the inchoative configuration is licensed as the subject of the lower stative vP . The reflexive clitic appears when v_{GO} embeds a clausal structure and does not combine with a (manner) root.¹⁰

Transitive causatives are bi-eventive; the intransitive variant is also bi-eventive. The relationship between the structure of causatives and inchoatives is not of inclusion but of intersection. Given the tight connection between syntactic structure and semantics in the framework I am working in, this means that causatives and inchoatives share the expression of an end state both in their syntax and their semantics. The difference between them is greater than the one proposed by L&RH (among many others). Recall that for L&RH the only difference lies in the absence of external argument of the intransitive variant. Here, the lack of Voice, and therefore of external argument is tied to the different type of little v , which constitutes a different type of event. This approach can naturally account for asymmetries in the arguments that can be objects in the transitive but not argument of the intransitive. (The examples are the Spanish version of English examples in L&RH 1995:85.)

- (55) a. *Emilio rompió su promesa/el contrato*
 Emilio broke his promise/the contract
 b. **Su promesa/el contrato se rompió*
 '*His promise/the contract broke'

¹⁰ See Folli & Harley 2003 for another proposal of reflexive clitics as spell-out of functional heads.

The meaning of *romperse* in (55b) is ‘become broken’, –in my approach, GO to BE. If the meaning of the causative were ‘cause to become broken’ (here DO to GO to BE), i.e., if the causative included an inchoative, the contrast in (55) would be unexpected and would have to be explained by some level distinct from the event structure. In my analysis, the causative is just DO to BE, so there is no expectation that everything that can be externally (and, in the case of (55a), probably instantaneously) ‘caused to be broken’ can undergo a process of change until reaching a final state.

3.2.1.2 Inchoatives “from” simple verbs of change: *caerse* Vs. *caer* (*unac.*)

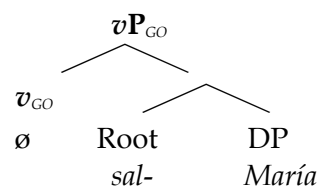
Not only causative verbs alternate between a variant with and without *se*. Many verbs of change (including verbs of movement) have a *se* and a *se*-less variant. Verbs that belong to this group include *caer*(*se*) ‘fall’, *morir*(*se*) ‘die’, *ir*(*se*) ‘go’, *salir*(*se*) ‘go out/come out/off’.

In the present framework, the contrast can be captured as an alternation between a pure unaccusative verb of change, formed by *vGO*+Root, and a bi-eventive inchoative predicate of change of state, i.e., a complex predicate that includes two events, with the schematic meaning of ‘GO to BE’.

(56) Structure of simple verbs of change

María salió (a caminar)

‘María went out for a walk’

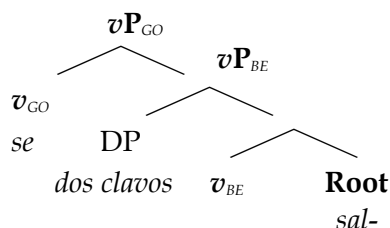


(57) Structure of inchoatives

Se salieron dos clavos

CL.REF came-off two nails’

‘Two nails came off’



The alternation between *salir* ‘go out’ and *salirse* ‘come off’ is the alternation between a verb of change (56) and a verb of change of state, i.e., an inchoative (57). Again, what *se* expresses is that there is an argument that participates in two events. In (57), the nails underwent some movement and achieved a certain state.

Another verb that has two unaccusative variants, a *se* and a *se*-less variant, is *caer* ‘fall’. *Caer* is a manner of moving, so it is compatible with *vGO*. When the root is verbalized by a *vGO*, it builds an unaccusative predicate that takes an object.

- (58) *Cayeron muchas hojas ayer*
 fell.PL many leaves yesterday
 ‘Many leaves fell yesterday’

In this configuration the falling is understood as something that just happens naturally. The falling of leaves is ‘internally caused’ (L&RH 1995). This predicate cannot take just any kind of object. For instance, books do not fall naturally, and *books* is incompatible as the sole argument of *caer*.

- (59) **Cayeron muchos libros ayer*
 fell.PL many books yesterday
 ‘Many books fell yesterday’

In order to obtain an acceptable sentence, *se* is required.

- (60) *Se cayeron muchos libros (del estante) ayer*
 CL.REF fell.PL many books (from the shelf) yesterday
 ‘Many books fell (from the shelf) yesterday’

What is ‘added’ in (60) above is a final state or location of the books, that is not part of the meaning in the pure unaccusative event of leaves falling. The object *los libros* is now licensed by the stative predicate (be fallen), and it just has to be compatible with a change of location. A difference in the aspectual properties of *caer* versus *caerse* points in the right direction. *Caer* is compatible with duration modification, as processes / activities are (61a). *Caerse* cannot be modified by a duration phrase (61b-c), even if the duration is reasonable.

- (61) a. *Cayeron hojas durante horas*
 fell leaves for hours
 b. **Se cayeron hojas durante horas*
 CL.REF fell leaves for hours
 c. **Se cayeron los libros durante veinte segundos/ minutos*
 CL.REF fell the books for twenty seconds/ minutes

The meaning of *caerse* seems closer to English *fall down*, while *caer* closer to *fall*. In both languages, the pure unaccusative of change can be used as a light verb of change and combine with a state expressed by a separate predicate (62a), and it can have metaphorical uses (62b). *Caerse* and *fall down* cannot substitute for *caer* and *fall* (63).

- (62) Verb of change (*vGO*)
- a. Emilio **cayó** enfermo /dormido
Emilio fell sick /asleep
 - b. Veinte soldados **cayeron** durante la batalla
Twenty soldiers fell in the battle
- (63) Verb of change of state (*vGO+vBE*)
- a. Emilio **se cayó** enfermo /dormido
Emilio fell down when he was sick /asleep
(cannot mean = (62a))
 - b. Veinte soldados **se cayeron** durante la batalla
Twenty soldiers fell down during the battle
(cannot mean = (62b))

We have seen that the meanings of the unaccusative *se-* sentences correspond to a complex inchoative structure. I will now test the proposed structure in its two central properties: 1) the event structure is composed of two sub-events, and 2) the internal argument is licensed as the subject of the lower *vP*. Inchoatives should behave as causatives in this respect.

3.2.1.3 Ambiguity of *casi*

Recall that causative sentences with *casi* ‘almost’ are ambiguous with respect to what *casi* modifies: it can have scope over the acting event (higher *vP*) or over the final state (lower *vP*). The structure of inchoatives I have proposed predicts that the scope of *casi* should be ambiguous between applying to the event of ‘going’ or happening, or applying to the final state. The prediction is borne out.

- (64) La puerta *casi* se cierra con el viento
The door almost CL.REF closes with the wind
‘The door almost closed because of the wind’

In (64), *casi* can have scope over the higher or the lower event. In the reading where it modifies the event of going, the sentence can be used in a situation when the wind was strong and made the door shake or somehow it gave the impression the door would start to close, but that did not happen. *Casi* can have narrower scope, by modifying the state of the door, in which case the sentence means that the door is partly closed, but not completely. With respect to the contrast *salir/salirse*, we expect *casi* to be unambiguous in sentences with mono-eventive *salir*; in sentences with inchoative *salirse*, *casi* should have two readings, as (64) above.

- (65) a. *Salir*: 1 event
Vicki y Hugo casi salen de paseo
‘Vicki and Hugo almost go-out for a ride’

(they almost left, but didn't do anything)

b. *Salirse*: 2 events

Casi se salen dos clavos
almost CL.REF come-out two nails
'Two nails almost come off'

Only one interpretation of *casi* is possible for (65a), as indicated; two interpretations can be assigned to sentence (65b). In one, *casi* applies to the movement of coming out: the sentence means that the nails almost started to come out, but did not. In the second reading, *casi* modifies only the final state, and the sentence means that the nails did start to come out, but did not come off completely.

3.2.1.4 The restriction on bare nouns

One central property of the structure of inchoatives is that the object DP is the subject of a stative *vP*. The object of simple unaccusatives, in contrast, is the complement of the root. If there is indeed a structural difference in the position of the sole argument between inchoatives and simple verbs of change in the sense just described, we predict a contrast in the grammaticality of sentences where the argument is a bare noun. Recall that subjects of predication in Spanish cannot be bare nouns, (66)=(18).

(66) The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint Revised

"An unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under conditions of normal stress and intonation"

Assuming the structures in (56) and (57) for simple verbs of change and for inchoatives, and the constraint in (66), we predict that bare nouns should be disallowed with inchoatives but acceptable with simple unaccusatives.

Masullo (1992:269-273) observes that the postverbal nominative complement of unaccusatives is usually a bare noun, as illustrated below.

(67) a. *Le volvieron a salir granitos en la cara*
CL.DAT returned.PL to come-out pimples.NOM in the face
'He got pimples in his face again'

b. *Anoche cayeron piedras*
last-night fell.PL stones.NOM
'It hailed last night'

(Masullo 1992)

He differentiates unaccusatives like those above, which he calls existential-presentational, with unaccusatives with *se* –called *se*-ergatives, which he assumes to be process predicates– and shows that the nominative complement of these predicates cannot be a bare noun.

(68) a. **Se salieron botones de las camisas*
 CL.REF came-off.PL buttons.NOM of the shirts
 ‘(Some) buttons came off the shirts’

b. **Anoche se cayeron piedras*
 last-night CL.REF fell.PL stones.NOM
 ‘(Some) stones fell last night’

(Masullo 1992)

The contrast in grammaticality between (67) and (68) follows directly from the structure proposed. In simple verbs of change such as those in (67) the post-verbal DP is licensed as a complement, while in the inchoative *se*-variant the nominative DP (68) is an internal subject, i.e., the subject of the end state where the verbal root is inserted.

Masullo also shows that bare nouns are incompatible with the unaccusative *se* variant of transitive verbs.

(69) a. *Se derritió la manteca*
 CL.REF melted the butter.NOM
 ‘The butter melted’

b. **Se derritió manteca*
 ‘Butter melted’

(Masullo 1982:272)

As in the case of the accusative object of causatives, the nominative argument of *se*-inchoatives is treated as a subject by the constraint on bare nouns. The argument of *se*-inchoatives cannot be a bare noun even if it appears post-verbally. The nominative argument of *se*-less unaccusatives, in contrast, do not fall under the restriction and can be bare nouns. This is exactly what the structures predict.

3.2.2 Datives with inchoatives

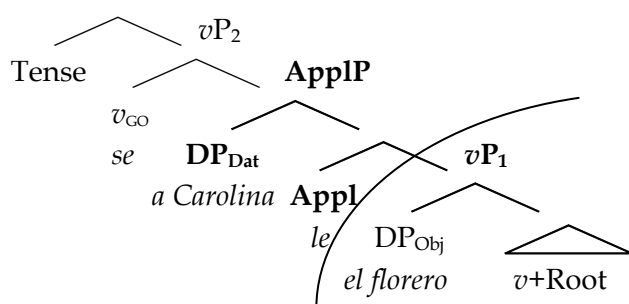
I have argued that the intransitive *se*-variant of transitive causatives and the *se*-variant of simple verbs of change are bi-eventive inchoative structures. The embedded event of causatives is interpreted as the caused final state. The embedded event of inchoatives is interpreted as the final state of a event of change. The embedded event has the same internal structure in both configurations: a predication stative *v*P with a subject DP. Given that the DP object is licensed as a subject in both structures, the same predictions are made with respect to the position where an applicative head can merge, and the consequent possible meaning.

(70) Predictions for applicatives in inchoatives:¹¹

- A dative cannot be applied to the DP which is the subject of the state, i.e., low applicatives are disallowed.
- A dative can be applied to the *v*PBE, externally.
- A dative applied to the *v*PBE will be ‘sandwiched’ between the *v*PBE and the *v*GO, i.e., it is an Affected Applicative.

The structure below represents the bi-eventive inchoative configuration with an applied dative argument.

- (71) *A Carolina se le rompió el florero*
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT broke the vase
 ‘The vase broke on Carolina’ (Lit. ‘To Carolina broke the vase’)

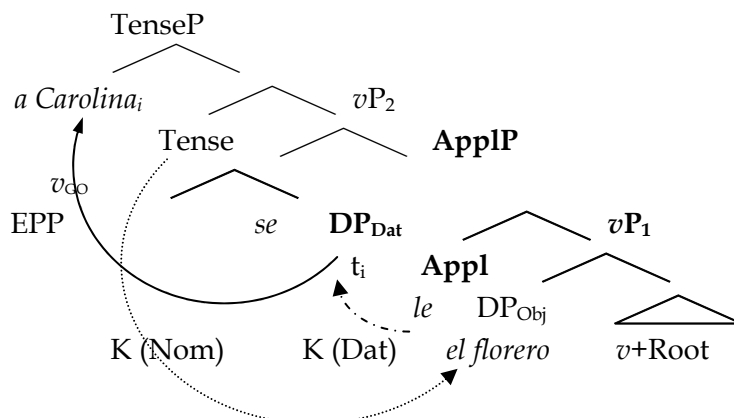


3.2.2.1 Morphosyntactic properties

The structure above differs from the structure of causatives in the higher event. Here, the higher *v* is GO rather than *v*DO. As a consequence, Voice is not projected and no external argument is licensed. There is a difference in case too: *v*GO does not assign or check case. In Cuervo 2000, 2003, I argued that Spanish T attracts to its specifier the closest DP, irrespective of whether the DP has uninterpretable case features (cf. Chomsky 1998). In an unaccusative structure like (71) – that is, where the internal argument does not move to specifier of *v*DO to be visible for accusative case checking –, the argument closest to Tense is the argument merged higher, that is, the dative DP. The dative DP moves to specifier of Tense and checks its EPP feature. Since dative case is inherent, there is no case checking relation with T. The uninterpretable case feature on T then ‘looks down’ and establishes an Agree relation with the next (and only) DP available. The DP subject of the stative *v*P checks case with Tense, and appears in nominative case. As the other side of this checking relation, the verb agrees in person and number with the nominative DP (see (132)-(133) in §2.3.2 for movement and case checking in active and passive ditransitives).

¹¹ Given that inchoatives consist of two events, it is also predicted that, in principle, an applicative head could take the higher *vP*_{GO} as its complement. The same applies to causatives: an applicative can apply to the higher *vP*_{DO}. These types of unembedded high applicatives are discussed in §4.2 and §4.3, respectively.

(72) Case and movement in unaccusatives with applicative



This is the account of the linear order Dat > Nom of Spanish unaccusative sentences. Facts of binding, WCO and scope confirm that the dative argument is structurally higher than the nominative. Several tests confirm that the dative argument indeed moves to subject position (i.e., it is not a Topic). I refer the reader to Masullo 1992, Fernández Soriano 1997 and Cuervo 1999, 2003, for details.

3.2.2.2 Semantic interpretation

Once the morphosyntactic effects of *vGO*, as opposed to *vDO* of causatives, are abstracted away from, we expect datives with inchoatives to have the same semantics as the affected applicatives discussed in §3.1.2.4., repeated, schematically here.

(73) Semantic interpretation of Affected Applicatives:

- The dative DP is applied to the end state of the object DP; it is not directly related to the DP \Rightarrow possession of the object should be not entailed. The dative DP is the ‘possessor’ of the end state of the object.
- The dative DP participates in two events: it is an object of the event of change and it is the ‘possessor’ of the end state. It is an affected argument.

Let’s see some examples of dative arguments in an inchoative configuration. Sentences in (74) serve as comparison with dative arguments in causatives. In turn, sentences (75) will be used in a comparison with datives with the ‘same verbs’ in the *se*-less variant, that is, datives with simple verbs of change.

(74) Inchoatives from causatives

- a. A Carolina se le rompió el florero
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT broke the vase
 ‘The vase broke on Carolina’ (Lit. ‘To Carolina broke the vase’)

- b. *Al tintorero se le quemaron los pantalones de Carolina*
 the dry-cleaner.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT burnt.PL the trousers of Carolina
 ‘Carolina’s trousers got burnt on the dry-cleaners’ or
 ‘The dry-cleaner (accidentally) burnt Carolina’s trousers’¹²

(75) Inchoatives from simple verbs of change

- a. *A Carolina se le cayeron muchos libros (del estante)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT fell.PL many books (from the shelf)
 ‘Many books fell from the shelf on Carolina’
- b. *A Carolina se le salieron dos clavos (de la pared)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT came-out.PL two nails from the wall
 ‘Two nails came off the wall on Carolina’

In the sentences above, the dative argument is understood as the individual affected by the events that took place. The dative argument is related to the end state of the object, and not directly related to the nominative DP. In sentence (75b), for instance, it is stated that the trousers are not the dry-cleaner’s and still the sentence is completely natural. (Recall that a genitive possessor is not compatible with a low applicative if the verb is not directional.) Nor does the sentence entail that the dry-cleaner was present when the trousers got burnt.

In the sentences in (75), if the dative were a low applicative, it should be understood obligatorily as the source (original location or possession) of the path described by the verb. In sentence (75b), if *a Carolina* were directly applied to the DP *dos clavos*, and the applicative phrase were merged as a complement of the root of *salir*, it should be understood that the nails were inside Carolina, and somehow came out. This is not the case, as illustrated by the acceptability of having an explicit source, *de la pared*.

As in the case of datives with causatives, datives in inchoatives can be paired with paraphrases where the dative is the subject of *tener* ‘have’ and the ‘content’ of the lower *vP* is expressed by a small clause.

- (76) *A Carolina se le arruinaron los zapatos*
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT ruined.PL the shoes
 ‘The shoes got ruined on Carolina’
 ⇒ *Carolina tiene los zapatos arruinados*
 Lit. ‘Carolina has the shoes ruined’

Assuming, as I did in §3.1.2.4.1, that *tener* ‘have’ is some kind of light verb that expresses a relation between an individual and some state or individual, the *tener* paraphrase of (76) reveals that in the applicative construction, Carolina is related to the state of the shoes.

That datives in the *se* variant are affected is also confirmed by the fact that when the meaning of the verb (and pragmatics) make it clear that the individual is affected by the change of

¹² This reading, where the dative is understood as somehow responsible for the event is discussed in §4.2.3.

state, the construction with *se* is highly preferred, if not the only one acceptable. This is the case with the verb *morir* ‘die’.

- (77) A Carolina *(se) le murió el helecho
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT died the fern
 ‘The fern on Carolina’

Recall that causatives, unlike simple activities, can be paired with paraphrases like *What I did to X was to VP*, as discussed in §3.1.2.4.2 and illustrated in (78) for causatives.

- (78) a. Pablo le rompió /arregló la radio a Valeria
 Pablo CL.DAT broke /repaired the radio Valeria.DAT
 ‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’
- b. *Lo que Pablo le hizo a Valeria fue ...*
 ‘What Pablo did to Valeria was...’
1. ... romperle la radio
 ‘... to broke the radio on her’
 2. ... arreglarle la computadora
 ‘...to repair the computer on her’

Inchoatives also have their corresponding paraphrase in *What happened to X was that VP*, an expression of the relation of the dative argument (X) with the two events.

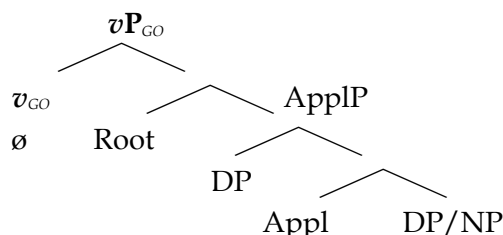
- (79) a. A Carolina se le arruinaron los zapatos (= (76))
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT ruined.PL the shoes
- b. A Carolina se le murió el helecho (= (77))
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT died the fern
- c. *Lo que le pasó a Carolina es que ...*
 ‘What happened to Carolina is that ...’
1. ... se le arruinaron los zapatos
 ‘... the shoes ruined on her’
 2. ... se le murió el helecho
 ‘...the fern died on her’

3.2.2.3 Inchoatives versus simple verbs of change

I argued, in §3.2.1.2 that the contrast between verbs of movement such as *caer* ‘fall’ and *ir* ‘go’ and those ‘same’ predicates with *se* is a contrast between simple verbs of change and inchoatives. In other words, it is a contrast between a configuration that introduces one event (unaccusative) or two (*se*-unaccusative=inchoative). This structural difference correlates with a difference in the licensing of the object DP (that becomes nominative). The object of simple

unaccusatives is licensed as a complement of the root, below the first little *v*; the object of an inchoative is introduced *above* the first little *v*, as the specifier of the verb formed by the combination of the root and *v*_{BE}. The difference in configuration predicts there should be a difference in the meaning of a dative argument that is applied to these structures. In particular, the predictions is:¹³

- (80) Datives with simple unaccusatives
 A dative can be applied, below *v*, to the object complement of the root
 ⇒ the dative can be a low applicative
- (81) A low applicative under a predicate of change



The prediction that the dative with an unaccusative predicate can be a low applicative is borne out. In the cases where the construction is acceptable, a dative with *caer* or *salir*, for example, bears a direct relation with the DP that undergoes movement. The dative is interpreted as a location (or possessor of the location), and no affectedness is entailed. (See §4.1 and 4.2 for an analysis of datives with existentials and other unaccusatives.)

- (82) a. *A Carolina le cayeron hojas (encima/en la cabeza) (*de/en la mesa)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT fell.PL leaves on-top/on the head from/on the table
 ‘Some leaves fell on (top of) Carolina’
- b. *A Carolina le salieron granitos (en la cara)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT came-out.PL pimples on the face
 ‘Carolina got pimples on the face’

The possibility of the object being a bare noun indicates that these objects are indeed complements of the root and not specifiers of *v*. As we shall see next, the central structural syntactic and semantic properties of the sentences above correspond to those of unaccusative predicates of movement that do not have a *se*-variant, such as *venir* ‘come’ and *llegar* ‘arrive, reach’.

¹³ As in the case of inchoatives, it is also possible, in principle, for an applicative head to apply an individual to the event of change. This is addressed in §4.2.3.

- (83) a. *A Carolina le llegaron muchas cartas de Londres*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT arrived.PL many letters from London
 'Carolina got many letters from London'
- b. *A Carolina le vinieron ganas de tomar mate*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT came.PL desires of taking mate
 'Carolina got cravings for (having) mate'

In contrast with inchoatives, sentences with *se*-less simple verbs of change do not have a natural paraphrase in *What happened to X is that*, as illustrated below (cf. (79)).

- (84) a. *A Carolina le cayeron hojas (encima/en la cabeza) (=82)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT fell.PL leaves on-top/on the head
- b. *A Carolina le llegaron muchas cartas de Londres (=83)*
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT arrived.PL many letters from London
- c. *Lo que le pasó a Carolina es que ...*
 'What happened to Carolina is that ...'
1. ??... *le cayeron hojas (encima/en la cabeza)*
 '... leaves fell (on her/ on her head)'
 2. *... *le llegaron cartas*
 '...she got letters'

3.2.3 Baker's gap

Baker (1996) claims that there is a 'gap' in the dative alternation. If under a transitive verb it is possible to have a prepositional construction (PPD, Theme higher than Goal, (85a-b)) or a double object construction (DOC, Goal higher than Theme, (85a'-b')), why doesn't that alternation take place with the corresponding unaccusative verbs (86)?

- | | PPD | DOC |
|------|--|---|
| (85) | a. <i>John passed the ring to Mary</i> | a'. <i>John passed Mary the ring</i> |
| | b. <i>Peter opened a beer for Max</i> | b'. <i>Peter opened Max a beer</i> |
| (86) | a. <i>The ring passed to Mary</i> | a'. * <i>The ring passed Mary</i> |
| | | a''. * <i>Mary passed the ring</i> (as Mary=Goal) |
| | b. <i>The beer opened for Max</i> | b'. * <i>The beer opened Max</i> |
| | | b''. * <i>Max opened the beer</i> (as Max=Goal) |

The analysis of the structure of causatives, inchoatives and simple verbs of change developed in this chapter sheds new light onto Baker's question. As it turns out, the question and the claim on the existence of a gap arise from a confusion. The detailed structures I have argued

for make it possible to identify the confusion and, ultimately, to show that there exists no such gap. The confusion, which arises from the fact that roots can participate in different types of events, has two sides. First, Baker does not distinguish, among transitive verbs, causatives from activity verbs. Second, Baker does not distinguish, among unaccusatives, between inchoative and simple verbs of change. The table below summarizes the differences and indicates in shading the areas of difference in predictions between Baker's view and the view developed here.

(87) The confusion

Types of verbs for	Baker		This approach	
	Type of verb	DOC possible?	Type of verb	DOC possible?
<i>bake, pass (tr.)</i>	transitive	yes	activity (1 event)	yes
<i>open, break</i>			causative (2 events)	no (√AffecAppl)
<i>pass, arrive</i>	unaccusative	no	verb of change (1 event)	yes
<i>open (intransitive)</i>			inchoative (2 events)	no (√AffecAppl)

We have seen that the 'dative alternation', i.e., the possibility of having either a DOC or a ditransitive prepositional structure, cannot take place with just any transitive verb. Specifically, we saw in §3.1 that the DOC is structurally incompatible in a causative configuration. I argued that the dative arguments that appear in Spanish in causative configurations are not low applicatives (DOC) but a different kind of applicative, Affected Applicatives, that have different semantic and syntactic properties.

In the previous sections, I argued that the intransitive variant of causative verbs is inchoative, a kind of unaccusative structure that differs from the structure of simple unaccusative verbs of change. The inchoative configuration is structurally incompatible with the DOC; in contrast, a simple verb of change can, in principle, embed a DOC.

The predictions that emerge from these considerations is that, in the absence of independent restrictions, there will be a language internal correlation between having DOC with activities and having DOC with simple unaccusatives. The availability of affected applicatives with causatives should correlate, intralinguistically, with their availability with inchoatives.

We have seen that Spanish has each type of applicative (DOC and affected applicatives). The possibility of having a DOC with unaccusative *llegar* 'arrive', then, is the first piece of evidence against Baker's generalization. But let's look at the data from English first. At first sight, my analysis seems to be making the wrong predictions for English: while a DOC is incompatible with inchoative *open* ((86b'-b''), **The beer opened Max*), it is possible with transitive *open*, which I classified as causative. However, the use of *open* in (85b') is not as a causative but just as an activity. As predicted, the DOC is possible, and expresses a dynamic

relation between two individuals. In *Peter opened Max a beer*, Peter was involved in an act of actual opening; Peter is not the agent of some undefined event. Max is related to the beer, as the recipient; he is not related to a state of the beer being opened. That this is so is confirmed by the unacceptability of the DOC with uses of *open* that do not imply a transfer of possession and by which the first object cannot be interpreted as the (intended) recipient of the theme.

(88) Causative:

**Daniel opened Stephanie the door*

(89) Inchoative:

a. **The door opened Stephanie*

b. **Stephanie opened the door* (Stephanie=Goal)

The incompatibility of the double object construction with inchoative verbs in English (89), then, is tied to their incompatibility with causative predicates (88). If a 'dative' is not allowed in either structure, we can conclude that English does not have Affected Applicatives. This may be attributed to simple selection among the possibilities of universal inventories of applicative heads, or might be derived or related to other properties of English (e.g., the zero-morphology of the applicative head, case issues, etc.).¹⁴

In sum, the DOC with *open* in (85b') is possible because *open* is used as a transitive activity verb. Activity verbs do not have intransitive variants; thus, the DOC is impossible in (86b'), **The beer opened Max*, and in (86b''), **Max opened the beer*, simply because **The beer opened* is ungrammatical.¹⁵ In turn, when a sentence is possible with intransitive *open* (e.g. *The door opened*), the use is inchoative; then, the DOC is structurally incompatible, and only languages with affected applicatives can have sentences like (89b). As I have shown, Spanish is such a language, and the equivalents of (88) and (89) are grammatical.

(90) a. Causative

Emilio le abrió las puertas a Carolina
Emilio CL.DAT opened the doors Carolina.DAT
'Emilio opened the doors for Carolina'

b. Inchoative

A Carolina se le abrió la puerta
Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT opened.PL the door
'The door opened on Carolina'

¹⁴ Notice that given its case system and the zero-morphology of the applicative head in English, if the higher argument raised to subject position, sentences like (89b) would always be ambiguous between an external argument-reading and an applicative reading for *Stephanie*.

¹⁵ Among the English speakers I consulted, I could not find anybody that would confirm the judgment in (86b).

By accounting for the incompatibility of the DOC with unaccusative inchoative verbs, Baker's gap is dramatically reduced to simple unaccusative verbs of movement or change (vGO that do not embed and end result, e.g. *grow*, *arrive*, *get*). The question is, why are the sentences in (92) ungrammatical, given (91)?¹⁶

(91) *Two letters arrived to/for Daniel*

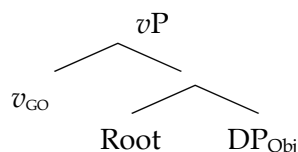
- (92) a. **Daniel arrived two letters*
b. **Two letters arrived Daniel*

The question can be paraphrased as: why does English not have DOC/low applicatives with unaccusative verbs? Baker suggests that the ungrammaticality of both sentences in (92) is "more or less" universal, that he couldn't find a language where a goal DP is higher than the theme DP with unaccusative predicates. This ungrammaticality is not predicted by my approach: low applicatives *are* compatible with unaccusative verbs. In fact, sentences like (92) are *not* universally ungrammatical.

- (93) a. A Gabi le llegaron dos cartas Spanish
Gabi.DAT CL.DAT arrived.PL two letters
'Gabi got two letters from London'
- b. A Valentina sono arrivate due lettere Italian
Valentina.DAT are arrived.PL two letters
'Valentina got two letters'
(Lit. 'To X arrived two letters')

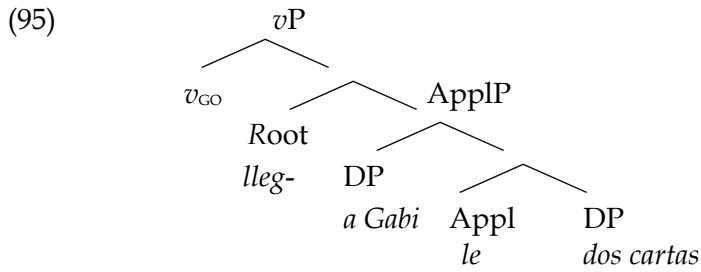
The structure of these sentences is parallel to the structure of the DOC. The difference is that while in the DOC the root combines with the agentive *vDO*, here the root combines with the unaccusative dynamic *vGO* and takes the ApplP as its complement. The structure of unaccusative *llegar*, presented in (56) is repeated below.

(94)



Instead of a simple DP, unaccusative *llegar* can take an applicative phrase. The structure of sentences like (93) is represented in (95) (=81).

¹⁶ I have discussed only Baker's examples with *open*. The other English examples, with *pass*, also fail to make the crucial distinctions: transitive *pass* is an activity which, like *hand* or *send*, does not have an intransitive variant. Unaccusative *pass* in (86a) has a different meaning (something like 'be inherited'); its transitive variant is not *pass* but *pass on*, as in **John passed on (*Mary) the ring*.



Even in English, Pesetsky 1995 argues that *get* (at least in some meanings) is a two-argument unaccusative, and can be analyzed in parallel to the sentences in Spanish and Italian (with the usual contrasts in the morphosyntax of double objects between Spanish/Italian & English).

(96) *Sue got the book*

(Pesetsky 1995:ex. 341b)

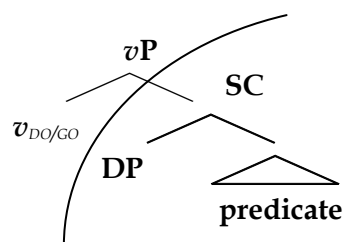
The ungrammaticality of (92) seems to follow from the general restrictions of the DOC in English: English only has the low applicative-TO with activity predicates (directional or of creation). Just a few lexical items in other configurations, idiosyncratically, accept it (e.g. *envy, owe, save*).

3.3. Applicatives in other complex structures

The theory of affected arguments developed in the previous sections is based on the structural configurations where datives appear, rather than on the arguments that verbs are associated with in the lexicon. In contrast with theories in which applicative arguments are added to verbal argument structures in the lexicon, this approach makes predictions not only for the structures “causative and inchoative verbs project” but also for any causative or inchoative configuration, that is, any *vDO* or *vGO* that embeds a predication relation that takes place as a consequence of the higher dynamic event.

The theory derives the meaning and syntax of affected arguments from the position they have as participants in a configuration that expresses two events: an event of ‘doing’ (agentive) or of ‘happening’ (unaccusative) and a resulting final state to which the higher event leads. This event configuration is met by any combination of predicates that express an active event that embeds a predicative relation that results from the higher event. Besides the case of causative and inchoative verbs, where the verbal root is associated with the embedded predication, the relevant configuration –represented in (97)– can be built by a combination of functional verbal heads and predicates that are spelled out as a verb and adjective (*wipe the tale clean, cook a steak dry*), verb and preposition (*put the books on the table*), verb and particle (*write a letter up, rewrite a letter, give a coat away*) or verbs derived from adjectives (*redde[n], clarify, nationalize*). The theory of affected applicatives predicts that applicatives in these constructions should behave, syntactically and semantically, like applicatives with causative verbs.

(97) Complex structures with SC



I show, in the next four sections, that the predictions for the grammaticality and meaning of applied arguments in the context of resultative, deadjectival, prepositional and (some) particle constructions are borne out.

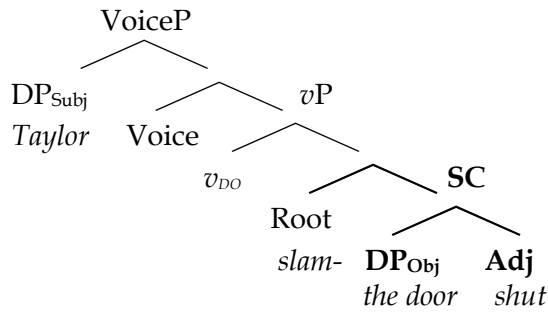
3.3.1 Resultative constructions

Activity verbs in English participate in resultative constructions of the kind illustrated in (98).

- (98) a. *Taylor slammed the door shut*
 b. *Taylor laughed himself silly*

Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 argue that “the lexical representation of a verb in the resultative construction does not differ from that of the same verb in isolation” (1995:43). The arguments of the verb are projected the same way as in the non-resultative construction. The only difference is, according to these authors, that a resultative XP is added and predicated of the object DP. They argue that the predication relation requires mutual c-command, but that it does not have to be represented in the syntax with a clausal structure (i.e., a small clause). I will argue against this approach by showing that the object DP in resultative constructions is not projected in the same position as in the non-resultative activity construction. In particular, I will argue that the objects in (98) are not licensed as complements of the root (as with activity verbs) but as subjects of the embedded predicate. That is, the licensing of objects in (98) is parallel, in the relevant sense, to licensing of the internal argument in causative constructions. Resultative constructions have the structure represented in (99).

(99) *Taylor slammed the door shut*



Although the higher predicate *slam* and the lower predicate *shut* do not combine to form a unit (a “lexical” verb), the structure captures the fact that the state of the door being shut is a result of the activity of slamming. In this respect, resultatives are distinct from English secondary predication, where the state of the object is expressed as its state *during* the main event, but does not constitute an added event.

(100) *Stephanie served the meat raw*

Pylkkänen 2002 argues that in a structure as that of (100), the secondary predicate combines with a depictive head that, in turn, combines with the verb.¹⁷ In the case at hand, in contrast, the SC combines with the verb as a whole. The structure is like the configuration in which causative verbs appear. The difference is that not only is the final state lexicalized (*shut*), but also the manner of the Acting of the agent (*slam*).

The structure in (99) makes predictions with respect to applicatives. A low applicative is structurally incompatible with the resultative construction in (99): the applicative cannot take the inner subject DP (*the door*) as its complement to the exclusion of the predicate it is the subject of. An affected applicative, in contrast, can be applied to the resulting event; that is, an applicative head can take the SC as its complement.¹⁸ English lacks affected applicatives, and only has low applicatives. Therefore, adding an applied argument in the resultative construction should result in ungrammaticality.

(101) **Taylor slammed Stephanie the door shut*

Although the ungrammaticality of (101) is consistent with the predictions, it does not really prove the point, since the sentence without the resultative is also ungrammatical.

(102) **Taylor slammed Stephanie the door*

¹⁷ See Pylkkänen 2002 and references therein for an analysis of the syntactic and semantic properties of depictive phrases.

¹⁸ The resultative construction should also be compatible with high applicatives of the benefactive type. This is not relevant at this point, so I leave it aside.

What is needed is a transitive activity verb that *can* take a low benefactive applicative (a DOC), such that we independently know that the same verb can take a resultative. *Cook* can serve as an illustration. When both a resultative and an applicative are combined, the sentence should be ungrammatical. This prediction is borne out.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-------------------|
| (103) | a. <i>Taylor cooked Stephanie a steak</i> | DOC (Low Appl) |
| | b. <i>Taylor cooked the steak medium rare</i> | Resultative |
| | c. <i>*Taylor cooked Stephanie the steak dry</i> | DOC + Resultative |

The ungrammaticality of sentences like (103c) has, of course, been noted before. Keyser & Roeper 1992 develop an account of the incompatibility of double object datives with particles, resultatives and some prefixes in terms of their competing for the same syntactic position. Although the account developed here is different in several aspects, it is similar to theirs in spirit (see also Goldberg 1995).

In contrast with English, the prediction for Spanish is that dative arguments should be compatible with resultative constructions. The specific prediction is that affected applicatives should be possible. Unfortunately, resultative constructions of the English kind are not productive in Spanish so the prediction cannot be tested.¹⁹

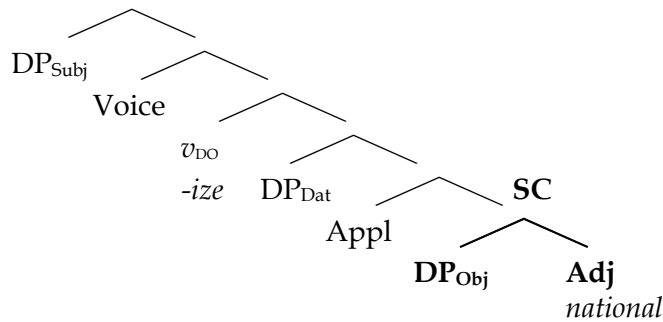
3.3.2 Deadjectival verbs

Many verbs that are derived from adjectives belong to the group of verbs that exhibit the causative-inchoative alternation. This is the case of *lengthen*, *widen*, *clear*, in English, and Spanish *aclarar* ‘clear’, *alargar* ‘lengthen’, *oscurecer* ‘darken’, etc. Other deadjectival verbs, however, are more normally found either as causatives (*nationalize*, *privatize*) or inchoatives (*redde*). Independently of whether they appear as causative, inchoative or both, they all fall under the same predictions with respect to applicative arguments. Low applicatives are structurally incompatible, so applicatives with these predicates will be ungrammatical if a language lacks affected applicatives. In languages that do have affected applicatives, the constructions should be grammatical and the applied argument understood as affected.

¹⁹ The following sentence, however, seems to have a resultative structure (indicated by brackets and the test of replacing the DP by a clitic with exclusion of the predicate).

(i) a.	<i>Cociné [[el bife] [jugoso]]</i>	<i>Lo cociné [jugoso]</i>
	I-cooked the steak rare	CL.ACC I-cooked rare
b.	<i>Le cociné [[el bife] [jugoso]] a Vicki</i>	<i>Se lo cociné [jugoso] a Vicki</i>
	CL.DAT I-cooked the steak rare Vicki.DAT	CL.DAT CL.ACC I-cooked rare Vicki.DAT

(104) Transitive (causative) *nacionalizar*



(105) a. Spanish

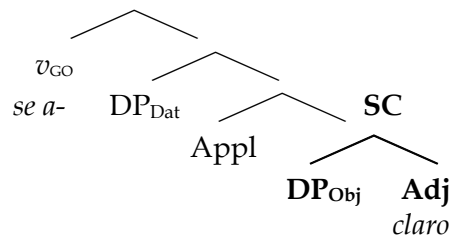
Les nacionalizaron la deuda a todos los latinoamericanos
 CL.DAT.PL they-nationalized the debt all the Latin-Americans.DAT
 'They nationalized the debt on all the Latin-Americans'

b. English

**They nationalized the Latin-Americans the debt*

As predicted, a dative argument is possible in Spanish but ungrammatical in English. The dative *a todos los latinoamericanos* in (105a) is understood as the argument affected by the nationalization of the debt. The same holds for the unaccusative construction below.

(106) Unaccusative (inchoative) *aclarar* / *clear*



(107) a. *A Carolina se le aclaró el panorama*
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT cleared.PL the panorama
 'Carolina got a better prospective'

b. **Mary darkened the future*

Sentence (107a) is related to a paraphrased with *tener* 'have', as with causatives,

(108) \Rightarrow *Carolina tiene el problema aclarado*
 Lit. 'Carolina has the problem clear(ed)'

3.3.3 Prepositional resultatives

Not only adjectives can function as the predicate of a resulting state. In English, a prepositional phrase might do the same, as illustrated below with locative PPs under movement verbs.

- (109) a. *Taylor ran to the top of the hill*
b. *Taylor put the books under the table*
c. *Taylor threw the books on the table*

Beck & Snyder 2001 argue that languages can vary in the interpretation of goal PPs. They argue that in some languages (e.g. English, German, Japanese) goal PPs are interpreted as resultatives, while this is impossible in other languages (e.g. Spanish, Hebrew, French). In (109a), for instance, the PP is the final location of the subject, Taylor; in (109b-c) the PPs *under/on the table* are understood as the resulting location of the books. The verb *put* acts as a causative light verb (it does not specify a manner) of the change of location. In (109c), the verb *throws* specifies the manner of the activity. If we assume that goal PPs form resultatives in English, we expect that in the case of transitive verbs (109a-b) the direct object will act as the subject of the resultative, as discussed for adjectival resultatives in §3.3.1. The DP *the books* is the subject of the PP *under/on the table*, with which it forms a small clause predication relation. As a consequence, we predict that a low applicative cannot take the internal argument DP as its complement: the DOC should be incompatible with constructions as those in (109a-b). Only an affected applicative could take the constituent [DP PP] as its argument.

- (110) **Taylor threw /put Daniel the books under the table*

As predicted, the addition of an applied argument is impossible in the context of the English prepositional resultative. Given that Spanish does allow for an applicative to take a SC or *vP* as its argument, we expect these constructions to be possible.

- (111) *Le tiré /puse [los libros sobre la mesa] a Carolina*
CL.DAT.PL I-threw/put the books on the table Carolina.DAT
'I threw/put the books on the table for Carolina'

The sentence (111), the Spanish counterparts of English (110) are grammatical, as expected. Recall, however, that Beck & Snyder argue that, in Spanish, goal PPs do *not* form complex resultative predicates. Beck & Snyder 2001 correlate the resultative interpretation with compounding and complex predicate formation. In Spanish, the lack of resultative interpretation for the PPs in (111) correlates with the lack of productive resultatives with activity verbs and adjectives (see §3.3.1). With respect to dative arguments, the question is: if the apparent constituent [*los libros sobre la mesa*] does not form a SC, what is the applied dative in (111) applied to? Although I will not provide an answer to this question, the analysis of licensing of objects in causatives and other complex event structures does offer

new syntactic evidence for the contrast studied by Beck & Snyder. If the constituent in question is a SC, the accusative ‘object’ would be licensed as a ‘subject’; a bare NP should be barred from that position. This prediction is not borne out, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (112).

- (112) a. *Le tiré libros sobre la mesa a Carolina*
 CL.DAT.PL I-threw books on the table Carolina.DAT
 ‘I threw the books on the table for/on Carolina’
 also, ‘I threw Carolina’s books on the table/the books on Carolina’s table’
- b. *Le puse azúcar en el mate a Carolina*
 CL.DAT.PL I-put sugar in the mate Carolina.DAT
 ‘I put sugar in the mate for / on Carolina’
 also, ‘I put sugar in Carolina’s mate’

The ‘mysterious’ constituent, as a whole, is what the dative argument is related to. As in causatives and inchoatives, the dative argument in (112a), for instance, is interpreted as affected, and as the ‘possessor’ of the state or situation of the books being on the table. It is possible to say *Carolina tiene libros sobre la mesa*, literally, ‘Carolina has books on the table’. The interpretation of the dative as a possessor of the theme is also possible, although, as discussed in detail in §3.1.2.4, this possession is indirectly inferred from the structural relation with the whole constituent. Interestingly, notice that in (112) this indirect possession relation can not only cover the theme *los libros* –as in affected datives with causatives and inchoatives– but also the location (*la mesa, el mate*).

The licensing of a dative argument as an applicative to some kind of constituent formed by a theme DP and a preposition is very productive in Spanish. These constructions, as well as construction with a PP but no theme DP, are also found in French (113a-b), and in Hebrew (113c). It is suggestive that these three languages belong to the same type with respect to Beck & Snyder analysis of constituency and interpretation of goal PPs.

- (113) a. *Elle lui a mis la main sur l’épaule*
 she CL.DAT has put the hand on the shoulder
 ‘She put her hand on his shoulder’ (Kayne 1975:164)
- b. *La fille lui courait après*
 the girl CL.DAT was-running after
 ‘The girl was running after him’ (Kayne 1975:160)
- c. *Gil hitpašet le-Rina mul ha-eynayim*
 Gil undressed Rina.DAT in-front-of the eyes
 ‘Gil undressed in front of Rina’s eyes’ (Landau 1999:18)

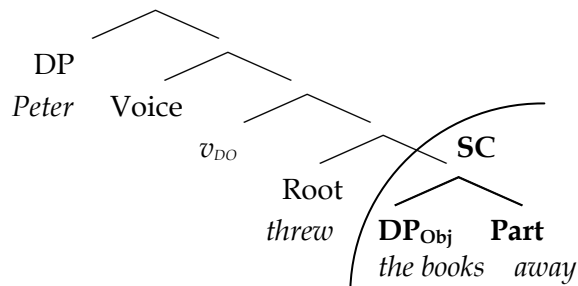
- d. *Emilio nunca les está encima a sus alumnos*
 Emilio never CL.DAT.PL is on-top his students.DAT
 'Emilio never bothers his students'
- e. *Emilio le puso la mano en el hombro (a Lucila)*
 Emilio CL.DAT put the hand on the shoulder Lucila.DAT
 'Emilio put his hand on Lucila's shoulder'
 'Emilio put Lucila's hand on his shoulder'

In French, the construction is restricted to inalienable possession and to clitics. In Spanish and Hebrew, a full dative DP is possible. In §4.3.2.2, an analysis of the restrictions to clitics is proposed. I leave the category of the node the applicative head applies to as an open issue. Let us turn now to the last type of small clause construction in which predictions concerning affected applicatives are tested.

3.3.4 Particles

Some particles (intransitive prepositions) take the DP (that appears as the accusative) object as their subject. Together, they form a SC that combines with the verb, as schematically represented in (114).

- (114) a. *Peter put a CD on*
 b. *Peter threw the books away*
 c. *Peter wrote a report up*



As predicted, an applied argument is incompatible with this configuration in English.

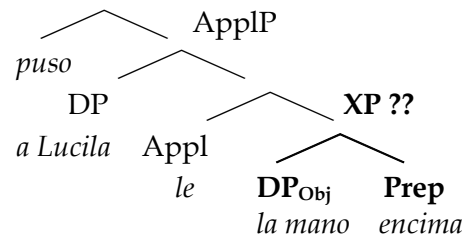
- (115) a. **Peter put Mary a CD on*
 b. **Peter threw Mary the books away*
 c. **Peter wrote Mary a report up*

On the assumption that *après* in French (113b) and *encima* (113d) correspond in the relevant sense to English intransitive prepositions (particles), the discussion in the previous section applies to these cases as well.²⁰ The same distinction between English and Spanish, French and Hebrew that Beck & Snyder 2001 proposed should be taken into account; that is, that the

²⁰ *Encima* can also take an argument DP, as in *encima de la mesa* 'on top of the table'.

verb and the preposition do not form a complex resultative predicate. Under this view, the possibility of bare NPs appearing as direct objects is not unexpected.

(116)



This chapter dealt with the syntactic and semantic properties of dative arguments in bi-eventive, complex structures. We have seen that the properties of Affected Applicatives can be attributed to the syntactic position in which the dative DP is licensed, with reference not only to the complement of the head but also to the event that embeds the applicative phrase. The next chapter deals with applicatives that take a *v*P complement but are not embedded under event predicates: high unembedded applicatives.

Chapter 4. High unembedded datives

Felipe: –¿Y? ¿Cómo anda la paz en Vietnam?

So? How is peace in Vietnam doing?

Mafalda: – Ahí. Parece que les sobró un poco de guerra y les da lástima tirarla.
So,so. Seems that them_i DatPl was-extra a little of war_{Nom} and them_i DatPl gives pity [PRO_i throw-it-away]

(Mafalda, Buenos Aires, 5th. February 1973)

This chapter deals with dative arguments that relate to an event, that is, high applicatives. Three kinds of high dative arguments can be distinguished, according to the kind of event predicate (type of *vP*) they are applied to. Specifically, I argue that there are three subtypes of high applicative heads distinguishable by whether they take, as their first argument, a stative *vP* (*vPBE*), a dynamic non-agentive *vP* (*vPGO*), or a dynamic agentive *vP* (*vPDO*). From the universal inventory of these three types, particular languages can, in principle, select none, one, two or all of the three types.

In § 4.1, I develop an analysis of dative experiencers with unaccusative predicates as argument DPs licensed as the specifier of a high applicative that takes a stative predication relation (*vPBE*), e.g. *gustar* ‘like’, *parecer* ‘seem’) as its complement. Dative experiencers are compared with locative or possessor datives with existential predicates (e.g. *faltar* ‘lack/miss’, *sobrar* ‘be-left’), which are shown to be an instance of a low applicative.

Section 4.2 presents the case of dative arguments that correspond to applicatives that take a non-agentive dynamic event (*vPGO*, e.g. *suced*er ‘happen’, *ocurrir* ‘occur/take place’) as its complement.

Finally, in § 4.3, ethical datives –which in Spanish appear as clitics but not as DPs in argument position– are argued to be the expression of a high applicative head that takes a dynamic agentive event (*vPDO*, e.g. *caminar* ‘walk’, *bailar* ‘dance’) as its complement. In contrast to several Bantu languages, this kind of high applicative is shown to be available in Spanish only in a ‘defective’ or ‘passive’ variety, i.e., as a head that introduces the semantics of an argument, but does not project a specifier (hence the unavailability of a full dative DP). Unlike the indefinite implied agent in short passives and impersonals, however, the omitted applied argument is definite, and its person and number features are expressed by the clitic.

The table below indicates with shading the types of applicative constructions that are discussed in this chapter, among the full set of possible dative arguments.

Types of applied datives

1stARG:	DP			EVENT		
	Dynamic		Static	State		Dynamic
	TO	FROM	AT	Embedded	Non-embedded	
Meaning v	Recipient	Source	Possessor	Affected	Experiencer	Benef/Malef
<i>vDO</i>	<i>send, bake</i>	<i>steal</i>	<i>wash</i>	<i>break</i>	---	<i>walk</i> §4.3.2
<i>vGO</i>	<i>arrive</i> §4.2.1	<i>escape</i>	<i>grow</i>	<i>break</i> Inch. §4.2.3	<i>happen</i> §4.2.2 / §4.2.3	
<i>vBE</i>	<i>owe</i>	<i>save</i>	<i>lack</i> §4.1.2	---	<i>appeal, seem</i> §4.1	---
Inanimate dative?	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>

The complementary distribution of the meaning ‘experiencer’ and ‘benefactive / malefactive’ with respect to dynamic and stative predicates suggest that high applicative datives can indeed be considered as having the same basic meaning, something like ‘the event is oriented to the dative’. The notions of experiencer, benefactive and malefactive, rather than being part of the semantic content provided by the licensing head, can be the specific interpretation the applied argument gets when the type of event and the idiosyncratic meaning of the predicate are taken into account. We will see in §4.1, for instance, that when a dative can be applied to an stative *vP* that does not express a psychological state (e.g. *es difícil caminar*, lit. ‘is difficult to walk’, *esos zapatos son incómodos* ‘those shoes are uncomfortable’), the dative is not interpreted as ‘experiencer’, at least not in the usual sense. In turn, datives applied to an event of ‘happening’ (e.g. *ocurrió una desgracia*, lit. ‘occurred a calamity’) can be interpreted as experiencers or benefactive/ malefactive (§4.2).

4.1 Datives with stative unaccusative predicates (*vBE*)

In Spanish, a dative argument can combine with stative predicates that express a psychological experience (e.g. *gustar* ‘like’, (1)) or a ‘manner’ of existence (e.g. *faltar* ‘lack’, (2)). In the context of psychological and existential predicates, dative DPs are interpreted as experiencers and locations or possessors, respectively. Previous studies have argued that these experiencer and locative datives are the subject of the clause in which they appear (Masullo 1992, Fernández Soriano 1997, Cuervo 1999, among others).

- (1) *A Daniela le gustan los gatos*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the cats
 ‘Daniela likes cats’
- (2) *Al libro le faltan las tapas*
 the book.DAT CL.DAT lack.PL the covers
 ‘The book has no covers/ is missing its covers’

Systematic semantic and syntactic properties of dative subjects with psychological and existential predicates can be captured by the theory of dative arguments as arguments of (different types of) applicatives. Within the system proposed here, in both cases the dative DP is introduced by an applicative head (i.e., is not an argument licensed by the verb). In both cases, the dative exhibits subject-like properties that derive from its being the higher argument in the structure and its moving to subject position. In spite of these similarities, I will show that the applicatives that introduce experiencers are distinct from the applicatives that introduce dative possessors or locatives with existential predicates. I argue that the semantic and syntactic contrasts can be derived from two configurational properties: 1) the type of applicative that licenses the dative DP, and 2) the different position where the other argument, i.e., the nominative DP, is licensed in each type of predicate.

I propose that dative experiencer DPs (1) are licensed by a high applicative head that takes a stative *v*P (i.e., a *v*P headed by *v*BE) as its complement. The theme DP is the subject of the predicate formed by *v*BE and the root.

In contrast, locative/possessor datives (2) are better analyzed as the specifier of a low applicative phrase that combines with an existential predicate as its complement. Locative/possessor dative DPs are related to another DP, the Theme, in the same way the possessor dative relates to the theme in the non-dynamic double object construction, i.e., the Low-Appl-AT discussed in §2.2.2.

This approach allows us to account for several syntactic and semantic differences between psychological and existential configurations, while still being able to derive the common subject-like properties of the dative argument in the context of both types of predicates.

4.1.1 Psychological predicates

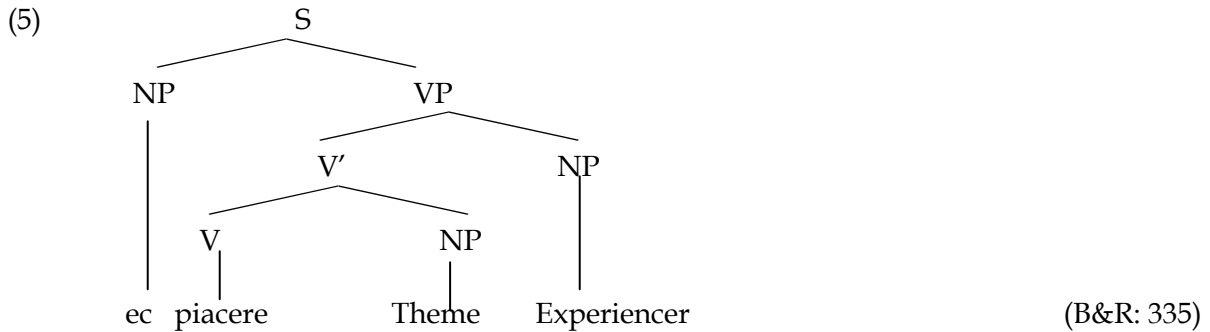
A Spanish dative argument can appear as the experiencer subject of psychological verbs, such as *gustar* 'like', *importar* 'matter', *parecer* 'seem'. In these cases, the dative does not enter into a direct relation with the theme object. It differs from affected argument as well, since this dative DP is not embedded under another event predicate. As datives with other unaccusative predicates such as *romperse* 'intr. break' and *faltar* 'lack, miss' (see inchoatives in §3.2, and existentials in §4.1.2), the dative experiencer is the highest argument in the structure, occupies subject position and exhibits other properties and restrictions of subjects. As any other dative in Spanish, however, dative subjects do not trigger agreement with the verb (in the sense of verbal inflexion); it is with the nominative object (if any) that the verb agrees.

Several researchers have studied the syntax and thematic properties of psychological predicates, that is, predicates that take an experiencer and a theme as their arguments. In their influential article on psych verbs, Belletti & Rizzi (1988, henceforth B&R) argue that there are three kinds of syntactic configurations into which psych verbs can project. The class that is relevant here is their *piacere* (Italian for ‘like’) class, where the experiencer argument is realized by an inherently dative DP, as illustrated in (1).

- (3) piacere: θ -grid [Experiencer, Theme]
 |
 Case-grid [Dat -] (B&R:344)

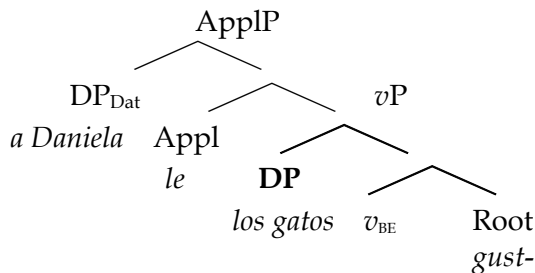
B&R present evidence that in Italian the experiencer argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme, but either one can occupy preverbal subject position. The basic structure of sentences (4) is represented in (5).

- (4) a. *A Gianni è sempre piaciuta la musica.*
Gianni.DAT is always pleased the music
'Gianni has always liked music'
- b. *La musica è sempre piaciuta a Gianni.*
the music is always pleased Gianni.DAT
'Gianni has always liked music'
- (B&R:334)



In their theory, the syntactic structure in (5) represents hierarchical relations, but there is nothing in (5) that makes reference to why or how the higher argument gets dative case. Inherent case properties are expressed in the case grid associated with the verb in the lexicon (5). Within the theory of dative DPs as applied arguments, it is possible to express hierarchical relations and account for the source of dative case at the same time.

- (6) *A Daniela le gustan los gatos*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the cats
 'Daniela likes cats'



As in B&R, in the structure in (6) the dative DP is merged higher than the nominative DP theme and asymmetrically c-commands it. This accounts for the asymmetric binding relations of possessives, as illustrated in the Spanish sentences (7) below.

- (7) a. *Al director le gustaron sus propias películas*
 the director.DAT CL.DAT like.PL his own movies
 'The director liked his own movies'
- b. **A su propio director le gustaron los actores*
 the own director.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the actors
 'The actors pleased their own director'

The relation between the predicate and the theme, and the licensing of the experiencer, however, are different. In (6), the nominative DP is the subject of the stative predicate *gustar*

‘like’, rather than its object. The experiencer is ‘external’ to this predication relation: the stative *vP* is the first argument of the high applicative head that licenses the dative DP. These two configurational properties can naturally account for two properties of psychological predicates and their nominative argument, which are left unexplained by an approach such as B&R’s. The first property I will discuss is that the nominative argument cannot be a bare noun, irrespective of whether it appears post-verbally (the unmarked word order) or preverbally. The second relevant property of the configuration is that the dative argument is ‘external’ to the predication relation between the verb and the nominative DP.

4.1.1.1 *The object is an inner subject*

The first property has to do with restrictions on the positions where bare nouns are licensed in Spanish. In § 3.1.1.2, I discussed a restriction in Spanish on the positions a bare NP can occupy in the structure. Drawing on previous research, I show that the following generalization holds:

(8) The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint Revised

“An unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under conditions of normal stress and intonation”

I showed that bare NPs cannot be external arguments, nor subject of small clauses SC. The generalization also covers the nominative argument of *se*-inchoatives (9a) and the direct object of causatives (9b).

- (9) a. *Se salieron *(los) botones de las camisas*
 CL.REF came-off.PL buttons.NOM of the shirts
 ‘(Some) buttons came off the shirts’ (Masullo 1992)
- b. *El sol derritió *(la) manteca*
 the sun.NOM melted the butter.ACC
 ‘The sun melted the butter’

If the objects of psych predicates of the *gustar* class is indeed an inner subject, as illustrated in (6), they should fall under the restriction in (8). As predicted, the theme argument of psychological predicates of the *piacere* type must be a DP. Neither in Italian or Spanish can the theme be a bare noun, not even in generic uses, as illustrated in B&R’s sentence in (4) for Italian, and below for mass and countable nouns in Spanish.

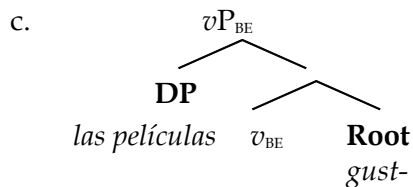
- (10) a. *A Daniela le gusta *(el) vino*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT likes the wine
 ‘Daniela likes wine’
 b. *A Daniela le gustan *(las) estampillas*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the stamps
 ‘Daniela likes stamps’

That the restriction on bare NPs considers the nominative argument of psychological as a subject would be unexpected for B&R. Since there is no contrast between the position of the theme argument in (5) and any object of an activity verb, they cannot easily account for these facts. In contrast, the restriction in (10) follows directly from the structure I propose.

4.1.1.2 The dative DP is external to the vP

The second relevant property of the structure of psych predicates presented in (6) has to do with the ‘externality’ of the dative with respect to the predication relation between the theme and the predicate. Most psychological verbs of the *piacere* kind can appear without an experiencer. When verbs such as *gustar* ‘like’, *importar* ‘matter’, *molestar* ‘bother’, *fascinar* ‘fascinate/like a lot’, *interesar* ‘interest’, *convenir* ‘be convenient’, *repugnar* ‘disgust’, *encantar* ‘delight’ appear without the experiencer, the fact that the sentence expresses a property of the theme is more evident.

- (11) Psych predicates without the experiencer
 a. *Las películas japonesas gustaron mucho*
 [the movies Japanese].NOM pleased.PL a-lot
 ‘The Japanese movies were very much liked’
 (‘Many people liked the Japanese movies’)
 b. *Los chicos propios nunca molestan*
 [the kids own].NOM never bother.PL
 ‘Your own children are never bothersome’



Although unaccusative (i.e. there is no structural accusative case), these predicates have a subject. The licensing position of the theme in (11) is similar to the position of the nominative argument of inchoatives, where the theme is the subject of the resulting state (§ 3.2). The

notion of subject of predication, then, is distinct from the notion of subject as external argument. Unaccusatives do not project an external argument, but the internal argument can be licensed as a subject (specifier) or as an object (complement). The internal argument of inchoatives and psychological predicates are projected as specifiers of the verb (the root verbalized by *vBE*). The argument of verbs of movement and change (e.g. *suced*er ‘happen’, *lleg*ar ‘arrive’,), and of existentials (e.g. *falt*ar ‘lack’) is licensed as a complement of the root, below *v*.

The idea that the theme of psychological predicates is a subject (i.e., that there is a predication relation between the theme and the predicate), and that the experiencer is external to the predication is further supported by the syntactic and semantic parallels between psychological predicates and predicates built by the combination of copular or quasi-copular verb (i.e., stative light verbs) and an adjective that ‘become’ psychological predicates when a dative argument is added. This is the case of *ser* ‘be’, *parecer* ‘seem’ and *resultar* ‘turn out to be’. Sentences in (12) express a property of the books or the movies, and it is hardly controversial that there is a predication relation between the nominative argument and the predicate (formed by a verb and an adjective).¹

- (12) a. *Esos libros son /parecen importantes*
 those books.NOM are.PL /seem.PL important
 ‘Those books are important’
- b. *Las películas japonesas resultaron aburridas*
 the movies Japanese.NOM turned-out.PL boring
 ‘The japanese movies turned out to be boring’

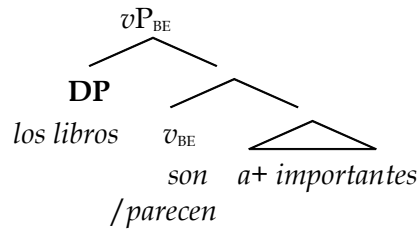
As in the case of the theme of psychological predicates, the nominative argument in (12) cannot be a bare noun.

- (13) **Libros son /parecen importantes*
 books.NOM are.PL /seem.PL important
 ‘Books are/ seem important’

The structure corresponding to the example in (12) is represented below.

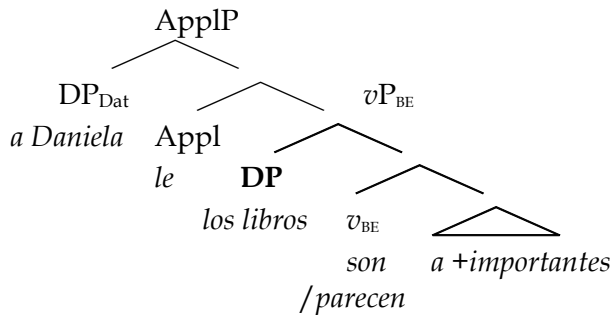
¹ I am dealing here only with *parecer*+predicate taking a DP argument, not with *parecer* taking a complement clause. For analyses of the semantic and syntactic differences between *parecer* with and without experiencer, see Torrego 1996, Ausín & Depiante 2000 and Cuervo (to appear). Torrego 1996 also argues that *parecer*+(individual level) adjective, as in (10), forms a complex predicates and is not a raising verb.

(14)



The structure in (14) is identical to the lower structure in (6), except that there, the predicate is formed by a root and a verbalizing head rather than by a copular verb and an adjective. If an applied argument is added, we obtain the structure below.

(15)



- (16) a. *A Daniela le son /parecen importantes esos libros*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT are.PL /seem.PL important those books.NOM
 'Those books are/seem important to Daniela'
- b. *A Daniela le resultaron aburridas las películas japonesas*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT turned-out.PL boring the movies Japanese.NOM
 'The Japanese movies turned out to be boring to Daniela'
 'Daniela found the Japanese movies boring'

In the sentences above, the dative argument is interpreted as an experiencer, exactly as in sentences with *gustar*.

4.1.1.3 Light verbs in psych predicates

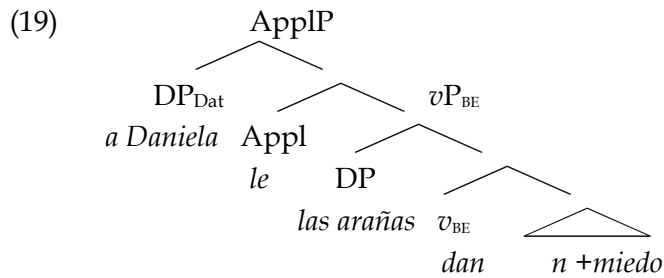
Besides the use of psychological verbs such as *gustar* 'like', (stative, non-agentive) *asustar* 'frighten', *importar* 'matter', etc., psychological and somatic experiences are very frequently expressed by combining a noun that names the 'feeling' and a light verb. The two most common light verbs used for this purpose are *tener* 'have' and *dar* 'give'. *Tener* relates an individual (which appears as the subject of *tener*) to a state.

- (17) *Daniela tiene mucho sueño /hambre /frío /miedo /ganas*
 Daniela.NOM has a-lot-of sleep /hunger /cold /fear /cravings
 ‘Daniela is very sleepy/ hungry/ cold/ afraid/craving for something’

As illustrated above, the state can be expressed as a noun object of *tener* ‘have’. The object can be a bare noun (in fact, a definite determiner is usually impossible in this context), in contrast with the nominative argument of *gustar*. The psychological predicate in (17) is formed by the combination of *tener* and the bare noun; the subject is the experiencer DP. The sentences in (15) do not mention the source of the feelings (e.g., what makes Daniela sleepy or afraid). It is exactly the source of the experience, which is not expressed in (17), that is licensed as inner subject with *gustar*. In order to express the source or stimulus of the psychological or somatic state, the light verb *dar* is used. The structure in (18) is parallel to the structure of *gustar*.

- (18) a. *A Daniela le dan sueño /náuseas /frío las películas de Greenaway*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT give.PL sleep /nausea /cold the movies of Greenaway
 ‘Greenaway’s movies make Daniela sleepy/ nauseous / cold’
- b. *A Daniela le da hambre el aire de montaña*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT gives hunger the air of mountain
 ‘Mountain air makes Daniela hungry’
- c. *A Daniela le dan miedo /pena las arañas*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT give.PL fear pity the spiders
 ‘Daniela is afraid of spiders/ pities spiders’

As noted by Masullo 1992, the sentences with light verb *dar* –which has a stative, non-agentive meaning in this context– have all the properties of sentences with verbs like *gustar*. The normal word order (wide focus interpretation) is Dative > Nominative. The preverbal experiencer gets dative case and is obligatorily doubled by a clitic. The verb agrees with the post-verbal nominative argument. Interestingly, the nominative argument cannot be a bare noun, not even in generic use, exactly as the nominative argument of *gustar* ((18c)=*A Daniela le dan miedo *(las) arañas*). In (18) *dar* is the spell-out of *vBE*, which combines with the bare noun (e.g. *miedo* in (18c)), and then the stimulus DP combines as the specifier of the verb (e.g. *las arañas*). The dative argument is licensed by a high applicative that takes the *vP* as its complement.



The light verb structure makes the structure of psychological predicates more apparent, by spelling out each piece with separate words. Light predicates offer a way to see the ‘pieces’ inside lexical verbs like *gustar*.

Similar to the non-light psychological predicates, *dar*+name of experience can also appear without a dative argument.

- (20)
- a. *Las películas de Greenaway dan sueño / náuseas / frío*
the movies of Greenaway give.PL sleep / nausea / cold
‘Greenaway’s movies make you sleepy/ nauseous / cold’
 - b. *El aire de montaña da hambre*
the air of mountain gives hunger
‘Mountain air makes you hungry’

4.1.1.4 Datives with non-psychological stative predicates

Dative arguments in Spanish can also be applied to stative *v*Ps whose predicates are not psychological. The structure in (15), that is, where a dative takes a *v*P with a predicate formed by an adjective and a (quasi) copular verb is quite productive.

- (21)
- a. *A Daniela le resultan incómodos *(esos) zapatos*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT are.PL uncomfortable those shoes.NOM
‘Daniela finds those shoes uncomfortable’
 - b. *A Daniela le quedan grandes *(esos) zapatos*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT fit.PL big those shoes.NOM
‘Those shoes are too big for Daniela’
 - c. *A Daniela le está difícil viajar ahora*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT is difficult to travel now
‘It is difficult for Daniela to travel now’

The subject of the predicate can be a DP, as *esos zapatos* in (21a,b), or a infinitival control clause, as *viajar ahora* in (21c). The subject of the infinitival clause PRO is obligatorily controlled by the dative argument.²

The stative verb *servir* ‘be useful’³ is another example of a non-psychological predicate that has the same structure as *gustar*. A dative argument is understood as the individual for or according to whom an object is useful.

- (22). *A Daniela no le sirven esas herramientas*
 Daniela.DAT not CL.DAT be-useful.PL those tools
 ‘Those tools are not useful for Daniela’

As the *gustar* class, *servir* can appear without a dative argument (22a), in which case, it expresses a general property of the nominative argument (i.e., not restricted to the sphere of an individual).

- (23) a. **(Esas) herramientas no sirven (para nada)*
 those tools.NOM not be-useful.PL for nothing
 ‘Those tools are not useful (at all)’
 b. **A Daniela no le sirven herramientas*
 Daniela.DAT not CL.DAT be-useful.PL tools
 ‘Tools are not useful for Daniela’

The ungrammaticality of a bare nominative NP in either preverbal or postverbal position (23a and b, respectively) provides support for the analysis of *servir* as belonging to the *gustar* class: stative unaccusative predicates with a subject.

4.1.2 Existentials

Dative arguments can appear as the preverbal argument in clauses with unaccusative existential predicates such as *faltar* ‘lack, miss’, *quedar* ‘be left’, *sobrar* ‘be extra’.

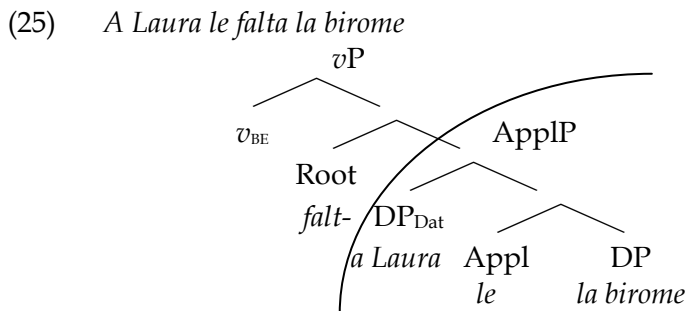
² If there is no dative argument, the subject of the infinitival is arbitrary PRO.

(i) *Está difícil [PRO_{ARB} viajar ahora]*
 is difficult to-travel now
 ‘It is difficult to travel now’

³ *Servir* also means ‘to serve’ as in *Pablo le sirvió vino a las amigas* ‘Pablo served his friends wine’. I will not consider this directional activity verb here, since it corresponds to a different lexical item, and seems to be just a case of homonymy.

- (24) a. *A Laura le falta la birome*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT lacks the pen
 'Laura is missing her pen'
- b. *A nadie le sobraba nada*
 nobody.DAT CL.DAT was-extra nothing
 'Nobody had anything extra'

It has been shown that the dative in this configuration is the higher argument in the clause, and occupies subject position, as dative experiencers do (Masullo 1992, Fernández Soriano 1997 and Cuervo 1999). In spite of the fact that datives with existentials have the same subject-like properties as dative experiencers with verbs of the *gustar* class, the configurations differ both semantically and syntactically. I propose that the sentences in (24) have the structure of a low applicative, embedded under the stative predicate, as represented below. The different semantics follows directly from the different structure I assign to each.

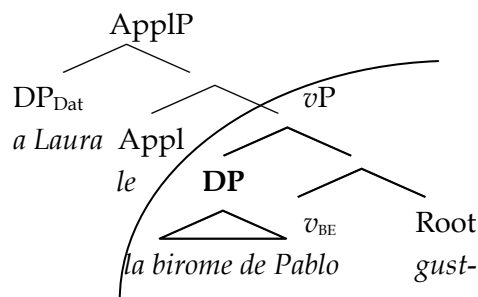


Semantically, the dative argument with existentials is related with the theme DP directly, and the dative is interpreted as the possessor or the location of the theme. In (24a), for instance, *la birome* is interpreted as Laura's pen. If a genitive possessor is added, the sentence is only felicitous in a context where Laura had the pen with her when it disappeared.

- (26) *A Laura le falta la birome de Pablo*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT lacks the pen of Pablo
 'Laura is missing Pablo's pen'

This possession relation contrasts sharply with the relation between the dative and the nominative DPs with *gustar*, where no possession whatsoever is implied. As a consequence, a genitive possessor of the nominative DP does not require any special context to be felicitous.

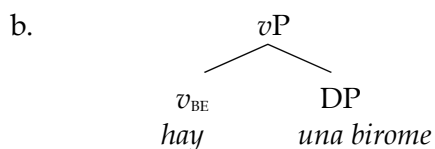
- (27) *A Laura le gusta la birome (de Pablo)*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT likes the pen of Pablo
 'Laura likes the /Pablo's pen'



The dative and the nominative arguments are in different domains, and do not relate to each other directly in (27). In existentials (26), in contrast, the two arguments of the low applicative are in the same minimal domain. The contrast in meanings are predictable from the structures.

The relation between the predicate and the nominative argument is also different. In contrast to (27), in (24) there is no predication relation between theme and the predicate: the predicate does not express a property of the theme. The existential predicate combines with the theme as the prototypical existential *haber* 'there be'. Structurally, this relation is better captured as a predicate-complement relation.

- (28) a. *Hay una birome*
 there-is a pen
 'There is a pen'



In this configuration, the complement DP can be the argument to which a low applicative applies a dative. The resulting structure, then, is the structure presented above in (29).

I showed in the previous section that nominative subjects of predication cannot be bare nouns in Spanish (sentences (9)-(10)). Since the nominative argument in the structure (29) is *not* a subject of predication, but a complement, it is predicted that the nominative theme *can* be a bare noun. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated below.

- (29) a. *A Laura le falta (el) vino*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT lacks the wine
 'Laura lacks wine/is missing the wine'
- b. *A Laura le faltan (las) estampillas*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT lack the stamps
 'Laura lacks stamps/is missing the stamps'

Both a bare NP or a DP can appear as the theme argument of existential predicates. The difference in meaning between a bare noun or a DP parallels exactly the difference between bare NP or DP complement of *tener* 'have'.

- (30) *Laura tiene llaves / las llaves*
 Laura.NOM has keys.ACC / the keys.ACC
 'Laura has keys/ the keys'

The difference between the NP and the DP is the usual contrast in this context between an existential and a specific reading. The contrast in Spanish (30) is the same as the contrast in the English translation.

If the position of the theme nominative argument of verbs like *gustar* were the same as with existentials verbs, the contrast in grammaticality of bare nouns in the same position would be left unexplained.

It is important to notice that even when I propose different structures for applicatives with psychological and existential predicates, the subject-like properties of the dative argument can be derived from both. As datives experiencers, the dative of existentials is the higher argument of the clause and moves to subject position.

The idea that datives with existentials are licensed by a low applicative head, is further supported by some alternations that resemble double-object alternations. We saw in § 2.3.3, that the double-object construction (i.e., a low applicative) in Spanish can 'alternate' with a configuration where the 'dative' is expressed as the complement of the locative preposition *en* 'in/on'.

- (31) a. *Pablo le puso azúcar al mate*
 Pablo CL.DAT put sugar the mate.DAT
 'Pablo put sugar in the mate'

- b. *Pablo puso azúcar en el mate*
 Pablo put sugar in the mate
 'Pablo put sugar in the mate'

A similar alternation is found with existential predicates, as illustrated below.

- (32) a. *A la torta le faltan las velitas*
 the cake.DAT CL.DAT lack.PL the little-candles
 'The cake is missing the birthday candles'
- b. *Faltan las velitas en la torta*
 lack.PL the little-candles on the cake
 'The birthday candles are missing from the cake'

As in the double object construction (DOC) in (31), the dative construction in (32a) is not restricted to animates. The requirement in the case of inanimates is, rather, that the theme must be an integral part of the dative, that is, a requirement of (inalienable) possession. In this case, for instance, the candles are considered a constitutive part of the birthday cake. As in the case of inanimate inalienable possessors in transitive predicates (discussed in §2.2.2), the acceptability of the construction correlates with the acceptability of the same combination of DPs with the verb *tener* 'have'. This is illustrated by an acceptable pair (32a)-(33), and by an unacceptable pair in (34).

- (33) *La torta tiene velitas*
 the cake.NOM has little-candles
 'The cake has birthday candles'
- (34) a. **A la mesa le faltan las velitas*
 the table.DAT CL.DAT lack.PL the little-candles
 'The table is missing the birthday candles'
- b. **La mesa tiene velitas*
 the table.NOM has little-candles
 'The table has birthday candles'

Further evidence that the theme of existential predicates is licensed as a complement of the predicate and not as a specifier is that even when the theme is the only argument, it cannot move to subject position (35a). This is exactly the behavior of themes of dynamic unaccusative predicates such as *llegar* 'arrive' (35b) and *suceder* 'happen' (35c).

- (35) a. **Las velitas faltan*
the little-candles.NOM lack
'The birthday candles are missing'
- b. **Los invitados llegaron*⁴
the guests.NOM arrived
'The guests arrived'
- c. **Muchos accidentes sucedieron*
many accidents.NOM happened
'Many accidents happened'

The sentences above show that theme DPs cannot be in preverbal subject position: the sentences said with normal intonation are all ungrammatical. This contrasts with the grammaticality of preverbal nominative arguments that are licensed as specifiers, such as the external argument of activity verbs (36a) and the theme of unaccusative stative predicates of the class discussed in §4.1.1 (36b).

- (36) a. *Los invitados bailaron*
the guests.NOM danced
'The guests danced'
- b. *Las películas japonesas gustaron mucho*
[the movies Japanese].NOM pleased.PL a-lot
'The Japanese movies were very much liked'
'Many people liked the Japanese movies'

4.1.2.1. Light verbs in existential predicates

There are not many ways of paraphrasing existential sentences by using light verbs. In fact, existential verbs like *faltar*, *sobrar* and *quedar*, are quite 'light' themselves. One use of *faltar* can be paraphrased as *hacer falta* 'need', lit. 'make lack(noun)/absence', as illustrated below.

- (37) a. *A la tarta le falta más sal*
the pie.DAT CL.DAT lacks more salt
'The pie needs more salt'

⁴ The grammaticality of preverbal subject DPs with unaccusative verbs like *llegar* 'arrive' improves considerably when there is an adverb, negation or another predicate.

(i) a. *Los invitados (no) llegaron tarde / juntos / contentos*
the guests (not) arrived late / together / happy

- b. *A la tarta le hace falta más sal*
 the pie.DAT CL.DAT makes lack more salt
 'The pie needs more salt'

Other paraphrases involve the idiomatic use of *tener* 'have' and a *de*-PP. Recall that recipient and possessor low applicatives in general can be paired with sentences with *tener*, where the dative argument in the low applicative construction appears as the subject and the theme as the direct object (§2.2.1.1, 2.2.2.2). The fact that this paraphrasing is possible with existentials further suggests that the existential construction is a low applicative construction.

- (38) a. *A la torta le sobra /falta una velita*
 the cake.DAT CL.DAT is-extra /lacks a little-candle
 b. *La torta tiene una velita de más /de menos*
 the cake.NOM has a little-candle of more /of less
 'The cake has one too many/few birthday candles'

In any case, there are no (combination of) predicates that express the existential meaning and the 'dative' argument (the possessor or location) with exclusion of the theme.

- (39) a. **A Laura le sobra /falta*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT is-extra /lacks
 b. **Laura tiene sobra /falta*
 Laura.NOM has extra /lack

The fact that a dative cannot be licensed in the absence of the theme object further confirms the status of the construction as a low applicative. Remember that a low applicative head applies an individual (the dative) to another individual (the theme): if there is no theme, there cannot be a low applicative. The facts in (39b) contrast with the availability of psychological predicates with light verb *tener* (§4.1.1, ex (18)) that license an experiencer in the absence of the theme or stimulus of the experience. The contrast in idiomatic phrases with light verbs between psychological and existential predicates follows naturally if the structures I have proposed in (6) and (25) are assumed.

4.1.3 Datives with *doler* 'hurt': an ambiguous unaccusative predicate

Dative arguments with *doler* 'intr. hurt' are interpreted as the individual that experiences some pain.

- (40) a. *A Daniela le duele tener que decir que no*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT hurts to-have that to-say that no
 'It is painful for Daniela to have to say no'
- b. *A Daniela no le dolieron las inyecciones*
 Daniela.DAT not CL.DAT hurt.PL the injections
 'The injections weren't painful for Daniela'

In (40), Daniela relates to the stative eventuality of something producing pain. In (40a), the dative obligatory controls the infinitival subject PRO. The sentences in (40) can be paraphrased with light verb *dar* (or *producir* 'produce') that takes the subject matter/source of the pain as its subject.

- (41) a. *A Daniela le da dolor tener que decir que no*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT gives pain to-have that to-say that no
 'It is painful for Daniela to have to say no'
- b. *A Daniela no le dieron dolor las inyecciones*
 Daniela.DAT not CL.DAT gave.PL pain the injections
 'The injections weren't painful for Daniela'

If no experiencer is mentioned, the sentence only expresses a property of the nominative argument, as the English translations make apparent. If the argument is an infinitival clause, PRO is interpreted as arbitrary.

- (42) a. *Esas inyecciones no duelen*
 those injections not hurt.PL
 'The injections aren't painful'
- b. *Siempre duele [PRO tener que decir que no]*
 always hurts to-have that to-say that no
 'It is always painful to have to say no'

Doler behaves here, then, as a stative predicate of the *gustar* class analyzed in §4.1.1. Besides this meaning of *doler* as 'produce pain', *doler* also expresses the state of being in pain.

- (43) a. *A Laura le duele la cabeza*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT hurts the head
 'Laura has a headache'

- b. *Me duele la rodilla*
 CL.DAT.1.SG hurts the knee
 'My knee hurts'

The dative argument is the inalienable possessor of the body part that is in pain. The relation between the dative and the nominative arguments is direct: it is the possessive relation of static nature discussed in §2.2.2, i.e., a low applicative-AT.

The relation between the nominative argument and the predicate in (43) is also different from that in (40). In this case, there is no predication relation between the nominative and the predicate. This is supported by the unavailability of paraphrasing with *dar* (and the anomaly of the English translations) for the sentences in (44).

- (44) a. (43a) ⇒ **A Laura le da dolor la cabeza*
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT gives pain the head
 '*Her head is painful to Laura'
- b. (43b) ⇒ **A mí me da dolor la rodilla*
 me. DAT CL.DAT.1.SG gives pain the knee
 '*My knee is painful to me'

Other verbs that pattern with this 'non-predicational' *doler* are what Masullo 1992 calls verbs of bodily function/sensation, and include *arder* 'burn', *picar* 'itch', *sangrar* 'bleed', *temblar* 'tremble', etc. (Masullo 1992:48-52).⁵

4.2 Datives with dynamic unaccusative predicates

This section deals with dative arguments in configurations where there is a predicate of change, represented in the syntax by a verbal head *vGO*. It is shown that datives in this context can have different meanings, e.g., experiencers, recipients, affected arguments or unintentional causers. Meaning differences are shown to correlate with different syntactic properties. The semantic and syntactic contrasts are accounted for by exploiting the difference between high and low applicatives, and the way the event predicates are built.

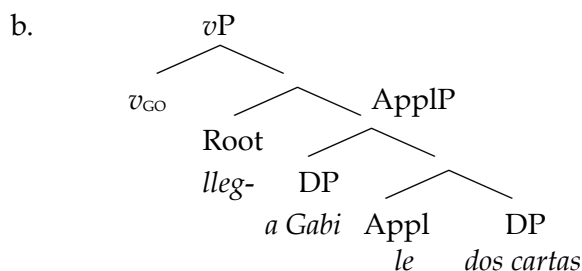
⁵ His analysis of these predicates, however, is different from the one presented here. Masullo proposes that these predicates correspond to B&R *piacere* class, "except that the dative argument is not lexically predetermined [i.e. licensed by the verb] but arises instead from [abstract] incorporation" (of the head noun of the object DP into the verb).

4.2.1 Datives embedded under vGO

We have seen in §3.2 two kinds of dative arguments that can be licensed in a configuration with an event of change, movement or happening, that is, where there is a *vGO* head. One kind of dative argument is licensed as the specifier of a low applicative which takes the theme DP as its first argument. This is the case of simple unaccusatives that express movement or change and project a simple event structure.

The example with *llegar* ‘arrive’ and its structure are repeated below (from §3.2.2 ex63).

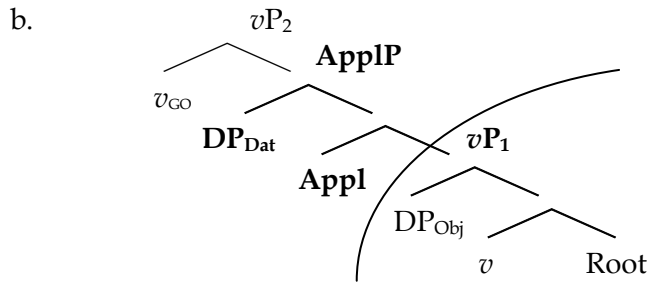
- (45) a. *A Gabi le llegaron dos cartas*
 Gabi.DAT CL.DAT arrived.PL two letters
 ‘Gabi got two letters’



In (45) the dative is interpreted as a recipient of the theme, exactly as in the DOC embedded under verbs like *send*. As in the DOC, the dative argument is not related to the verb but to an individual.

Another kind of dative can appear embedded under a verb of change *vGO* which, in turn, embeds a state headed by *vBE*. This is the case of the bi-eventive inchoative configuration discussed in §3.2., in which the dative argument is licensed as the specifier of an applicative head that takes the caused state as its complement. The dative argument, ‘sandwiched’ between the two events, is interpreted as an affected argument.

- (46) a. *A Carolina se le rompió el florero*
 Carolina.DAT se CL.DAT broke the vase
 ‘The vase broke on Carolina’ (Lit. ‘To Carolina broke the vase’)

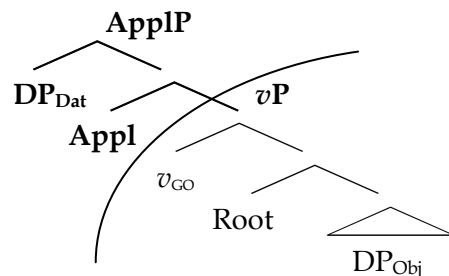


In neither of these cases is the dative external to the event of happening. In other words, in both cases the dative is merged below the vGO , and it is not directly related to the predicate of change.

4.2.2 High datives above simple unaccusatives

Now, what about applicatives that take the $vPGO$ as its argument? There should be, in principle, a high applicative that can take this kind of vP . Let's consider first what the structure would look like, and what it would mean. The applied argument must be merged outside the $vPGO$.

(47)



The structure above represents the case of a simple mono-eventive dynamic predicate. The dative argument should be interpreted as 'getting' the lower event. In other words, the event of change is oriented towards the dative argument. Given that the dative in (47) is not directly related to the theme DP, the meaning of this kind of dative should be distinct from the meaning of the dative in (45a), and any other instance of the DOC/low applicative construction. A candidate verb to appear in this configuration is *suceder* 'happen'. *Suceder* can take a DP theme that names the kind of event that took place. The structure of sentence (48) would correspond to the structure in (47) without the applicative.

- (48) *Sucedió algo buenísimo*
 happened something.NOM very-good
 'Something great happened'

Things can happen, and things can happen to people. If we want to express in Spanish that something happened to Daniela, for instance, we can say (49).

- (49) *A Daniela le sucedió algo buenísimo*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT happened something.NOM very-good
 ‘Something great happened to Daniela’

How can we tell whether the dative argument is projected above or below the verb? The crucial aspect of the meaning to test for high or low applicatives is whether the dative ‘gets’ an object (the theme) or an event (the *vP*). The problem here is that the theme *names* an event. It could be argued, therefore, that the interpretation of the dative relating with an event can be obtained either by its relating to the *vP* as a whole, or to the DP that names an event.

A more telling test would be to find a dynamic predicate of happening or change (that is, not agentive) that does not take an object. If a dative is licensed in the absence of a theme, then that dative cannot be a low applicative (recall the relevant version of Pylkkänen’s transitivity diagnostic in §2.2.4). One use of light verb *dar* combined with the noun *ganas* ‘cravings’ is arguably as a dynamic predicate that does not take a subject DP.

- (50) *De repente, a Daniela le dieron ganas de bailar*
 suddenly Daniela.DAT CL.DAT gave.PL cravings of to-dance
 ‘Suddenly, Daniela felt like dancing’

This use of *dar+ganas* contrasts with the stative *tener+ganas* (lit. ‘have cravings’) in (17). In both, however, *ganas* is licensed as an object. The dynamic character of the *dar+ganas* idiomatic expression (and that *ganas* is an object, and not a subject) is evidenced by the acceptability of modification by *de repente* ‘suddenly’. It is reinforced by the fact that unaccusative dynamic *venir* ‘come’ can appear instead of *dar*, keeping the meaning and aspectual properties constant.⁶

- (51) *De repente, a Daniela le vinieron ganas de bailar*
 suddenly Daniela.DAT CL.DAT came.PL cravings of to-dance
 ‘Suddenly, Daniela felt like dancing’

⁶ This dynamic expression contrasts with stative desiderative constructions in languages like Russian, Albanian and Finnish. In these three language, either the case of the experiencer or verbal non-active morphology indicate that the desideratives are stative.

The other crucial aspect of the Spanish expression is that *dar* can be used alone, that is without *ganas*, just followed by an infinitival clause, and still a dative argument is licensed.

- (52) *De repente, a Daniela le dió por bailar*
 suddenly Daniela.DAT CL.DAT gave.SG for to-dance
 'Daniela suddenly felt like dancing'
 Cf. **A Daniela le dió ganas por bailar*
 Cf. **Daniela tiene ganas por bailar*

The interpretation of the dative argument is exactly the same as in the sentences (50)-(51), that is, an experiencer of an event. Since there is no overt or implied object DP in (52), the dative could not be licensed as a low applicative (it would have nothing to be applied to). We are then forced to conclude that the dative in (52) is licensed by a high applicative that takes the whole *v*PGO as its complement. I will assume that the same structure (i.e. the structure in (47)) corresponds to the sentences with *suceder* and *dar ganas* in (49)-(51).

Dative arguments are licensed with other dynamic predicates of simple event structures that involve movement or beginning of existence. Some of these dynamic verbs are *surgir* 'arise', *salir* 'come out', *aparecer* 'appear', *crecer* 'grow', *brotar* 'bloom'

- (53) a. *A los chicos les salieron granitos*
 the kids.DAT CL.DAT.PL came-out pimples.NOM
 'The kids got pimples'
- b. *A Daniela le crece rápido el pelo*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT grows fast the hair.NOM
 'Daniela's hair grows very fast'
- c. *A Daniela le salieron bien las tartas*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT came-out well the pies.NOM
 'The pies Daniela made turned out alright'
- d. *A Daniela siempre le crecen bien los helechos*
 Daniela.DAT always CL.DAT grow well the ferns.NOM
 'Ferns grow well to Daniela'
- e. *A Daniela le surgió un problema*
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT arose a problem.NOM
 'A problem arose to Daniela'

In these cases, it is difficult to tell whether there is a direct relationship between the dative and the object. In (53a-b), the dative can be understood as the inalienable location where the

pimples or the hair grow, and therefore, the applicative would be a low applicative. These two cases would be the dynamic variant of low applicatives with existential predicates, as discussed in §4.1.2.

In (53c-d), in contrast, the most salient reading is that Daniela is good at making pies and growing plants. This reading would follow from the high applicative structure, in which the dative DP is related, externally, to the event of change (the turning out or the growing), and not directly to the DPs (the pies or the plants) as a possessor (see next section).

The analysis of the contrast between (53a-b) and (53c-d) as the contrast between low and high applicatives is confirmed by the animacy restriction on high applicatives. While the dative argument in (53a-b) can be inanimate, the dative argument in (53c-d) must be animate, as illustrated below.⁷

- (54) a. *A la plantas les salieron flores* (cf. (53a))
 the plants.DAT CL.DAT.PL came-out flowers.NOM
 ‘The plants got flowers’
- b. **A la planta le salieron bien las flores* (cf. (53c))
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT came-out well the flowers.NOM
 *‘The flowers the plant made turned out alright’

The analysis of (53e) raises the same issues as (49). The ambiguity, or difficulty in assigning one structure to the sentences in (53) does not pose a problem to the theory, however. We have seen that both structures – a low applicative embedded under a verb of change (*vGO*) or a high applicative that takes a *vPGO* as its complement – are possible, and are attested in Spanish. Therefore, the examples in (53) could be covered either way. Hopefully, there might be some language with a similar range of applicatives as Spanish, but that makes more overt morphosyntactic differences (e.g. case of the applied argument) and can be more telling. Almost as interesting, there might be a language that has just either low or high applicatives in which sentences like those in (53) could be tested. At this point, I leave the matter open.

⁷ Recall that, although indicated with an asterisk, the problem with sentences like (54) is that the reading the sentences have is semantically anomalous; strictly speaking, it is not ungrammaticality.

4.2.3 High datives above inchoatives: unintentional responsibility

We have seen that a dative in the context of an inchoative predicate can be sandwiched between the two events, the event of change and the resulting state (§3.2.2 and (46) in 4.2.1). The dative is interpreted as an affected argument to which the end state is oriented. In fact, in many cases, the interpretation of the dative is ambiguous. Besides the affected interpretation, there is an alternative ‘unintentional responsibility’ interpretation of datives with inchoatives.

- (55) *Al tintorero se le quemaron los pantalones de Carolina*
the dry-cleaner.DAT se CL.DAT burnt.PL the trousers of Carolina
‘Carolina’s trousers got burnt on the dry-cleaners’ or
‘The dry-cleaner (accidentally) burnt Carolina’s trousers’

The dative argument in this sentence is ambiguous between an affected dative (noted as first reading), or as having caused, by accident, the event of the trousers getting burnt. In this second case, the sentence can be paraphrased as ‘the dry-cleaner got/had Carolina’s trousers burnt’, as opposed to ‘the trousers burnt and that affects him’, possible in a context in which the dry-cleaner was not present when the burning occurred.

The contrast in meaning between an active transitive sentence and the sentence in (55) is quite sharp.

- (56) *El tintorero quemó los pantalones de Carolina (sin querer)*
the dry-cleaner.NOM burnt.SG the trousers of Carolina without to-want
‘The dry-cleaner burnt Carolina’s trousers (accidentally)’

The active sentence (56) is ambiguous between an agentive-activity reading and a causative reading.⁸ In the causative variant, the sentence is felicitous both when the dry-cleaner burnt the trousers on purpose and when he burnt them unintentionally, that is, if the dry-cleaner accidentally caused the trousers to get burnt. When the subject is animate, this accidental

⁸ The agentive-activity reading (in which the subject is performing a burning act) can be forced by replacing the nominative DP by a bare NP (see 3.1.1.2). In this case, the sentence is incompatible with the unintentional reading, as illustrated below.

- (i) *El tintorero quemó pantalones (*sin querer)*
the dry-cleaner.NOM burnt.SG trousers without to-want
‘The dry-cleaner burnt trousers (unintentionally)’

reading has to be explicitly stated, e.g., with a phrase such as *sin querer* ‘without wanting to’, or the sentence must be uttered in a special context to have this reading.⁹

In the construction in (55), in contrast, the dative argument cannot be interpreted as having intentionally caused the burning. This is illustrated by the incompatibility of the sentence with a purpose phrase.

- (57) *Al tintorero se le quemaron los pantalones de Carolina (*a propósito /para vengarse)*
 ‘The dry-cleaner burnt Carolina’s trousers (on purpose/ to take revenge)’

Interestingly, the unintentional responsibility interpretation of the dative argument is not available in the transitive causative variant.¹⁰ The dative argument *al tintorero* in (58) can only be interpreted as affected.

- (58) *La nueva máquina /empleada le quemó *(toda la) ropa al tintorero*
 the new machine /employee CL.DAT burnt all the clothes the dry-cleaner.DAT
 ‘The new machine/employee burnt all the clothes on the dry-cleaner’
 ‘*The new machine/employee made the dry-cleaner burn all the clothes by accident’

The interpretation is also absent, or is less available, in the case of inchoatives that do not have a causative variant, as with the verb *marchitarse* ‘to wilt’.

- (59) *A Carolina se le marchitaron las flores*
 Carolina.DAT se CL.DAT wilted the flowers
 ‘The flowers wilted on Carolina’
 ‘*Carolina unintentionally wilted the flowers’

The most salient reading for (59) is that the wilting of the flowers affected Carolina. In contrast with the dative in causatives, however, it is still possible to obtain a reading of (59) where Carolina is responsible for the wilting, or at least a faster wilting of the flowers by, for instance, having left them in the sun or without water.

The unintentional responsibility reading, as expected, is not available for inanimates. Even when an inanimate object might appear as an affected dative with a causative or inchoative

⁹ An inanimate subject would force a causative reading of *quemar* in (56); for different and obvious reasons, however, the (un)intentional reading of the causative is also unavailable in this case.

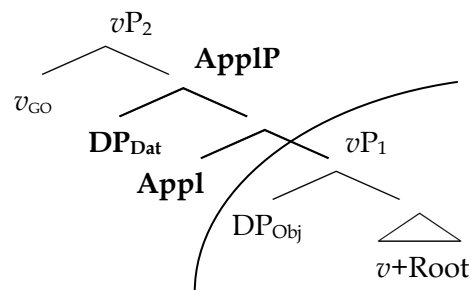
(i) *La nueva máquina quemó los pantalones (*sin querer)*
 the new machine burnt the trousers without to-want

predicate, it is of course not possible to interpret an inanimate object to have done something ‘by accident’ or ‘unintentionally’, the same way inanimate objects do not do things ‘intentionally’, either.

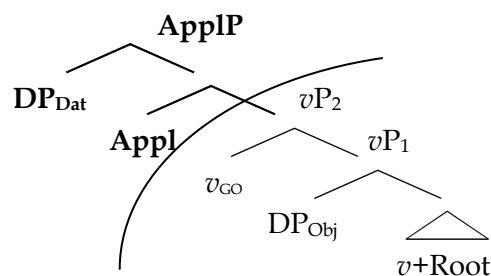
- (60) *A la mesa se le rompieron dos patas*
 the table.DAT se CL.DAT broke two legs
 ‘Two legs of the table broke’ (Lit. ‘To the table broke two legs’)
 ‘*The table accidentally broke two legs’

In structural terms, an inanimate dative cannot be related (applied to) the predicate of change, that is, cannot be above *v*GO. The structure of (60) must be (61a), and cannot be (61b). The structure of (55), in contrast, can be either (61a) or (61b), corresponding to the affected and unintentional responsibility (“happened to”) interpretations of the dative argument, respectively.

- (61) a. Affected Applicative



- b. High Applicative



Besides the meaning of the verb, certain combinations of tense, aspect and adverbial modification might make one of the readings preferred.

¹⁰ Recall that the fact that the subject can be inanimate (*la nueva máquina*) indicates that the structure is causative. This is confirmed by the impossibility of having a bare noun *ropa* when the subject is inanimate (this issues were discussed in §3.1.1.2)

- (62) *A Daniela siempre se le rompen copas*
 Daniela.DAT always se CL.DAT break.PL wine-glasses
 'Daniela is always accidentally breaking wine glasses'

Sentence (62) expresses something about Daniela to the effect that she is clumsy or usually does things that make glasses break. The most salient reading is for the dative to be related to the event of change, and not to a resulting state. Again, the fact that in (62) the nominative argument *copas* is a bare plural, strongly suggests that the event structure is not that of an inchoative, but a simple unaccusative verb of change (recall that the internal argument in an inchoative configuration is projected as the subject of the lower *vP*, a position from which bare nouns are barred). That the dative argument in (62) cannot be inanimate also supports its analysis as a high applicative.

- (63) **A la mesa se le rompieron patas*
 the table.DAT se CL.DAT broke legs
 'Legs of the table broke' (Lit. 'To the table broke legs')

The dative structure, as opposed to the active transitive is exploited in questions for marking responsibility that does not assume intentionality. In the context of a parent returning home and finding a vase broken, for instance, question (64a) is more natural (and more polite) than question (64b).

- (64) a. *¿A quién se le rompió el florero?*
 who.DAT se CL.DAT broke the vase
 'Who broke the vase accidentally?'
 b. *¿Quién rompió el florero?*
 who.NOM broke the vase
 'Who broke the vase?'

In sum, dative arguments can appear in configurations where there is a non-agentive dynamic predicate *vGO*. The dative argument can be interpreted as a recipient or possessor, in which case, it can be animate or inanimate. Datives in an inchoative configuration can also be interpreted as affected, and can also be animate or inanimate. Other meanings, i.e., the dative as an experiencer or as the individual unintentionally related with a change, are available only to animate DPs. I have argued that the three distinct meanings of the dative argument can be derived from the position where the applicative head is merged. Recipients or possessors are low applicatives merged below a verb of change *vGO*. Affected datives are

merged between the two event predicates that correspond to the bi-eventive inchoative configuration. Finally, an animate dative can be merged above a *v*GO (either in simple or complex event structures), where it relates directly with (is applied to) the event of change and is interpreted as the experiencer or the person unintentionally responsible for the event taking place. The tight correlation between meaning and the structures proposed is supported by independent syntactic properties, such as the restriction on bare NPs.

4.3 Datives with dynamic activity verbs (*v*DO)

The crucial syntactic test to tease apart low and high applicatives that Pylkkänen employs is whether an applicative can introduce an argument to an unergative verb. If it is possible, then the applicative is a high applicative, that is, the argument introduced is applied to an event. We have seen in the previous two chapters that Spanish has applicatives that can apply a dative argument to an stative event (*v*PBE) or to a non-agentive dynamic event (*v*PGO). By definition, these are high applicatives, and one would be led to expect that Spanish also has benefactive applicatives as those found in Luganda (65) that is, arguments applied to an agentive dynamic event (*v*PDO) headed by an unergative activity verb.

- (65) *Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga*
 Mukasa PAST.walk.APPL.PAST Katonga
 ‘Mukasa walked for Katonga’ (Pylkkänen 2002:25)

The Spanish equivalent of the Luganda sentence is, however, ungrammatical.

- (66) **Hugo le corrió a Vicki*
 Hugo CL.DAT ran Vicki.DAT
 (Intended meaning: ‘Hugo ran for Vicki’)

Interestingly, sentences apparently similar to (66) are acceptable.

- (67) a. *Hugo le corrió una carrera a Vicki*
 Hugo CL.DAT ran a race Vicki.DAT
 ‘Hugo ran a race against Vicki’
 b. *Juanita les sonrió a todos los invitados*
 Juanita CL.DAT smiled all the guests.DAT

‘Juanita smiled at all the guests’

- c. *Juanita ya le camina*
Juanita already CL.DAT walks
‘Juanita already walks on him/her’

First, I will show that the contrast between (66) and (67a) arises in connection with the presence or absence of a direct object. In (67a), the dative argument is not related to the event but is an instance of a low applicative embedded under a non-directional activity verb. That is, (67a) is an example of the ditransitive constructions discussed in Chapter 2, §2.2.2.2. The case of (67b) is similar: the dative is a directional low applicative, although the object in this case is an implicit object.

In (67c), in contrast, the individual ‘represented’ by the third person dative clitic is in fact related to the event of walking; it is a true high applicative interpreted as related to the event as a benefactive or malefactive. This clitic is an example of what has been called ‘ethical dative’ or ‘dative of interest’, and it has been argued that the clitic does not relate to an argument position (Perlmutter 1971, Rivas 1977, Jaeggli 1982). Within the theory of dative arguments developed here, these dative clitics are analyzed as the spell-out of high applicative heads that take a dynamic *v*P (i.e., a *v*P headed by *v*DO) as its complement. Crucially, the dative cannot appear as a full DP in argument position. This applicative head is analyzed as ‘defective’, in the sense that it does not project a specifier. As we shall see in §4.3.2, pronominal DPs are ungrammatical. In the case of third person, a dative DP associated with the clitic can appear, but it is dislocated, to the right or to the left, as a topic. These benefactive clitics are not accepted by all speakers, and judgments vary considerably. The most acceptable cases tend to involve a first or second person clitic, and appear in colloquial language only.

4.3.1 Low applicatives

4.3.1.1 Activities with overt direct objects

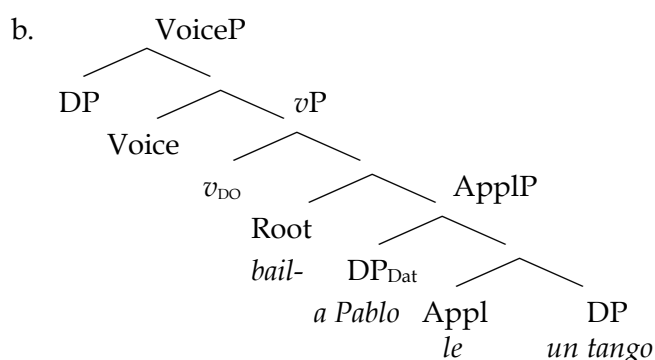
Activity verbs such as *bailar* ‘dance’, *cantar* ‘sing’, *correr* ‘run’, *leer* ‘read’, *dibujar* ‘draw’, can be used as transitive or intransitive. In their intransitive use, the verbs express an activity and there is no implicit object. For instance, to dance is to move in a certain way, probably rhythmically to some music, but not necessarily. Crucially, one does not have to do any kind of particular dance to be dancing. In their transitive use, the object names a particular dance,

a song, a distance, and bounds the event. To dance a tango, for instance, is to do a tango by dancing, that is, the verb is a manner of doing (or “making”) what the direct object names. There are other ways of ‘doing a tango’, such as writing, playing or singing one.

In the intransitive use, a dative argument can only be applied to the event, that is, the structure is a high applicative related to the activity, since there is no overt or implicit object to apply to. In Spanish, these high applicatives can only be expressed by a clitic. This is the case of sentence (67c), which will be discussed in §4.3.2.

In the transitive use of activity verbs, the complement can be a DP. The object DP of activity verbs is not a canonical object, in Levin’s terms, i.e., it is only licensed by the meaning of the root, but not by the event structure. In place of an object DP, the root can license an applicative phrase, other restrictions being met. We have seen that Spanish allows for low applicatives to appear embedded under verbs that are not obviously directional. In this context, the dative is related to the direct object and is interpreted as an intended recipient.

- (68) a. *Vicki y Hugo le bailaron un tango a Pablo*
 Vicki and Hugo CL.DAT danced a tango Pablo.DAT
 ‘Vicki and Hugo danced a tango for Pablo’



In the transitive configuration, these verbs act as verbs of creation. As such, they can embed a low applicative with a recipient or benefactive meaning as in English.

- (69) *Daniel sang Stephanie a very nice song*

4.3.1.2 Activities with implicit objects

Dative arguments can appear with some agentive verbs in the absence of a direct object, that is, with some unergative verbs. Superficially, the datives in (70) look like the applied

argument in the Luganda sentence (65). Since there is no direct object, the dative should be related to the event.

- (70) a. *Juanita les sonrió a todos los invitados*
 Juanita CL.DAT smiled all the guests.DAT
 'Juanita smiled at all the guests'
- b. *Juanita le gritó a la gata*
 Juanita CL.DAT shouted the cat.DAT
 'Juanita shouted at the cat'
- c. *Juanita le pegó a la gata*
 Juanita CL.DAT hit the cat.DAT
 'Juanita hit the cat'

Notice that the interpretation is different, however. Sentence (70b), for instance, does not mean that Juanita did some shouting for the cat. Rather, the cat 'receives' a shout. In fact, the meaning of the sentences in (70) can be expressed by a light verb and a direct object related with the corresponding verb, or action. As illustrated below, in this case, the dative arguments of (70) are also dative DPs, and their interpretation is also constant.

- (71) a. *Juanita les hizo una sonrisa a todos los invitados*
 Juanita CL.DAT made a smile.NOM all the guests.DAT
 'Juanita smiled at all the guests'
- b. *Juanita le dió un grito a la gata*
 Juanita CL.DAT gave a shout the cat.DAT
 'Juanita shouted at the cat'
- c. *Juanita le dió una piña a la gata*
 Juanita CL.DAT gave a blow the cat.DAT
 'Juanita hit the cat'

The sentences in (71) make it clear that the constructions in (70) are instances of low applicatives (double-objects), where the dative is a recipient of an (null) object and is not externally related to the activity as a benefactive or malefactive.

Unlike verbs like *dance*, discussed above, the meaning of unergative verbs that accept a dative DP as its sole overt internal argument remains constant when an object (usually a cognate object) is overtly realized. In other words, while *bailar* 'dance' in its unergative use does not necessarily mean to do some particular dance, *sonreír* 'to smile' is always to do a

smile, and is not just a manner of acting. The same applies to unergative uses of *hablar* ‘talk to’, *escribir* ‘write’, *leer* ‘read’, *ganar* ‘win/beat’. A recipient with some of these unergatives verbs can also appear in languages that do not have high applicatives, e.g. English.

(72)a. *Willow wrote me (a letter) from Sunnydale*

Further evidence that these datives are not high applicatives but low applicatives comes from the fact that an ‘ethical dative’ (high applicative) clitic can be added to sentences like those in (70).

(73) a. *Juanita me les sonrió a todos los invitados*
 Juanita CL.1.SG.DAT CL.DAT smiled all the guests.DAT
 ‘Juanita smiled at all the guests on me’

As we shall see in the following section, the only case where two datives can appear in a mono-clausal sentence in Spanish is when one is an ethical dative and the other is either an affected dative, or a low applicative.

4.3.2 Datives of interest or ethical datives

As we have seen, a dative clitic can appear with predicates of many different kinds. The cases that concerns us here are those clitics that cannot be interpreted as corresponding to a dative argument of the kinds I have discussed so far, and can only be interpreted as a benefactive (or malefactive) dative of the kind called ‘dative of interest’ or ‘ethical dative’. Ethical datives can appear with predicates of all types and, as a result, a dative clitic can be ambiguous between corresponding to an ethical dative or to some other type of dative. In order to avoid this problem, I will provide cases where the clitic under study cannot be of any kind discussed so far. Two unambiguous contexts are dative clitics that appear 1) with unergative predicates (intransitive activity verbs such as *caminar* ‘walk’, *correr* ‘run’, that do not have a null or implied object (74a)) or 2) in a configuration where there is another dative clitic that correferes to a dative argument DP (74b, from Strozer 1976).

(74) a. *Juanita ya le camina*
 Juanita already CL.DAT walks
 ‘Juanita can already walk on him/her’

- b. *Me le_i dieron un helado al niño_i*
 CL.1.DAT CL.DAT gave an ice-cream the kid.DAT
 'They gave the kid an ice-cream on me'

Strozer (1976:145) expresses the meaning and grammatical status of the first person clitic in (74b).

"... (the first person clitic) is not related by the sentence grammar to either a subject or an object NP, although it may be correferential to some NP in a given sentence. This clitic is often called a "dative of interest" or "benefactive" clitic, because it is understood as indicating the interest or involvement of the speaker in the action. However, ... it may never correspond to an indirect object NP." Strozer 1976:145-146.

It has been observed that ethical datives are mostly first or second person, and typically appear in colloquial language. Delbecque & Lamiroy (1996:106-107) define these datives as 'non-actantial' datives (i.e., not part of the valency of the verb) as having an expressive function and as grounding "the event structure in relation to the speech participants".

Together with a particular meaning, ethical datives also have some syntactic properties that differentiate them from other datives. As Strozer shows, a full pronominal DP corresponding to the benefactive clitic is ungrammatical.

- (75) *Me le_i dieron un helado al niño_i (*a mí)* (cf. (74b))
 'They gave the kid an ice-cream on me'

Jaeggli 1982 also presents examples (like those mentioned by Perlmutter 1971) that involve a first person clitic ((76) =Jaeggli 1982:1.15), and observes that the benefactive cannot appear in post-verbal argument position, as illustrated in (77).

- (76) a. *Me le arruinaron la vida a mi hijo*
 'They ruined my son's life'
 b. *Sin mi permiso, te me compraste la moto*
 'Without my permission, you bought (yourself) the motorcycle'

- (77) **Le arruinaron la vida a mi hijo a mí* (Jaeggli 1982:1.16a)

Jaeggli presents ethical or benefactive clitics as a case of clitics that are not generated in object position. Arguing against Kayne's (1975) movement theory of clitics (i.e., that clitics are generated in NP position and cliticized to the verb by an obligatory movement rule), Jaeggli argues that since ethical clitics do "not alternate with any other post-verbal object position,

we can use this as strong evidence that the clitic is generated by the base in clitic position” (Jaeggli 1982:18).

The ungrammaticality of pronominal DPs as doubled by the benefactive clitic also applies to third person datives.

- (78) **Juanita ya le camina a él /a ella*
 Juanita already CL.DAT walks him.DAT /her.DAT

In contrast to the ungrammaticality of pronominal ethical DPs, a non-pronominal third person DP can appear as coreferent with the ethical dative clitic. In sentence (79), Masullo observes that the dative *a María* cannot be interpreted as originating from within the subject DP *el niño* (i.e., cannot be a case of possessor raising). In the present framework, this is equivalent to say that the dative is not licensed as a possessor low-applicative.

- (79) *El niño le estudió mucho a María*
 the child CL.DAT studied a-lot María.DAT
 *‘María’s child studied a lot’ (o.k. if dative of interest) Masullo 1992:45

Although he does not present an analysis of the alternative structure, he notes the sentence is acceptable if the dative is interpreted as a dative of interest. This is true, but should be qualified: in order for the sentence to be acceptable, the dative argument has to be pronounced with a special intonation. A dative in a DOC or an affected dative in a causative construction receives sentence stress by the normal stress rule, and there is no break in the melody (Zubizarretta 1998). The sentence can have a wide focus interpretation and can therefore be the answer to a *What happened?* type of question.

- (80) *El niño le mandó una carta a María*
 the child CL.DAT sent a letter María.DAT
 ‘The child sent María a letter’

In contrast, sentence (79) cannot be an answer to a *What happened?* type of question and is not felicitous as an out of the blue sentence. Sentence stress falls on *mucho* and the dative DP is pronounced after an intonational break.

- (81) *El niño le estudió mucho # a María*
 the child CL.DAT studied a-lot María.DAT

This intonation pattern parallels the intonation of a right dislocated DP, as in the case of the inanimate clitic-doubled accusative below.

- (82) *El niño ya la mandó # la carta*
 the child already CL.ACC.FEM sent the letter.ACC
 ‘The child has already sent it, the letter’

Intonation, then, shows that the ethical dative DP is not in argument position. A full ethical dative DP might also appear dislocated to the left, sentence initially. In this case, there is a break in intonation after the dative, as after a topic DP.

- (83) a. *A Vicki, Juanita ya le camina*
 Vicki.DAT Juanita already CL.DAT walks
 ‘Juanita can already walk, on Vicki’
 b. *?A los padres, Mafalda no les toma la sopa*
 the parents.DAT Mafalda not CL.DAT.PL drink the soup
 ‘Mafalda doesn’t eat her soup, on her parents’

Wh- movement and subject inversion provides further evidence that an ethical dative DP is not an argument. In Spanish, *wh*-questions for the accusative or dative arguments trigger obligatory subject inversion, as illustrated below.

- (84) a. **¿Qué Vicki comió?* (cf. *¿Qué comió Vicki?*)
 what.ACC Vicki.NOM ate
 ‘What did Vicki eat?’
 b. **¿A quién Vicki invitó?* (cf. *¿A quién invitó Vicki?*)
 who.ACC Vicki.NOM invited
 ‘Who did Vicki invite?’
 c. **¿A quién Vicki le gritó?* (cf. *¿A quién le gritó Vicki?*)
 who.DAT Vicki.NOM CL.DAT shouted
 ‘Who did Vicki shout at?’
 d. *?¿A quién el hijo ya le camina?* (cf. *?¿A quién ya le camina el hijo?*)
 who.DAT the son.NOM already CL.DAT walks
 ‘On who does the son already walk on?’

The sentences above show obligatory subject inversion when the *wh*-word corresponds to an inanimate direct object (84a), an animate accusative DP (84b) or a dative DP (84c). In the case

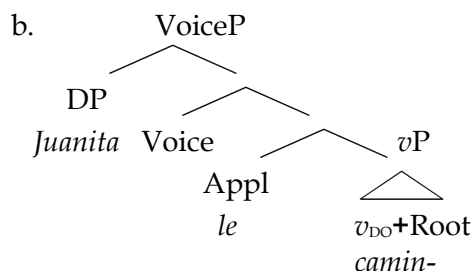
of the ethical dative (84d), for those who accept the sentence, there is no difference in acceptability between the two word orders.

Another peculiarity of ethical datives is that they are the only case of dative clitics that can appear in a clause where there is another dative. As long as other restrictions on co-occurrence of clitics are met (for instance, the clitics cannot be both third person), a first or second dative clitic corresponding to an ethical dative can co-occur with a third person dative clitic, as illustrated by Perlmutter's (1971) sentence .

- (85) *Me le arruinaron la vida a mi hijo*
 CL.1SG.DAT CL.DAT ruined the life my son.DAT
 'They ruined my son's life on me'

The fact that ethical dative clitics can appear with unergative verbs (74) and also in a monoclausal configuration where there is a dative argument (a low-applicative or an affected dative) strongly suggests that they are licensed by a head that is very high in the structure, and takes the whole event as its argument.¹¹ The structure is represented below.

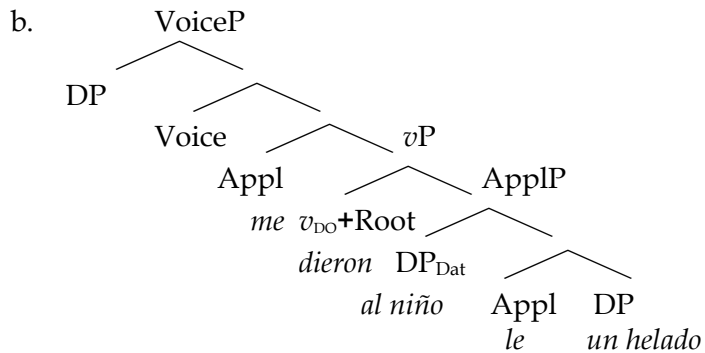
- (86) a. *Juanita ya le camina*
 Juanita already CL.DAT walks
 'Juanita can already walk on him/her'



- (87) a. *Me le_i dieron un helado al niño_i (*a mí)*
 'They gave the kid an ice-cream on me'

¹¹ Two overt dative DPs can appear in a causative with *hacer* 'make', which is arguably bi-calusal.

(i) *Juan le hizo darle un regalo a su hermano a Pedro*
 Juan CL.DAT made give-CL.DAT a present his borther.DAT Pedro.DAT (Masullo 1992:113)



The structures above express the observation that this subtype of high applicative does not project a specifier. Although this might sound unusual at first, it is not the only case of a verbal head that, although present in the structure, might be ‘defective’ in the sense of not licensing an argument DP. A comparable case can be passive and impersonal constructions, in particular, impersonal *se*.

4.3.2.1 Other defective functional heads

In passives, third-person impersonals and impersonal *se* constructions, an overt external argument DP is impossible.¹² Nevertheless, the semantics of the event is the same as if there were an external argument. In the passive of an activity verb like (88), the event is understood as an agentive event.

- (88) a. *The ship was sunk last year*
 b. *They sank two ships last year*

The same holds of Spanish passives and impersonals.

- (89) a. *El barco fue hundido el año pasado*
 ‘The ship was sunk last year’
 b. *Hundieron dos barcos el año pasado*
 ‘They sank two ships last year’
 c. *Se hundieron dos barcos el año pasado*¹³
 ‘They sank two ships last year’

¹² I will abstract away here from the difference between the *se* construction in which the verbs agrees with the postverbal argument (nominative DP) or not (the argument DP appears in accusative case). See Bhrun de Garavito 2000 for discussion.

¹³ Sentence (89c) also means ‘Two ships sunk last year’. This inchoative reading, which corresponds to a different underlying structure (see §3.2), is irrelevant here.

In the work of several researchers, it has been argued that the head that licenses the external argument is present in the structure of the passive, but in a defective or passive variety. Special passive morphology can appear as the spell-out of the passive voice head. Particularly relevant here is the analysis that takes impersonal *se* to be the spell-out of a verbal functional head, a little *v* or inflection head, proposed with differences of detail, among others, by Baker 1988, Masullo 1992, Bhurun de Garavito 2000. In this view, *se* corresponds to a head that does not license an external argument, i.e., does not project a specifier.

The impersonal construction with *se* is very frequent in Spanish. It is usually claimed that it is a much more frequent strategy than passive, specially if there is more than one argument. As in passives and third-person impersonals of activity verbs (90)-(91a-b), the implied agent of impersonal *se* constructions is indefinite; it is an indefinite that does not create a discourse referent that a pronoun in a following utterance could pick out.

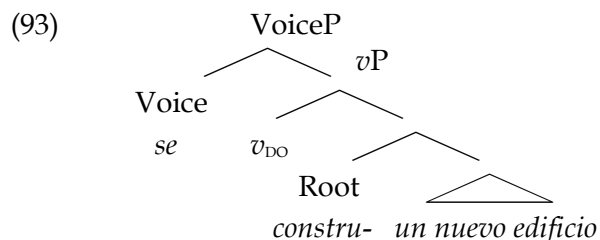
- (90) a. *A new building was designed. #He was a famous Canadian architect.*
 b. *They are building a new department. #He is a famous Canadian architect.*
- (91) a. *Fue diseñado un nuevo edificio. #(Él) fue un famoso arquitecto canadiense*
was designed a new building. He was a famous architect Canadian
- b. *Están construyendo un nuevo edificio. #(Él) es un famoso arquitecto canadiense*
are building a new building. He was a famous architect Canadian
- c. *Se construyó un nuevo edificio. #(Él) es un famoso arquitecto canadiense*
se built a new building. He was a famous architect Canadian

Impersonal *se* is more restricted than passives, however, in that the implied agent must be human, and that the agent cannot appear at all, not even in a *by*-phrase.¹⁴

- (92) a. *El pasto fue comido totalmente (por las vacas)*
the grass was eaten completely by the cows
The grass was completely eaten by the cows'
- b. *#En esta chacra se come mucho pasto (*por las vacas)*
in this farm se eats a-lot-of grass by the cows
'People eat a lot of grass in this farm'

¹⁴ The differences between verbal passives (91a) and impersonal *se* (91c) might be associated to the role of morphology, or to different structures (e.g., *se* as a spell-out of Voice, while there is no Voice head in passives). I leave aside the issue concerning the syntactic representation of these differences.

Impersonal *se* is incompatible with infinitivals. This fact lead Baker 1988, Masullo 1992 to propose that *se* is the realization of the external argument that incorporates into Inflection (here Tense). Within the framework of this dissertation, *se* can be taken to be the spell-out of a defective Voice head. Sentence (91b) would have the structure below.



In the impersonal *se* construction, then, the head that is responsible for the semantic and syntactic licensing of the external argument is present, although in a variant that lacks the property of projecting a specifier; i.e., it is not able to syntactically license an agent DP. In other words, impersonal Voice is defective syntactically, but not semantically. Passive Voice denotes that there is some individual that is related to the event described by the verb as its agent.

- (94) **Voice (active):** $\lambda x.\lambda e.$ agent(e,x)
 Voice (passive): $\lambda e. (\exists x)$ agent(e,x)

The proposal of a ‘defective’ high benefactive applicative head parallels the behaviour of impersonal Voice. The defective Appl head denotes that there is some individual related to the event as its benefactive or malefactive (glossed as applicative Appl in (96)).

- (95) **HighAppl :** $\lambda x.\lambda e.$ Appl(e,x)
 HighAppl (defective) : $\lambda e. (\exists x)$ Appl(e,x)

There is, however, an important contrast between impersonal *se* and defective HighAppl. An applicative head in Spanish always spells out the ϕ -features of the argument it licenses. The high applicative head responsible of ethical datives is syntactically defective. Nevertheless, it does license a benefactive semantically, and it spells out all its ϕ -features. The ethical dative clitic has person and number (and case) features; this contrasts with impersonal *se*, which only has an indefinite animate interpretation.

4.3.2.2 Defective applicatives in other languages

Spanish ethical datives are not the only case of ‘defective’ dative heads. Hebrew, for instance, has ethical datives that can be expressed by a clitic (96a), but no overt DP is allowed (96b) (See Borer&Grodzinsky 1986). Other kinds of dative arguments can appear either as a clitic or as a dative DP, as illustrated in (97) with an affected dative in an inchoative construction.

- (96) a. *ha-yalda xatza lo et ha-kviš*
 the girl crossed CL.DAT.M ACC the street
 ‘The girl crossed the street on him’ (when he was babysitting her, for instance)
- b. **ha-yalda xatza le-Roni et ha-kviš*
 the girl crossed Roni.DAT ACC the street
 ‘The girl crossed the street on Roni’
- (97) *ha-radio nišbar le-Rina /la*
 the radio broke Rina.DAT / CL.DAT.FEM

In French and Italian there are several constructions where a dative clitic can appear but pronominal or full DPs are not possible. Kayne (1975) presents several cases. Of special relevance here are dative clitics interpreted as affected.

- (98) a. *Elle lui a démoli sa maison*
 ‘She demolished his house on him’
- b. *Elle lui a tué sa femme.*
 ‘She killed his wife on him’ (Kayne:1975:169-70, fn. 121)

In (98), the clitic refers to the individual that is affected by the event or end state. While a dative clitic is allowed, Kayne observes, the corresponding sentences with a full DP are ungrammatical.

- (99) a. **Elle a démoli sa maison à lui / à Jean*
 ‘She demolished his house on him/on Jean’
- b. **Elle a tué sa femme à lui / à Jean*
 ‘She killed his wife on him/on Jean’

In terms of the approach developed here, there is a close parallel between Spanish ethical datives, Hebrew ethical datives and French affected datives: an applicative head with pronominal features is allowed, but it does not project a specifier. The general properties of the predicate and event structure are not altered by the presence of the applicative head.

Another interesting case involves a construction with the verb *seem*. The corresponding Italian verb *sembrare* and Spanish *parecer* can take an infinitival clause as its complement. The subject of the embedded clause can raise to matrix subject position. Some Italian speakers accept sentences where raising *sembrare* takes a dative clitic, which is interpreted as an experiencer¹⁵. A full dative DP in this context is ungrammatical.

- (100) a. *Gianni non gli sembra [t fare il suo dovere]*
 Gianni not CL.DAT.M seems to-do his duty
 ‘Gianni does not seem to him to do his duty’
- b. **Gianni sembra a Piero [t non fare il suo dovere]*
 Gianni seems Piero.DAT not to-do his duty
 ‘Gianni seems to Piero not to do his duty’ (Rizzi 1986)

As with Spanish ethical datives, a full dative DP that is not in argument position is reported to be degraded, but not completely ungrammatical.

- (101) a. ?*A Piero, Gianni non sembra [fare il suo dovere]*
 Piero.DAT Gianni.NOM not seems to-do his duty
 ‘To Piero, Gianni does not seem to do his duty’
- b. ?*A chi Gianni sembra [non fare il suo dovere] ?*
 who.DAT Gianni.NOM seems not to-do his duty
 ‘To whom does Gianni seems not to do his duty’ (McGinnis 2001:21)

This contrasts with another *seem* construction, where *sembrare* can take a full dative DP and an infinitival control CP, headed by complementizer *di*.

- (102) a. *A Vicki sembra [di aver dormito bene]*
 Vicki.DAT seems COMP to-have slept well
 ‘Vicki feels that she has slept well’
- b. *Mi sembra [di aver dormito bene]*
 CL.1SG.DAT seems COMP to.have slept well
 ‘I feel that I have slept well’ (Cuervo 2003b)

As discussed in Cuervo 2003b, Spanish has the equivalent of the Italian sentences in (97), but the Spanish equivalents of (100) and (101) are ungrammatical. A dative clitic with *parecer*

¹⁵ Not all speakers accept these type of sentences, and judgments vary according to the content of the embedded clause.

always corresponds to a high applicative that projects a specifier, even if it is occupied by a null pronoun *pro*; that is, the high applicative head that takes a stative *v*PBE as its complement is never defective in Spanish. In contrast, this head in Italian (and French) can be defective and combine with *sembrare* in the variant that takes a raising TP (100a) (as opposed to *sembrare* that takes a control CP headed by *di*). A dative experiencer DP is only compatible with *parecer* / *sembrare* when the complement infinitival is a control clause, or when *parecer* forms a complex predicate with an adjective or another predicate, as discussed in §4.1.1.

Going back to Spanish defective HighAppl, one question imposes itself: why is a high applicative full DP incompatible with activity verbs in Spanish, which has otherwise a wide arrange of applicatives? What characterizes a configuration with activity verbs is the presence of an external argument DP. An applicative would also be external to the event, which would yield a structure with two DPs above little *v*. This configuration is possible in several languages; why not in Spanish? In principle, I do not see an answer to this question. One might think that two DPs above little *v* could be a problem with respect to attraction to subject position, i.e., to the specifier of T, since we know independently that Spanish T can attract a dative DP to its specifier.

Another possibility would be that Spanish bundles Voice and *v*DO in one head as Pylkkänen proposes for English Voice and Cause heads. But, if that were the case, then probably not only the projection of a specifier should be impossible but a high applicative head itself —as it is in English—, which will leave ethical datives without a position to appear in. I leave this question open at this point, pending detailed crosslinguistic research.

Concluding remarks

Andrés Bello 1847 divided datives into (indirect) complements of the verb and superfluous datives. Proposing –as I have done– that all types of dative arguments are licensed by a specialized head, and none is a true argument of the verb amounts to unifying datives into the superfluous kind. Or it can be seen the other way: within the approach I have developed, each dative has its own place in the structure and, accordingly, its own meaning. The only relevant differences among them derive from the three sources:

- ◆ the category and type of complement the dative argument is related to by the applicative head (i.e., a DP or a *v*P; a stative *v*P or a dynamic *v*P; an agentive or non-agentive dynamic *v*P).
- ◆ whether the applicative phrase is embedded under a root, between two event predicates, or is not embedded (i.e., low, affected and high applicatives).
- ◆ whether the applicative head is syntactically and semantically complete or it is semantically complete but syntactically defective (i.e., whether it projects a specifier or just the head is present).

The combinatorial possibilities of event predicates and applicatives have provided the means to predict possible kinds of dative arguments, where kinds are defined structurally. Interpretation of the structures is performed compositionally on the syntactic structures. As a consequence, structural kinds of datives correspond to semantic kinds. Not only does this approach systematically account for the syntactic behaviour and semantic interpretation of a wide range of dative arguments in Spanish, but it also provides the theoretical tools to locate points at which languages can differ from each other.

Many interesting aspects of dative arguments have not been addressed. Among them, the possibility and properties of reflexive applicative heads, the importance of the morphological characteristics of the head, and dative arguments in periphrastic causatives. The investigation of these topics, and of crosslinguistic variation, within this framework is just opening. But here, I have to stop now.

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