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Inalienable possession (and lack thereof) in Spanish

Abstract: This paper revisits the phenomenon of inalienable possession between a dative argument and a body-part noun in Spanish. Specifically, it looks at contexts where the inalienable possession interpretation is obligatory, as in constructions containing monoeventive verbs of perception, and those where the inalienable reading becomes optional, namely with bi-eventive predicates denoting a change of state. I offer a possessor raising and applicative hybrid analysis, whereby the inalienable possessor originates inside the body-part DP and raises to the specifier of an applicative head to license dative case; the position ApplP occupies in the derivation determines the dative's interpretation as a mere possessor (low applicative), or as an affected possessor as well (middle applicative). Alternatively, cases where the dative is not understood as the inalienable possessor but simply as affected occur when this argument is an additional one originating in the specifier of the middle applicative head, and the possessor of the body-part noun is encoded internally via a clitic or strong possessive, or by means of a genitive PP inside the DP. Thus, I propose the existence of two types of affected applicative heads: (i) one whose specifier is available for the possessor inside the possessum DP to move into to be case licensed, and (ii) another introducing an additional argument in its specifier. Additionally, this analysis accounts for the complementary distribution between dative possessors and possessive determiners in Spanish.

Keywords: inalienable possession; possessor datives; applicatives; external possession; Spanish

1 Introduction

In this paper I examine contexts where a relationship of inalienable possession obligatorily arises between a dative argument and a relational or body-part noun in Spanish, specifically with transitive monoeventive activity and perception verbs

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(e.g., *mirar*, 'to look at'), and contrast them with other situations in which this construal appears to be optional, i.e., with bi-eventive causative predicates denoting a change of state (e.g., *quemar*, 'to burn'). I provide a hybrid analysis combining the notions of possessor raising (Deal 2017; Landau 1999) and applicative heads (Cuervo 2003; Pylkkänen 2002) whereby the inalienable possessor originates inside the body-part DP and raises to the specifier of an applicative head to license dative case. In sentences with monoeventive verbs, this will be a low applicative head – merging as the verb's complement – and, in those with bi-eventive predicates, a middle applicative (Cuervo 2020), complement to v^o. Additionally, I explain that the lack of inalienable possession effects between the dative and the relational noun in the context of causative verbs denoting a change of state happens when these predicates select for an affected applicative head (Cuervo 2003), which introduces an additional argument in its specifier. This argument is marked with structural dative case and interpreted as affected by the resulting state undergone by someone else's body part. In this situation, the body part noun surfaces internally possessed by means of a clitic or strong possessive, or a genitive PP. Finally, this proposal structurally accounts for the mutual incompatibility between a dative possessor and a possessive determiner heading the relational noun in most Spanish dialects.

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 introduces and discusses the data; the analysis is presented in Section 3, and Section 4 includes the concluding remarks.

2 The data

The grammar of Spanish offers a varied array of morphosyntactic strategies to encode the relation between a possessor and a possessee, including *predicative possession*, by means of a verbal predicate (1a), or *attributive possession*, i.e., via a prepositional phrase introducing the possessor inside the possessee DP (1b).

(1) a. *Pedro   tiene   un   coche   rojo.*
         Pedro   has   a   car   red
         'Pedro has a red car.'
     b. *El   coche   de   Pedro   es   rojo.*
         the car   of   Pedro   is   red
         'Pedro's car is red.'

Additionally, the possessor can be realized by means of a possessive determiner (2a), agreeing in person and number with the possessor and in number with the possessee, or a strong possessive (2b), sharing the person and number features with the

possessor and gender and number features with the possessee;[1] the latter, allows ellipsis of the noun standing for the possessee (2c).

(2)   a.   *Mi   coche.*
          my   car
          'My car.'
     b.   *El   coche   mío.*
          the   car   mine
          'My car.'
     c.   *El ~~coche~~ mío.*
          'Mine.'

A relationship of possession can also be expressed with a possessive relative adjective agreeing in gender and number with the possessee.

(3)   *Pedro, cuyo coche es rojo, conduce fatal.*
          'Pedro, whose car is red, drives awfully.'

Finally, the possessor can also be realized in the form of a dative argument, related to the possessee in a sentential configuration; these dative arguments are commonly referred to as dative possessors, and the phenomenon is known as external possession. Interestingly, the dative possessor appears to be in complementary distribution with a possessive determiner heading the possessee in most varieties of Spanish.[2]

(4)   *Pedro   me$_i$ cuida el/*mi   perro.*
          Pedro   1SG.DAT   cares the/my   dog
          'Pedro looks after my dog.'

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1 In the case of the first- and second-person plural, the possessive – be it clitic or strong – also agrees in gender with the possessee.

(i)   *Nuestro/Vuestro   coche.*
          our.M.SG/your.M.SG   car

(ii)   *Las   casas   nuestras/nuestras.*
          the   houses   ours.F-PL/yours.F-PL

2 Although this is generally the case for many Spanish dialects, certain Latin American varieties of Spanish, such as Mexican Spanish and others in contact with indigenous languages, allow the cooccurrence of dative possessors and possessive determiners (Escobar 1992; Giancaspro and Sánchez 2021; Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2019). Sánchez López (2007) explains that possessive determiners coreferring with a dative possessor are spurious or expletive emphatic pronominals.

All the examples above are instances of alienable possession, i.e., they do not involve an inextricable or unchangeable relation between possessor and possessee. However, body-part and relational nouns, i.e., those referring to elements pertaining to someone's personal sphere, such as items of clothing, trigger an inalienable possession construal in certain configurations (Bally 1926; Herslund and Baron 2001). Guéron (2006) distinguishes three possible structures that can convey inalienable possession of a relational noun in Romance, depending on how the possessor surfaces in the sentence: (i) as the verb's external argument (5a); (ii) as a dative DP or clitic pronoun (5b); and (iii) as the verb's internal argument (5c).

(5)　a.　*[Manuel]$_{Possessor}$　levanta　[la　mano]$_{Possessee}$*
　　　　　Manuel　　　　　raises　the　hand
　　　　　'Manuel raises his hand.'

　　b.　*Manuel　le$_i$　　sujeta　[la　mano]$_{Possessee}$　[a María$_i$]$_{Possessor}$*
　　　　　Manuel　3SG.DAT　holds　the　hand　　　　　María.DAT
　　　　　'Manuel holds María's hand.'

　　c.　*María　golpeo　[a Manuel]$_{Possessor}$　[$_{PP}$ en　[la mano]$_{Possessee}$]*
　　　　　María　hit　　Manuel.ACC　　　　in　　the hand
　　　　　'María hit Manuel on the hand.'

As mentioned above, dative possessors appear to be in complementary distribution with possessive determiners in most Spanish dialects; thus, the possessee must surface headed by a definite determiner when co-occurring with a dative possessor.

(6)　a.　*(A mí)　María me$_i$　　miró　　las$_i$/*mis$_i$/*tus$_k$ cicatrices.*
　　　　　Me.DAT　María 1SG.DAT　looked　the/my/your scars
　　　　　'María looked at my scars.'

　　b.　*(A mí)　Pablo me$_i$　　tocó　　el$_i$/*mi$_i$/*tu$_k$　pelo.*
　　　　　Me.DAT　Pablo 1SG.DAT　touched　the/my/your　hair
　　　　　'Pablo touched my hair.'

Crucially, the relationship of inalienable possession between a relational noun and a dative possessor becomes optional in sentences containing a verb denoting a change of state, shown in (7); this phenomenon has not received much attention in the literature of Spanish thus far.

(7)　a.　*(A mí)　María me$_i$　　quemó　　las$_{i/arb}$/mis$_{*i/j}$/tus$_k$　verrugas.*[3]
　　　　　me.DAT　María 1SG.DAT　burned　the/my/your　　warts
　　　　　'María burned my warts off.'
　　　　　'María burned (your) warts off for me.'

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3 In a context where María is a dermatologist and burns warts to remove them.

    b.   *(A mí)*   *Pablo*   *me$_i$*   *curó*   *las$_{i/arb}$*/*mis$_{*i/j}$*/*tus$_k$*   *heridas.*
        me.DAT   Pablo   1SG.DAT   healed   the/my/your   wounds
        'Pablo healed my wounds.'
        'Pablo healed (your) wounds for me.'

Finally, it is possible to have contexts where a body-part noun occurs with no external or internal possessor encoded in the structure. In those cases, the nominal is still understood to be inalienably possessed, yet the possessor is interpreted arbitrarily, as in (8).

(8)   a.   *Esta*   *depiladora*   *elimina*   *el*   *vello*   *sin*   *dolor.*
        this   epilator   eliminates   the   hair   without   pain
        'This epilator eliminates hair without pain.'
    b.   *Esta*   *cirujana*   *extrae*   *las*   *amígdalas*   *sin*   *apenas*   *anestesia.*
        this   surgeon   extracts   the   tonsils   without   hardly   anesthetic
        'This surgeon extracts tonsils with hardly any anesthetic.'

In the next section, I provide an analysis of the contrasts between (6) and (7), that also accounts for sentences like those in (8).

3 The analysis

3.1 Inalienable possession in Spanish

Inalienable possession between a dative argument and a relational noun in Romance has been analyzed under the scope of Binding and Control (Demonte 1988; Guéron 1983, 1985), predication (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992), and possessor raising (Demonte 1995; Rodrigues 2023; Sánchez López 2007; Suárez-Palma 2019, 2022, 2024).[4] In her theory of dative arguments in Spanish, Cuervo (2003) observes that dative possessors tend to occur with both stative and dynamic monoeventive predicates (e.g., *ver*, 'to see' and *lavar*, 'to wash,' respectively). Cuervo notes that dative possessors behave syntactically as dative recipients and sources, in that they show the same case, hierarchical position, and word order; besides, they are semantically directly related to the object and not to the predicate. This leads this author to suggest that dative possessors must be projected as low applicative arguments, the type of functional head introducing goals and recipients in double object constructions (henceforth, DOCs), according to Pylkkänen (2002). Pylkkänen's proposal relies on

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4 See Rooryck (2022) for a recent analysis of inalienable possession in French combining syntactic locative prepositional configurations with the semantics of weak definite determiners.

different semantic notations attributed to low applicative heads to account for the source and goal interpretations of the dative in these configurations.

(9) a. *Low-APPL-FROM (Source Applicative)*
         λx.λy.λf$_{<e<s,t>>}$.λe. f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & from-the-possession(x,y)
     b. *Low-APPL-TO (Recipient Applicative)*
         λx.λy.λf$_{<e<s,t>>}$.λe. f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & to-the-possession(x,y)
         (Pylkkänen 2002: 22)

Dative possessors, however, are understood as the possessor or location of the possessee, never as losing or receiving it; in other words, a relation of transfer of possession cannot be forced in the structures containing them. Therefore, in addition to the two types of low applicative heads in (9), Cuervo adds a third one whose semantics denote a static relation of possession, which can be alienable or inalienable (10), i.e., dative possessors would be instances of DOCs.
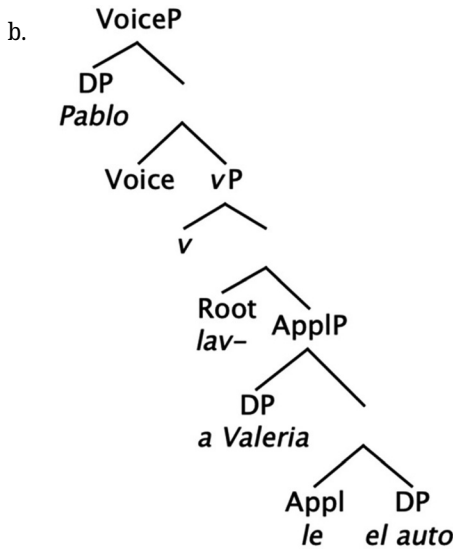
(10)   *Low-APPL-AT (Possessor Applicative)*
        λx.λy.λf$_{<e<s,t>>}$.λe. f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & in-the-possession(x,y)
        (Cuervo 2003: 73)

The advantage of aligning DOCs with those containing possessor datives is that the latter's participation in the event is accounted for; this is not always the case in genitive possessor constructions, as first noted by Demonte (1995). Moreover, the affectedness reading that sometimes is present in these sentences is derived from the dative's interpretation as being the possessor of an affected object.

(11) a. *Le$_i$ operaron   [la nariz]   [a Luisa$_i$]*
          3SG.DAT operated the nose   Luisa.DAT
          'They operated on Luisa's nose.'
      b. *?Operaron   [la nariz   de   Luisa]*
          operated   the nose   of   Luisa
          'They operated on Luisa's nose.'
          (Demonte 1995: 27)

The possessor dative in (11) is preferred because it is hard to imagine a context in which Luisa's nose is operated on in her absence. According to Cuervo's (2003) analysis, a sentence with a dative possessor like (12a) would have the derivation shown in (12b).

(12) a. *Pablo le   lavó   el   auto   a Valeria.*
          Pablo 3SG.DAT washed the   car   Valeria.DAT
          'Pablo washed Valeria's car.'
          (Cuervo 2003: 86)

b.

```
                    VoiceP
                   ╱╲
              DP
            Pablo
                    ╱╲
               Voice    vP
                        ╱╲
                     v
                         ╱╲
                     Root  ApplP
                     lav–    ╱╲
                          DP
                        a Valeria
                               ╱╲
                           Appl    DP
                            le    el auto
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In Cuervo's (2003) proposal, the dative possessor originates in the specifier of the low applicative head, which relates it to the theme in its complement position, and the whole applicative projection merges as the root's complement. Cuervo, however, does not delve into how the inalienable possession construal arises in this configuration. One must assume it is due to the nature of the relational noun in Appl's complement position, since the semantic notation of the low applicative of possession would be identical in alienable and inalienable contexts; moreover, this construal is already present in DPs hosting an internally possessed body-part nominal (e.g., *mis manos*, 'my hands'). Nevertheless, all the aforementioned analyses of this phenomenon share the assumption that the possessor originates inside the DP containing the relational noun.[5]

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5 See MacDonald (2017) for an analysis of inalienable possession in impersonal and *se*-passive constructions where the possessor originates as an empty pronominal in the specifier of Voice, c-commanding a relational noun inside the VP:

(i)　a.　*Se   levantó la   mano.*
　　　　RFL raised   the hand
　　　　'The hand was raised.'
　　b.　[$_{TP}$ [$_{VoiceP}$ *pro* Voice$_{se}$ [$_{VP}$ V DP]]]
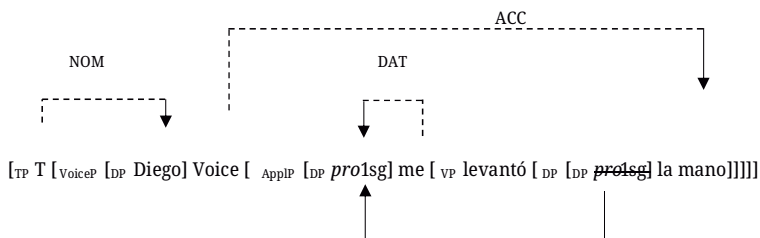　　　　(MacDonald 2017: 369)

In fact, Guéron (1985) claims that inalienably possessed nouns take a possessor as an argument, an empty category which can presumably be a null pronominal of some sort inside NP (13).

(13) Marta$_i$ levanta [la *ec*$_i$ mano]
      Marta raises   the   hand
      'Marta raises her hand.'

More recently, Armstrong (2021) develops an analysis of multiple external possession relations in Spanish prepositional double object verbs (e.g., *te puse la mano en el hombre*, 'I put my hand on your shoulder'); Armstrong assumes a possessor raising approach whereby this argument originates inside the DP containing the relational noun, where the relation of possession is established. Later, the possessor raises to the specifier of an applicative phrase where it receives a theta role and dative case, as shown in (14).

(14) a. *Diego me$_i$ levantó la   mano$_i$*.
          Diego 1SG.DAT raised   the   hand
          'Diego raised my hand.'

      b.

      [$_{TP}$ T [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{DP}$ Diego] Voice [$_{ApplP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro*1sg] me [$_{vP}$ levantó [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ ~~*pro*1sg~~] la mano]]]]]

      (Armstrong 2021: 9)

The analysis I am proposing in the next section follows this trend, in that it combines Cuervo's low applicative of possession and middle (affected) applicative with a possessor raising account in order to explain how inalienable possession originates, or fails to do so, in the structures under consideration.

3.2 A hybrid approach to inalienable possession in Spanish

3.2.1 Internal possession

Before delving into how the inalienable possession interpretation between dative possessors and relational nouns comes about, let us explain how this construal originates inside the DP containing a relational noun. To that end, I will adapt Alexiadou et al.'s (2007) proposal for the different positions where possessive elements can merge or be licensed inside the possessee DP, shown in (15). In the present

proposal, I assume that possessors originate in Spec,nP in the form of a pronominal or a full DP. Additionally, relational and body-part nouns select for a PRO that merges in their specifier, which is controlled by the possessor in Spec,nP, thus giving rise to the inalienable possession construal. However, if no possessor sits in Spec,nP, the PRO in the specifier of the body-part noun remains uncontrolled, which favors an arbitrary interpretation of the body part's possessor (cf. (8) above).[6]

(15) 1. Lexical DP possessives   *John's book*   (English)
      2. Clitic possessives   *Su libro*   (Spanish)
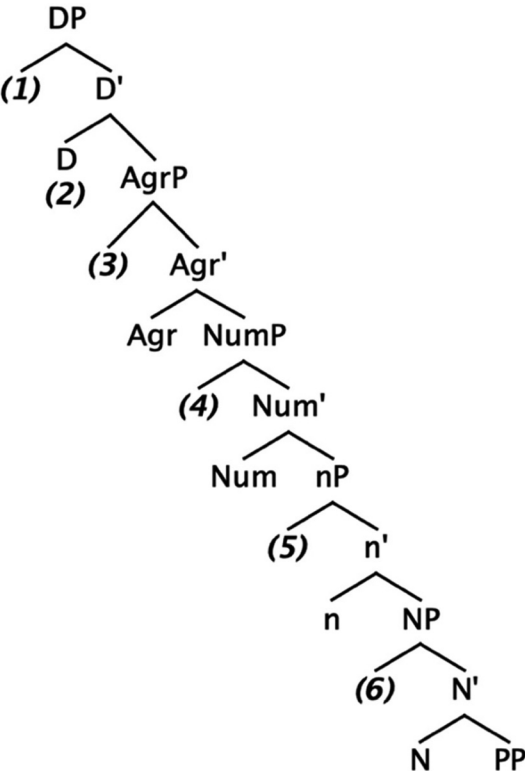   3. 'Weak' pronoun possessives   *El seu llibre* (Catalan)
      4. Post-nominal strong possessors *El libro suyo* (Spanish)
      5. Alienable possessors
      6. Inalienable possessors (PRO)


(Adapted from Alexiadou et al. 2007: 575)

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6 The idea that alienable and inalienable possessors merge in different positions inside the possessum DP was already proposed by Español-Echevarría (1997) and Fábregas (2011).

Additionally, I will assume a version of the feature endowment for Spanish possessors proposed by Fábregas (2011); therefore, in addition to its own set of interpretable person and number features, the possessor will contain several uninterpretable phi-features to be checked against the possessee, including a number and a gender feature, although the latter is only morpho-phonologically realized in prenominal position in 1st and 2nd person plural possessive determiners in Spanish (16a). On the other hand, the feature endowment of the determiner is shown in (16b).

(16)   a.   *Feature endowment of the possessive: [Person, Num, uNum, uGen]*
        b.   *Feature endowment of the determiner: [D, uNum, uGen]*

Thus, a DP containing an inalienably possessed noun like *mis cicatrices* ('my scars') would be derived as in (17).

(17)   a.   *Mis cicatrices.*
        b.
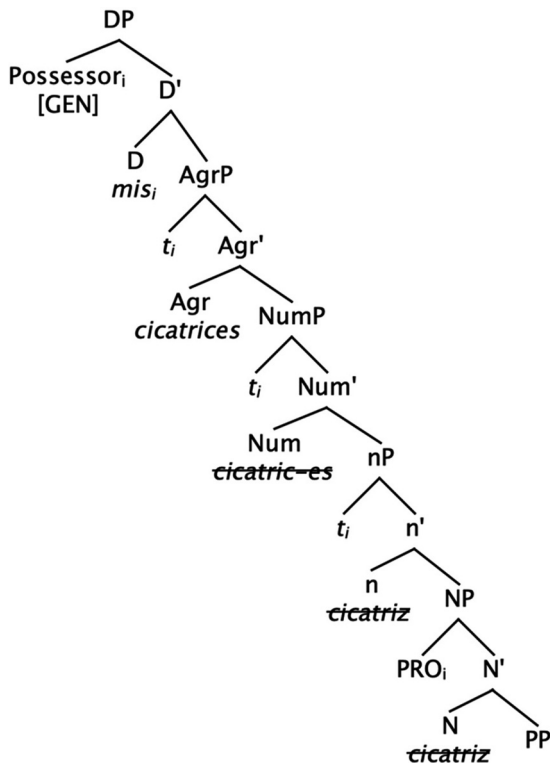
In (17), the relational noun *cicatriz* takes a PRO in its specifier, which is controlled by the possessor argument generated in Spec,nP. The noun undergoes head movement to Agr°, from where it enters an agreement relation with the c-commanding determiner, therefore valuing its gender and number uninterpretable features: [D, Num_{PL}, Gen_F]. The possessor, on the other hand, raises to the specifier of AgrP, where it is assigned genitive case by Agr°. As I will show later, this position is also where weak possessors are licensed in languages like Catalan or Italian, and the same one proposed by Ticio (2005) for internal possessor PPs. On its way to Spec,AgrP, the possessor establishes the necessary agreement relations with the nominal: [Gen_F] is valued in Spec,nP against the nominal, and [Num_{PL}] is valued in Spec,NumP. In languages with possessive determiners, I assume that the possessor further raises to the specifier of the determiner, possibly because this head has an EPP feature that needs checking. Finally, when Lexical Insertion occurs, Spanish resorts to the possessive determiner *mis*, which is able to spell out the terminal node D°, as well as the possessor in its specifier; in other words, this would be an instance of Phrasal Spell-Out (Fábregas 2009; Starke 2009).[7] Alternatively, we could take a morphophonological approach, and interpret this as a case of cumulative exponence (Stump 1998), where several sets of features are materialized by a single lexeme, as suggested by Fábregas (2011).[8]

In languages with weak possessors, such as Catalan (*les meves cicatrius*, 'my scars'), the possessor remains in SpecAgrP, presumably because D° lacks an EPP feature in these languages. The possessor is lexicalized as the weak possessive *meves*, independently from the definite determiner, which is realized as *les*; the latter's number and gender features are also valued against the relational noun *cicatrius* in Agr°. The derivation is given in (18).

(18)   a.   *Les meves cicatrius*   *(Catalan)*
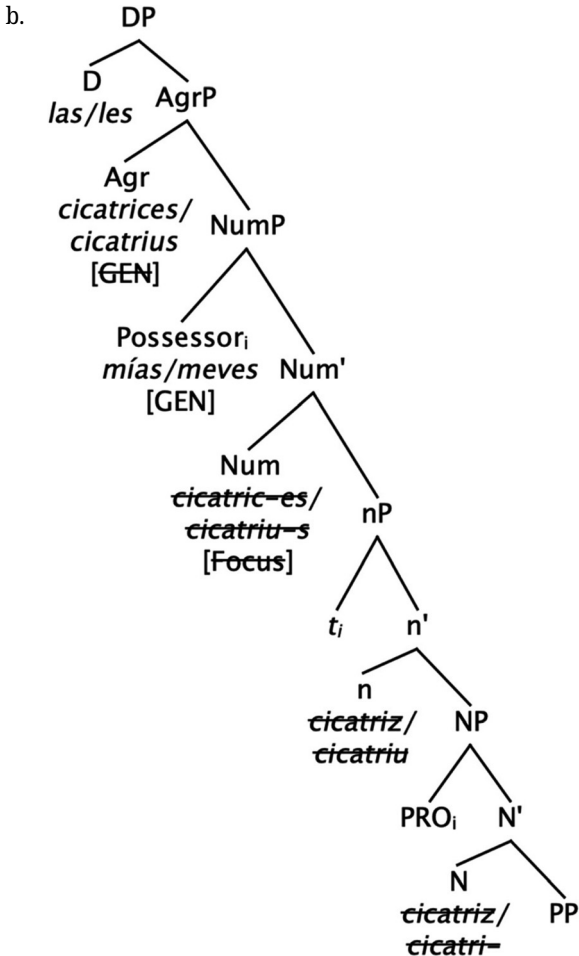
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b.
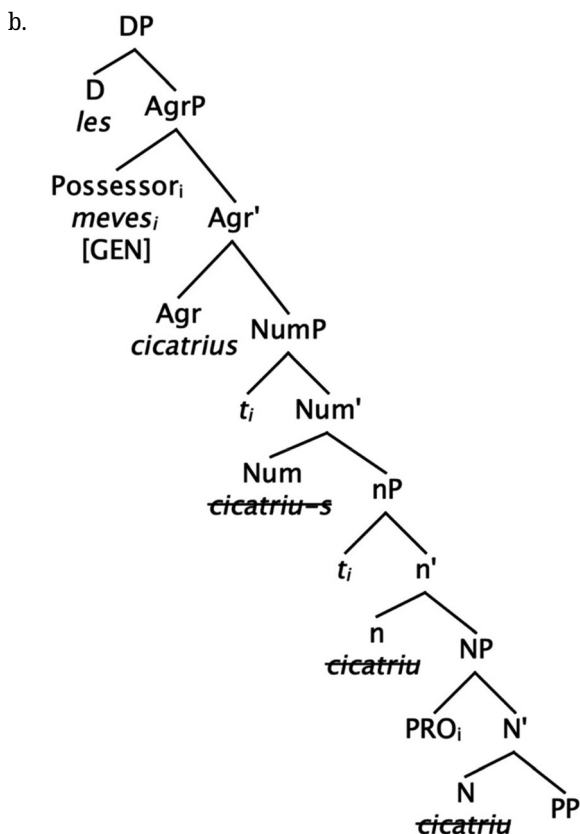
Additionally, Romance languages such as Spanish and Catalan have strong possessors, which occur after the noun. Fábregas (2011) shows that possessors in the absolute final position of the sentence are interpreted as contrastive foci (19).

(19)   a.   *Me   gusta el   color de ojos suyo, no el   tuyo.*
           1SG.DAT like   the color of eyes hers not the yours
           'I like HER color of eyes, not yours.'
       b.   *#Me   gusta su color de ojos, no el   tuyo.*
           1SG.DAT like   her color of eyes not the yours
           'I like her color of eyes, not yours.'
           (Fábregas 2011: 22)

Thus, I propose that post-nominal possessors raise to Spec,NumP and remain there to check an uninterpretable [Focus] feature in Num°. Having raised to that position, all the possessor's uninterpretable features will have been valued and Agr° can still assign it genitive case via Agree. As a result, the possessor is realized as a strong one in both languages: *las cicatrices mías* (Spanish); *les cicatrius meves* (Catalan).
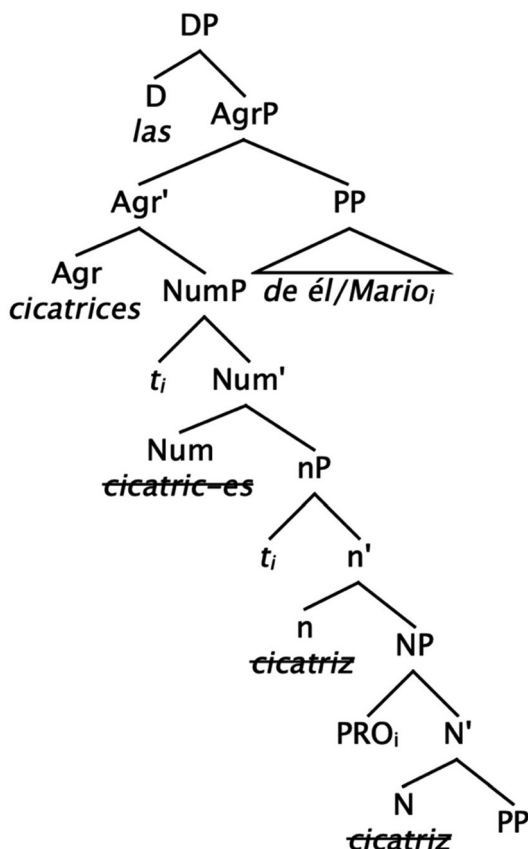
(20)   a.   *Las cicatrices mías/les cicatrius meves.*

b.

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                DP
              /    \
            D       AgrP
        las/les    /   \
                 Agr     NumP
             cicatrices/  /  \
              cicatrius  Possessorᵢ  Num'
               [G̶E̶N̶]   mías/meves   /  \
                        [GEN]      Num     nP
                              cicatric̶-e̶s̶/  /  \
                               cicatriu̶-s̶  tᵢ    n'
                                [F̶o̶c̶u̶s̶]        /  \
                                              n      NP
                                          cicatriz/  /  \
                                           cicatriu̶ PROᵢ   N'
                                                         /  \
                                                        N     PP
                                                   cicatriz/
                                                    cicatri̶-
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When the possessor originates as a full DP or full pronominal, genitive case is realized by means of the preposition *de,* and the whole PP is adjoined to AgrP, as shown in (21).

(21)   a.   *Las cicatrices de él/de Mario.*

b.

DP
├── D *las*
└── AgrP
    ├── Agr'
    │   ├── Agr *cicatrices*
    │   └── NumP
    │   ├── t_i
    │   └── Num'
    │   ├── Num *cicatric-es*
    │   └── nP
    │   ├── t_i
    │   └── n'
    │   ├── n *cicatriz*
    │   └── NP
    │   ├── PRO_i
    │   └── N'
    │   ├── N *cicatriz*
    │   └── PP
    └── PP *de él/Mario_i*

Finally, when no possessor merges in Spec,nP, the PRO in the specifier of the body-part noun remains uncontrolled, which gives rise to an arbitrary interpretation; however, the body part is still understood to be inalienably possessed by an undetermined possessor, as shown in (8), repeated in (22).

(22) a. *Esta depiladora elimina   el   vello sin   dolor.*
          this   epilator   eliminates the   hair   without pain
          'This epilator eliminates hair without pain.'

   b. $[_{DP}$ *el* $[_{AgrP}$ *vello* $[_{NumP}$ ~~*vello*~~ $[_{nP}$ ~~*vello*~~ $[_{NP}$ *PRO_{arb}* $[_{N'}$ *vell-]]]]]]*

Next, let us move on to external possession.

3.2.2 External possession

Having established how a body part/relational noun is internally possessed, let us delve into dative possessors. As noted by Cuervo (2003), these arguments occur in mono-eventive configurations containing stative or dynamic predicates when they select a low applicative of possession to be their complement; this functional head would be responsible for relating two entities to convey a static relationship of possession. Unlike

Cuervo's account, my claim is that the relation of possession does not arise inside ApplP; instead, dative possessors, like internal possessors, originate inside the DP containing the possessee. However, such DP is unable to assign genitive case to the possessor in these contexts.[9] As a result, this argument will need to raise to the specifier of the low applicative head of possession, merging as the complement of the root, to license dative case.[10] Consequently, Applº will then be realized as a dative clitic, sharing the same phi-features as the possessor DP in its specifier. In other words, low applicatives of possession do not introduce an additional argument to the derivation, but case license an existing possessor argument originating inside the possessum DP. Therefore, in contexts containing a low applicative of possession we will always observe correferenciality between the dative argument and the possessor of the body part.[11] The derivation of (6) is shown in (23).

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9 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for contributing to refining this idea.

10 This idea harkens back to Szabolcsi's (1984) classic analysis of possessor raising in Hungarian.

11 An anonymous reviewer brings up the following data, where we see a monoeventive activity verb, whose internal argument is a DP containing an internally possessed body part noun, as well as a dative argument that does not co-refer with the inalienable possessor:

(i)   *No   me$_k$ mires [sus$_i$ piernas]$_{i/*k}$ / [las piernas [de mi hija$_i$]]$_i$.*
        not   1SG.DAT   look   her   legs   the legs   of my daughter
   'Don't you look at my daughter's legs.'

Coreferenciality is inexistent here for two reasons: first, the inalienable possessor's phi features (3SG) do not match those of the dative (2SG); second, the possessor was able to license genitive case inside the possessum DP, therefore making a low applicative of possession unnecessary. Therefore, the dative argument in this context is an ethical dative, an additional argument introduced by a high applicative head above vP. There can be contexts, however, where an ethical dative could corefer with an internal possessor, as in emphatic situations:

(ii)   *No me$_i$ mires [mis$_i$ piernas]$_i$*
        'Don't you look at my legs.'

In that case, we also have two different arguments, a possessor originating inside the possessum DP, and an ethical dative doing so in Spec,ApplP, with two different theta roles, which just happen to share the same referent. Moreover, in Latin American dialects of Spanish where doubling of an internal possessor with a dative argument is possible, (ii) would be structurally ambiguous between a high (ethical dative) or a low (static possessor) applicative structure. According to my analysis, possessor raising would not occur in these variants, and the dative arguments in both cases would originate in the specifier of the high or low applicative via external Merge, and both would co-refer with the internal possessor. This suggests that possessor raising (and lack thereof) might be a phenomenon that is subject to parametric variation; I leave this issue open for further research. Finally, on a related note, Suárez-Palma (2023) argues that possessor raising can never happen across phases. This implies that possessors can only raise to low and middle applicatives, but not to high applicatives, because that would imply crossing a phase (vP). This explains why datives in psych-predicate configurations – introduced by high applicative heads above vP – cannot be understood as possessors of a body-part noun headed by a definite determiner (iii); the latter must be internally possessed for the possessor reading to obtain.

(23) a. *(A mí$_i$)   María me$_i$ miró   las$_i$/*mis$_i$/*tus$_k$ cicatrices.*
      me.DAT   María 1SG.DAT   looked   the/my/your scars
      'María looked at my scars.'

  b.

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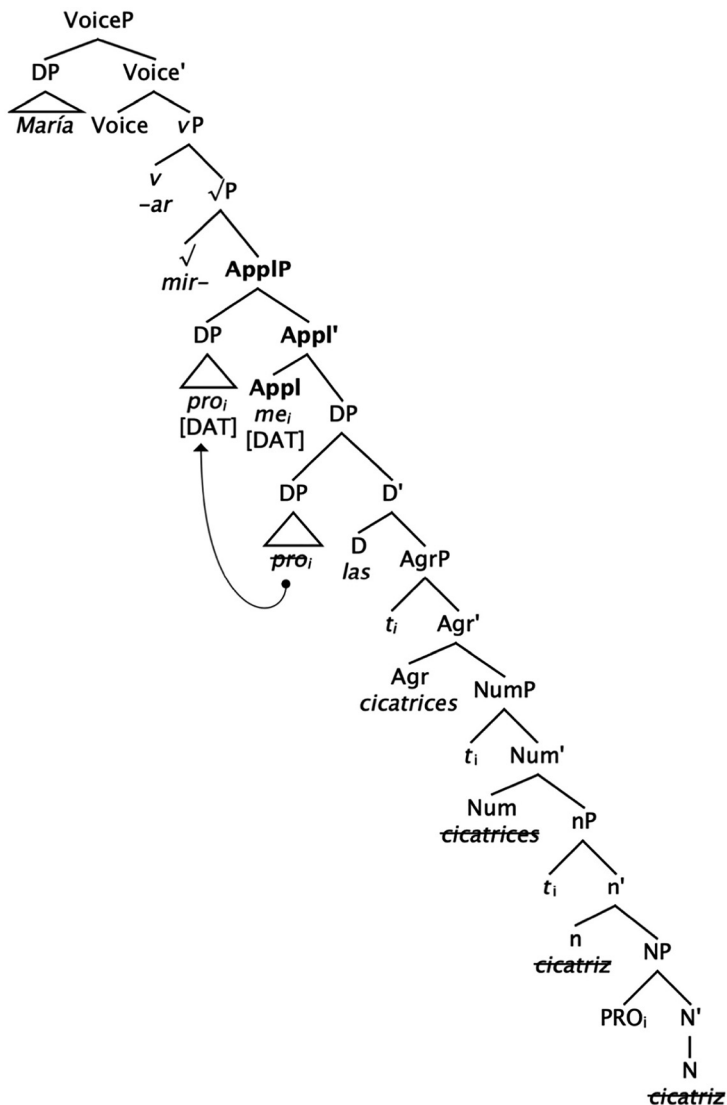
(iii)   *A Roberto$_i$ le$_i$ gusta   [el   pelo]*$_{*i/arb}$/   [su$_{i/k}$ pelo].
        Roberto.DAT   3SG.DAT   likes   the   hair   his   hair
        'Roberto likes (his) hair.'

In (23b), the possessor merges in the specifier of the nP, from where it controls PRO in Spec,NP, and therefore the relationship of inalienable possession is established. The possessor raises to the empty specifier of the low applicative head where it is assigned structural dative case; the applicative head is spelled out as the dative clitic pronoun *me*, whose person and number features are shared with the possessor DP in its specifier. The possessor in SpecApplP in (23) can be optionally doubled by a dative DP (*a mi*). The dative clitic incorporates into the verbal root, which head-moves all the way to T°; finally, the external argument in Spec,Voice (*María*) will raise to SpecTP to license nominative case and cancel the EPP feature in T°. This proposal continues to structurally derive the relationship of inalienable possession from inside the DP containing the relational noun. In this sense, I depart from Cuervo's (2003) analysis that claimed that the possessor originates in SpecApplP, from where the relation of possession – at times, inalienable – arises. The purpose of the applicative head in my story is then to case license a full DP originating inside the possessee. Additionally, the incompatibility between the dative possessor and the possessive determiner is a consequence of the nature of this derivation: D° cannot be realized as a possessive determiner (*mis*) because the possessor was unable to value genitive case inside the possessum DP, forcing its exit and raising to Spec,ApplP. In other words, although a lower copy of the possessor is in fact in Spec,DP in the dative possessor configuration, that copy is yet to be case-licensed at that point in the derivation, which renders it ineligible for Lexical Insertion.

An anonymous reviewer points out that if dative possessors are indeed generated inside the possessum DP, just like internal possessors are, we should expect them to block extraction of other material from inside such DP, as Ticio (2005) found was the case for possessor PPs. This linguist develops an analysis of Spanish DPs that mirrors the structure of CP, and explains the different patterns of extraction out of these constituents observed in this language. Specifically, Ticio arrives at the conclusion that possessor and agent PPs block the extraction of argument and argument-like PPs,[12] since the former occupy a higher position that interferes with the path of the latter in their extraction out of the DP. In (24b), the possessor PP *de Ana* prevents the extraction of the argument-like PP *de cuero* out of the DP; however, extraction of the possessor PP is perfectly grammatical, as evidenced in (24c).

(24) a. *Sujeté [$_{DP}$ varios bolsos [de cuero]$_{Arg}$ [de Ana]$_{Poss}$].*
          I-held   several   bags   of   leather   of   Ana
          'I held several of Ana's leather bags.'

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12 In addition to argumental PPs, Ticio (2005) identifies a group of PPs that show identical syntactic behavior with respect to extraction. This group includes PPs headed by the prepositions *de* ('of') – denoting a part-whole relationship, a temporal or locative reference, or material –, *sin* ('without'), *con* ('with'), and *sobre* ('about').

b.　*¿[De qué　(material)]$_i$ sujetaste [$_{DP}$ varios bolsos t$_i$ [de Ana]$_{Poss}$]?
　　of　what material　you-held several　bags　of　Ana

c.　¿[De quién]$_i$ sujetaste [$_{DP}$ varios bolsos [de cuero]$_{Arg}$]?
　　of　whom you-held several　bags　of leather
　　'Whose leather bags did you hold?'

If my proposal is on the right track, we should expect the same extraction pattern in dative possessor configurations. On the one hand, these possessors also originate in Spec,nP within the possessum DP and pass through the same intermediate positions before reaching Spec,ApplP as internal possessors do. On the other hand, argument and argument-like PPs, originate in a lower position inside the NP, and extraction is therefore thwarted. In (25), I show that this is indeed the case. The argument-like PP *de cuero* cannot be extracted from inside the possessum DP because the dative possessor *a María* blocks its extraction, even when this argument does not surface inside the possessum DP (25b). As expected, wh-fronting of the dative possessor is grammatical (25c); these data support the idea that external possessors do originate inside their possessa.

(25)　a.　*Le$_i$*　　*sujeté [varios　bolsos [de　cuero]]$_i$　a María$_i$*
　　　　3SG.DAT I-held several　bags　of　leather　María.DAT
　　　　'I held several of María's leather bags.'

　　b.　*¿[De qué　(material)]$_k$ le$_i$　　sujetaste [varios bolsos t$_k$]　a María$_i$?*
　　　　of　what material　3SG.DAT you-held　several bags　　María.DAT

　　c.　*¿[A quién]$_i$ le$_i$　　sujetaste [varios　bolsos [de cuero]] t$_i$?*
　　　　whom.DAT　3SG.DAT you-held　several　bags of leather
　　　　'For whom did you hold several of their leather bags?'

The sentences in (25) are instances of alienable possession between the dative possessor and the verb's internal argument. However, the same effects are observed in contexts where the relationship of possession between the two entities is inalienable, i.e., when the possessee is a body-part noun, as in (26).

(26)　a.　*Le$_i$*　　*vi　[varias　heridas [de arma　　blanca]]$_i$　a Antonio$_i$*
　　　　3SG.DAT I-saw several　wounds of　weapon white　　Antonio.DAT
　　　　'I saw several stab wounds on Antonio.'

　　b.　*¿[De qué　(tipo)]$_k$ le$_i$ viste　[varias　　heridas t$_k$]　　a Antonio$_i$?*
　　　　of　what type　3SG.DAT you-saw　several wounds　Antonio.DAT

　　c.　*¿[A quién]$_i$ le$_i$　viste　　[varias　heridas [de arma　　blanca]] t$_i$?*
　　　　who.DAT　　3SG.DAT you-saw　several wounds of　weapon white
　　　　'On whom did you see several stab wounds?'

Therefore, we can conclude that dative possessors originate inside the possessum DP, like internal possessors do. In the next section, I discuss cases of inalienable possession (and lack thereof) in sentences containing change-of-state predicates.

3.3 Inalienable possession (and lack thereof) in change-of-state contexts

As shown in (7), repeated as (27), dative possessors are also possible in sentences containing verbs denoting a change of state; when the verb's theme is a relational noun, a relationship of inalienable possession may arise between the former and the dative. However, this reading appears to be optional, unlike what happens with the structures examined thus far.

(27)   *(A mí)*   *María me$_i$*   *quemó*   *las$_{i/arb}$/mis$_{*i/j}$/tus$_k$*   *verrugas.*
        me.DAT   María 1SG.DAT   burned   the/my/your   warts
        'María burned my warts off.'
        'María burned (your) warts off for me.'

Notice that the dative in (27) can have two different interpretations: (i) affected possessor of the body-part DP – headed by the definite determiner *las* – undergoing the change of state; and (ii) benefactive/malefactive of someone else's body-part's resulting state, in which case the latter is internally possessed via the possessive determiner *tus*. Although less transparent, the relational noun could also be interpreted to be inalienably possessed by an arbitrary possessor, in which case it surfaces headed by the definite determiner since no possessor is projected inside the possessee, and the dative argument is still interpreted as a benefactive.

     Cuervo (2003) argues that change-of-state predicates involve a bi-eventive configuration comprising an activity subevent (v_{DO}) and a stative one (v_{BE}). Evidence for this claim comes from the fact that the modifier *casi* ('almost') can have scope over the whole event (vP_{DO}), or only over the stative projection (vP_{BE}) (Cuervo 2014).

(28)   *Juan casi*   *quema la*   *tortilla.*
        Juan almost   burns   the   omelet
        'Juan almost started to burn the omelet, but he did not.'
        Scope = v$_{DO}$
        'Juan started to burn the omelet, but it did not burn completely.'
        Scope = v$_{BE}$

Cuervo proposes that when an additional dative argument appears in these structures, it is introduced in the specifier of an affected applicative head (Affected-APPL), a middle applicative, that relates the dative argument to the event or to the end state
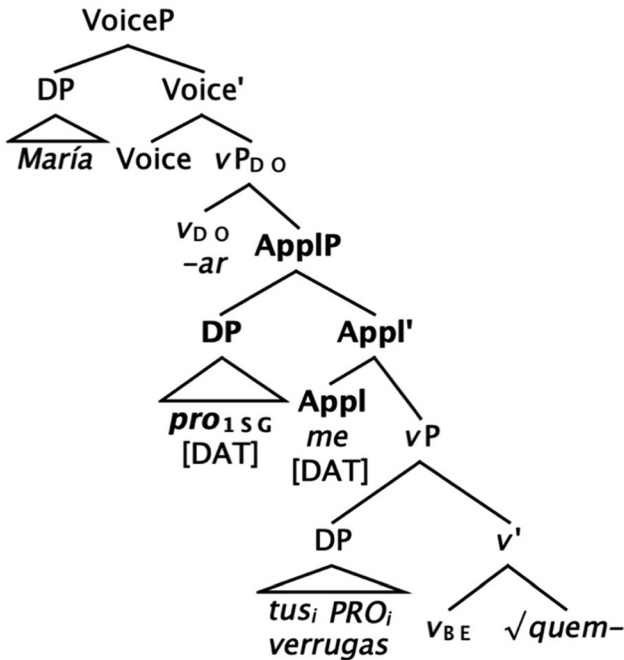
of the theme. This functional head merges sandwiched between the two subevents, giving rise to the affected interpretation of this argument. An example of how this derivation would come about is given in (29).

(29) a. *Pedro   le$_i$ rompió   el   teléfono   a Luis$_i$.*
     Pedro   3SG.DAT   broke   the   phone   Luis.DAT
     'Pedro broke Luis's phone.'

  b.
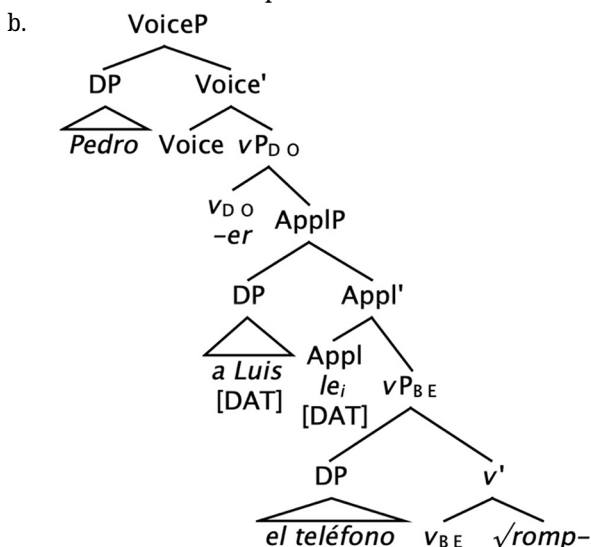
In (29b), a bi-eventive structure is projected by combining a subevent of activity (v_{DO}) – on top of which a Voice projection introduces the causer in its specifier – and a stative one (v_{BE}), denoting the resulting state of the verb's internal argument; the latter, merges as the root's complement, inside the stative subevent. A middle applicative head, an Affected-APPL one, sits between the two verbalizing heads, and introduces an additional argument marked with inherent dative case in its specifier. Appl° applies this argument to the theme's resulting state, the v_{PBE}, and it is therefore interpreted as affected by it. Regarding the additional possessor interpretation of the dative, Cuervo explains that "when the dative is understood as the possessor of the theme object, to assume possession is a way to (pragmatically) accounting for the affectedness of the dative as a result of the change of state of the theme object" (2003: 126). While I will adopt her notion of affected applicatives here, I will show that my proposal is able to structurally account for the possessor interpretation of the dative, not just pragmatically. I will begin by showing in (30) the derivation of (27) where the dative is interpreted as the benefactive, and the relational noun is internally possessed.

(30) *(A mí) María me quemó tus verrugas*
 'María burned your warts off for me.'

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
                  DP      Voice'
                 /  \     /    \
             María  Voice  vP_DO
                         /      \
                      v_DO      ApplP
                      -ar      /     \
                             DP      Appl'
                            /  \     /    \
                      pro_1SG  Appl    vP
                        [DAT]   me    /   \
                              [DAT]  DP    v'
                                    /  \   /  \
                           tus_i PRO_i  v_BE  √quem-
                              verrugas
```

In (30), we see a causative configuration comprising a subevent of activity (v_{DO}) and a stative one (v_{BE}); a Voice projection merges on top of the former and introduces the external argument *María* in its specifier. Merged between the two subevents we find the affected applicative head, in whose specifier is merged a non-selected dative argument *pro*, bearing inherent dative case, whose first-person singular features are spelled out by the dative clitic pronoun *me*. The position where the applicative head merges determines this argument's affected interpretation, for it is as applied to the stative v_{BE}, i.e., the resulting state of the verb's internal argument. The internally possessed relational noun *verrugas* is headed by the possessive determiner *tus*; the derivation of this DP would follow the same steps as the one shown in (17) above. In sum, the role of the affected applicative in this configuration is the one described by Cuervo (2003): to introduce and license an additional argument with an affected interpretation in the structure.

When it comes to the interpretation in which the dative argument is the possessor of the relational noun in (27), I propose that an affected middle applicative with an empty specifier is the functional head responsible for licensing the possessor originating inside the possessum DP, in Spec,nP. As in the case of low applicatives of possession (Low-APPL-AT), this functional head does not introduce an additional argument in its specifier, which is available for the possessor to raise to and be case licensed. In essence, low and middle applicatives of possession serve the same purpose,

the only difference being the position they occupy in the derivation, which determines the possible interpretations of the possessor they license in each case.

(31)   *(A mí) María me quemó las verrugas*
        'Maria burned my warts off.'
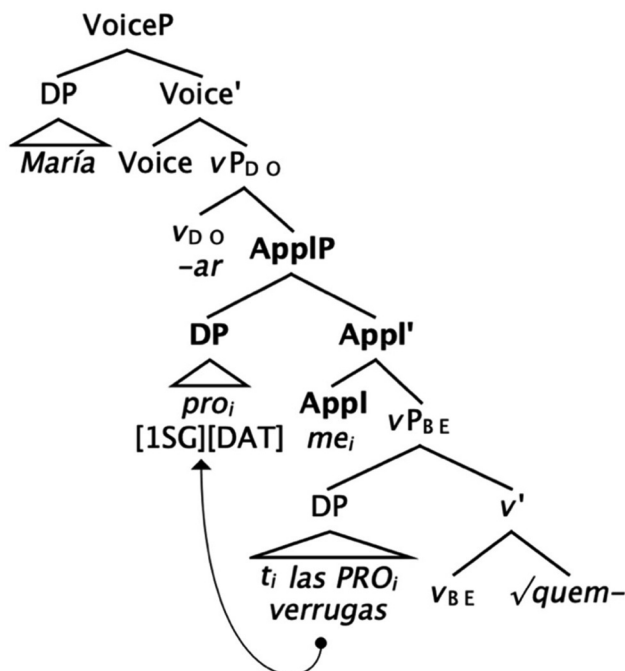
The derivation in (31) is also a causative one in which an affected applicative head with an empty specifier merges sandwiched between the two subevents. The verb's internal argument is a DP containing a relational noun that is inalienably possessed by a null pronominal generated in the specifier of the nP. Because this argument is unable to be assigned genitive case inside the possessum DP, it vacates it and raises to the specifier of the middle applicative head, where it receives structural dative case. As a result, the possessee is headed by a definite determiner agreeing in gender and number with the relational noun. Additionally, because of the position the applicative projection occupies in the structure, the possessor also acquires the interpretation of being affected by the resulting state of its possessee. In the next section, I will discuss the scope of the current proposal when it comes to accounting for other external possession configurations containing body-part nouns.

3.4 Scope of the proposal

The analysis developed here shows potential when it comes to accounting for the inalienable possession effects present in certain prepositional configurations in Spanish, like the one in (5c) above, repeated in (32).

(32)   *María golpeo [a Manuel]$_{Possessor}$ [$_{PP}$ en [la mano]$_{Possessee}$]*
       María hit   Manuel.ACC   in   the hand
       'María hit Manuel on the hand.'

Harley (2002) provides an analysis of double object constructions in English in which the theme and the goal/source/possessor argument are related by means of a null preposition P$_{HAVE}$, as in (33).

(33)   a.   *John gave Mary a book.*
       b.
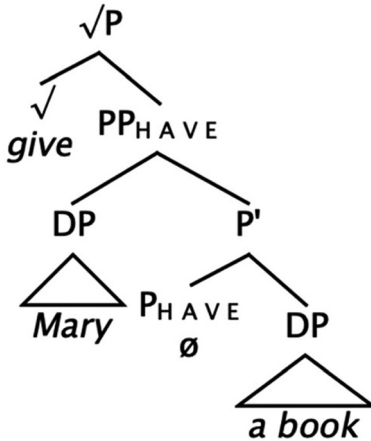
I propose that the same type of projection is at play in (32), the only difference being that, in Spanish, P$_{HAVE}$ is not phonologically null. The derivation of (32) is shown in (34).

(34)

In (34), the DP *Manuel* originates in Spec,nP, where it controls the PRO in the specifier of the NP headed by the relational noun *mano*, whereby the relationship of inalienable possession is established. As explained before, this DP needs case, and undergoes XP-movement to the specifier of the functional projection embedding the whole possessum DP, in this case PP$_{HAVE}$, which merges as the root's complement. Because the preposition assigns structural oblique case to the DP containing the relational noun, it must be v (or Voice) that values the possessor's uninterpretable case feature, assigning it accusative case; notice that if the possessor were replaced by a clitic pronoun, it would surface as an accusative one in non-leísta dialects of Spanish: *María* [*lo*$_{ACC}$]$_i$ *golpeó en* [*la mano*]$_i$ ('María hit him on the arm').

This analysis may seem rather unconventional for it assumes that verbs like *golpear* can take a PP as an argument, when they normally take DPs, and because I am proposing that possessor raising can occur outside of a PP (when the possessor surfaces as a clitic), which tend to be analyzed as adjuncts and therefore subjected to island constraints. However, Landau's (1999) analysis of possessor raising in Hebrew argues that locative, source and instrumental PPs are argumental in that language, since they allow possessor extraction, whereas typical adjuncts expressing cause, purpose, opposition, etc. do not. Furthermore, Sánchez López (2007) elaborates an analysis of sentences like (32) along the same lines, where possessor and possessee are related inside a locative PP, whose head is the preposition *en*. The possessor sits in its specifier, where it receives accusative case from the verb, while the body-part DP occupies its complement position, where it is assigned oblique case by the preposition; as in (34), the locative PP merges as the verb's complement. What differentiates her proposal from mine is the fact that Sánchez López assumes that the external possessor does not originate inside the possessee but in the specifier of the PP; in other words, her analysis does not involve possessor raising.

An anonymous reviewer brings up the striking similarities between the sentence in (32) and its English counterpart (*Maria hit Manuel in the hand*) – a rare instance of external possession in this language –, and wonders whether the analysis in (34) could be applied to English. At this point, I do not see why this would not be the case since, in all respects, the structural properties of the English construction are identical to those of the Spanish one, including the fact that body-part nouns in these configurations allow a token-reading (35a), which is impossible in other structures containing this type of nominals (35c) (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992).

(35) a. *Miriam hit them in the face/*faces.*
      b. *Miriam   los   golpeó   en   la   cara/   *las   caras.*
          Miriam   3PL.ACC   hit   in   the   face   the   faces

    c.   *The doctor examined *their stomach/their stomachs.*
    d.   *El   doctor   les   examinó   el   estómago/ *los estómagos.*
        the   doctor 3sg.DAT examined the stomach   the stomachs

The advantage of the proposal outlined here is that it can structurally account for the inalienable possession effects (and lack thereof) arising between relational nouns and dative arguments in Spanish, as well as in other related constructions involving external possession. It seems sensible to assume that the inalienable possession construal arises inside the DP containing the relational noun, since it is also available when the latter surfaces internally possessed via a possessive determiner. Additionally, this analysis is able to account for the fact that possessor datives and possessive determiners are in complementary distribution.

4 Conclusions

In this paper, I have revisited the phenomenon of inalienable possession between dative arguments and relational nouns by examining not only contexts where this construal is obligatory, but also those where it appears to be optional, namely with causative verbs denoting a change of state. I have proposed a hybrid approach combining the notions of possessor raising and applicative heads whereby the possessor originates inside the possessum DP, in the specifier of nP. This argument controls a PRO in the specifier of the relational noun, thus generating the inalienable possession construal; this is exactly what happens with internally possessed DPs (e.g., *mis cicatrices,* 'my scars'). The difference between external and internal possession is the fact that in the latter, the possessor argument is able to be licensed with genitive case inside the possessee, therefore surfacing as a clitic or strong possessive, or even inside a genitive PP; in external possession configurations, on the other hand, the possessor is unable to receive case inside the possessee, so it raises to the specifier of the applicative head where it is marked with dative case. Monoeventive predicates subcategorize for a low applicative of possession (Low-APPL-AT) as their complement; the role of this functional head is not to introduce an additional argument to the structure, contra Cuervo (2003), but to license an already existing one, the caseless possessor inside the possessee. However, in bi-eventive configurations containing change-of-state causative predicates, dative possessors are licensed by a middle applicative head that appears sandwiched between the two subevents. Unlike the affected applicatives proposed by Cuervo, this middle applicative can be considered an affected applicative of possession, in that, like low applicatives of possession, it does not project an extra argument in its specifier, but only licenses an existing one. Given the position the middle applicative occupies, the raised possessor

will acquire an additional interpretation of affected by the body-part's resulting state.

Regarding the lack of inalienable possession effects between a dative argument and a body-part noun in change-of-state contexts, I have proposed that the dative argument in these cases is in fact projected as an additional argument in the specifier of the middle applicative, hence its sole interpretation as affected by the event, but not as possessor of the relational noun undergoing it. Consequently, the relational noun surfaces internally possessed; in other words, the applicative in this case is indeed the argument-introducing functional head proposed by Cuervo. The advantage of this proposal is that it is able to structurally account for inalienable possession effects structurally, not simply pragmatically. Moreover, this analysis straightforwardly explains the fact that a possessive dative and a possessive determiner are in complementary distribution: in possessor dative configurations, the relational DP cannot be headed by a possessive determiner because the possessor argument could not be case licensed inside the possessum DP. There is a lower copy of the possessor in Spec,DP; however, it is not eligible for Lexical Insertion since it is caseless.

Finally, I argued that this approach can also be used to analyze other Spanish configurations where a relationship of inalienable possession exists between a possessor argument apparently merging as the verb's internal argument and marked with accusative case and a body-part noun inside a PP. Following Harley's (2002) analysis of double object constructions in English, I proposed that a prepositional phrase of possession (P_{HAVE}) – spelled out as *en* – merges as the verb's complement. This preposition takes the possessum DP as its complement and marks it with oblique case; the possessor, unable to check genitive case inside the possessee, exits the DP and raises to the specifier of the PP, from where it is assigned accusative case from *v*/Voice. To conclude, the analysis developed here can potentially account for external possession configurations in English.

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