

# A Lexical Functional Grammar Account of Spanish Weak Dative Pronominals

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# Abstract

This thesis is concerned with Spanish weak dative pronominals. Similar elements -generally labelled as *clitics*- in many languages have been focus of much research in Linguistics. The present study, however, abstracts away from classic approaches that had the external form of clitics as their main focus and provides description and analysis of very specific uses of dative pronominal items, namely when they appear on ditransitive constructions, with psychological predicates or in a configuration where they are not lexically specified in the valency of the verb, the so-called non-selected datives.

The analysis of the dative in ditransitive constructions is twofold. We claim that the distribution of the dative in such configurations has semantic and syntactic implications. The presence of the dative pronoun is becoming grammaticalised and provides an entailment of *affectedness*. In instances of clitic doubling where we have both the pronoun and a noun phrase, we are treating the pronoun as the element that the predicate subcategorises for and the noun phrase is linked to it through information structure. This analysis is quite innovative as it ensures both elements are linked but they retain syntactic independence, in contrast with their treatment in previous approaches.

With psychological predicates, we are concerned with what the status of the

dative marked argument is; as previous approaches have contradictory views of it as subject or object. We analyse this dative with the tools provided by Lexical Mapping Theory and disagree with previous accounts by proposing an analysis of this dative as  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$ .

With regards to non-selected datives in Spanish, they have not been widely discussed in the literature. We describe the different types and propose a finer grouping based on their ability to be treated as derived arguments. We sketch an analysis that adds a dative argument to the valency of a predicate through a lexical operation.

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# List of Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ACC	accusative
ANIM	animate	ARG	argument
AUG	augmentative	CL	clitic
DAT	dative	DIMIN	diminutive
FEM	femenine	FOC	focus
FUT	future	HUM	human
IMP	imperative	IMPERF	imperfective
INF	infinitive	MASC	masculine
NEG	negation	NEUT	neuter
NP	noun phrase	NUM	number
OBJ	object	OBL	oblique
PASTPART	past participle	PERF	perfective
PERS	person	PL	plural
POSS	possessive	PPL	prepositional
PRS	present	PRESPART	present participle
PRON	pronoun	PST	pst
REFL	reflexive	SG	singular
SUBJ	subject	SBJV	subjunctive
SUP	superlative		



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# Introduction

The goal of this dissertation is to explore Spanish weak dative pronominals. These items have been traditionally labelled with the very vague term of *clitics*. The terminology of such elements will not be central to our study, so unless otherwise specified, the use of the terms *clitic* and *weak pronoun* will be used interchangeably without any theoretical implications, since the main purpose of this study is not to describe the morphosyntactic exponence of weak pronouns.

The Spanish data described throughout this study belongs to the variety of the language spoken in Spain and if or when we mention other varieties in passing, this will be clearly specified. Having clarified that, we believe, nonetheless, that the phenomena about dative pronominals we are examining, are quite general and extend accross dialectal variations.

The study of clitics in general and in the Romance languages in particular has been a recurring topic of research in Linguistics. Romance languages are obviously closely related and share many features, but most of the previous research on the topic of Romance clitics seems to always concentrate on either French or Italian clitics. Spanish has received some interest too. One of the most comprehensive studies can be found in the work of Strozer (1976). We will of course refer to her work and other literature on many occasions, but with the present study, we feel we

are highlighting some of the issues that have been always recognised but not quite successfully solved. We abstract away from previous studies too because we are not giving a general treatment of these items, but are narrowing our efforts down to dative weak pronouns in particular. Additionally, we will be carrying out this study from the point of view of Lexical Functional Grammar, which provides us with the right tools to account for the issues being discussed.

The rest of this introduction will be devoted to introducing the formalism of Lexical Functional Grammar and to outline the contents of the thesis.

## 1.1 Lexical Functional Grammar

Even though we will mention approaches from different frameworks, our final analyses will be devised following the formal framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) (Bresnan (1982c), Kaplan and Bresnan (1982), Bresnan (2001)).

The basic characteristics of the formalism introduced by Kaplan and Bresnan (1982) are quite simple: we have two parallel levels of syntactic representation, the functional structure and the constituent structure. The former - f-structure- is an attribute-value matrix that represents grammatical relations and the latter - c-structure- is a phrase structure tree that represents linear relations between phrases.

F-structure offers underlying grammatical relations in a way that can be regularly applied across languages. The notions of grammatical relations such as SUBJECT or OBJECT are key to this framework. The set of said grammatical functions is available to all languages even though a particular language may use only some of them. The inventory of grammatical functions include: SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ <sub>$\theta$</sub> , OBL( $\theta$ ), ADJ, COMP, XCOMP, ADJ, XADJ and POSS. The notions of TOPIC and FOCUS as grammatical functions are also relevant for the framework.

LFG is a lexicalist framework relying heavily on the lexicon. The lexicon includes lexical entries whose information is key in dealing with alternative relations in the language. Thus, rather than having transformational syntactic operations, we have



lexical operations that would result in different lexical entries to describe phenomena such as the passive-active alternation or locative inversion.

Basic LFG architecture for ‘*Peter saw Mary*’:

(1) **lexicon:**

*Peter*    ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘PETER’  
           ( $\uparrow$  NUM) = SG  
           ( $\uparrow$  PERS) = 3

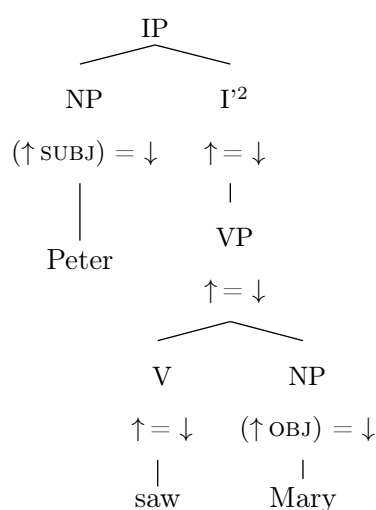
*saw*    ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘SEE < SUBJ, OBJ >’  
           ( $\uparrow$  TENSE) = PAST

*Mary*    ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘MARY’  
           ( $\uparrow$  NUM) = SG  
           ( $\uparrow$  PERS) = 3

**f-structure:**

$$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘SEE < SUBJ, OBJ >’} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘PETER’} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘MARY’} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

**c-structure:**<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>The notation  $\uparrow$  refers to the immediately dominating node and  $\downarrow$  refers to the node itself. The notation  $\uparrow \text{SUBJ} = \downarrow$  on the NP node says that the NP is the subject of the IP. The notation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  states that the information on the node goes into the same structure as the information from the mother node. And finally  $\uparrow \text{OBJ} = \downarrow$  on the last NP node states that the NP is the object.

F-structures contain three types of attributes: grammatical functions, a PRED attribute that refers to the main predicate on the structure and grammatical features that contain morphosyntactic information such as TENSE above. LFG adopts a version of X-bar theory (Chomsky, 1970) for c-structures.

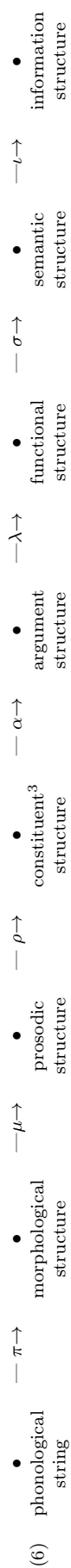
Then we have general conditions that ensure sentences in the language are well-formed (Falk, 2001, p. 63-64):

- (2) *Completeness Condition*: All argument functions specified in the value of the PRED feature must be present in the local f-structure. All functions that receive a thematic role must have a PRED value.
- (3) *Coherence Condition*: All argument functions in an f-structure must be selected by their local PRED. Any argument function that has its own PRED feature must be assigned a thematic role.
- (4) *Uniqueness Condition*: Every attribute has a unique value.
- (5) *Extended Coherence Condition*: All functions in an f-structure must be incorporated into the semantics. Argument functions are subject to the Coherence Condition. Overlay functions must be identified with arguments or adjuncts. Adjuncts must be in f-structures containing PREDS.

We have just seen a very basic introduction to syntactic representation. The overall theory of language in LFG was later generalised further and makes use of parallel architecture that includes distinct projections that are linked by functional correspondences. The different parallel structures are represented by Asudeh (2012) as in (6).

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<sup>2</sup>This tree is just illustrative, and we are leaving the I' node for clarity purposes, however, we could just have the IP collapsed and branching out to NP and VP to comply with *Economy of Expression*, which states that all syntactic phrase structure nodes are optional and are not used unless required by independent principles (completeness, coherence, semantic expressivity).




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c- and f-structures are also linked between them by  $\phi$

LFG is then based on the relation of correspondence between all the structures. The c-structure and f-structure are linked through  $\phi$ , a non-derivational correspondence that is co-present as parallel. The same holds for correspondence between the other structures as seen in (6).

### 1.1.1 Argument Structure

Out of all the different structures outlined in (6) above - and aside from f- and c-structures- argument structure is central to our analysis throughout this thesis.

In general terms, a predicate defines the relations between participants, which are the *arguments* of the predicate. The predicate determines how many arguments it takes. Consider the contrast in the following examples:

- (7) (a) The girl sneezed.  
      (b) \*The girl sneezed the book.
- (8) (a) The girl hit the table  
      (b) \*The girl hit
- (9) (a) The girl put the book on the table  
      (b) \*The girl put  
      (c) \*The girl put the book

The number of participants in examples (b) and (c) does not match what the predicate has specified on its argument structure (i.e. one argument for ‘sneeze’, two for ‘hit’ and three for ‘put’), hence why those sentences are ungrammatical.

There is a correspondence function that maps the arguments of a given predicate onto the grammatical functions listed above (SUBJ, OBJ etc.). This correspondence is not random but follows specific principles and is also partially defined by the semantics of the predicate.

By and large, as defined by Alsina (1996, p.6), argument structure is “the minimal information of predicates necessary for deriving their syntactic frame, or subcat-

egorization, and for deriving their alternative syntactic frames when an alternation exists”.

The correspondence between arguments and syntactic functions seems to show some regularities so arguments that are semantically similar are grouped into classes of arguments or *thematic roles*. The most relevant property of an argument is not its thematic role properties but rather its position in relation to other arguments in the structure (Alsina, 1996). This has served as motivation to propose a Hierarchy of Thematic Roles. A given predicate has a list of argument roles that are ordered by the thematic hierarchy as described by Bresnan and Zaenen (1990):

- (10) *agent*  $\langle$  *beneficiary*  $\langle$  *experiencer/goal*  $\langle$  *instrument*  $\langle$  *patient/theme*  $\langle$  *locative*

This ranking of arguments means we can easily identify the most prominent argument in an a-structure, which will be relevant for the mapping of arguments onto syntactic functions.

However, this representation of a-structure is only telling us how many arguments a predicate may have and their ordering. We do not have enough information yet to decide what syntactic function can be assigned to any of these roles.

#### 1.1.1.1 Entailments and proto-properties

Dowty (1991) proposes to enrich the structure presented above so that it can capture some relevant distinctions and solve issues such as unclear boundaries between some roles. He claims the roles as above in (10) are not discrete categories and so proposes to break them apart into semantic entailments. This way, depending on the amount of entailments an argument presents, it will fit into a role type description. He also claims that “when we accept that arguments may have ‘different degrees of membership’ in a role type, we can see that we really need only two role types to describe argument selection efficiently”(Dowty, 1991, pp. 571-72). He gives these two types the labels PROTO-AGENT and PROTO-PATIENT. These proto-types or proto-roles display the following preliminary properties:

- (11) “Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role:

- (a) volitional involvement in the event or state
  - (b) sentience (and/or perception)
  - (c) causing an event or change of state in another participant
  - (d) movement (relative to the position of another participant)
  - (e) (exists independently of the event named by the verb)
- (12) Contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role:
- (a) undergoes change of state
  - (b) incremental theme
  - (c) causally affected by another participant
  - (d) stationary relative to movement of another participant
  - (e) (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)”
- (Dowty, 1991, p. 572)
- He then proposes the following selection principle and characteristics to explain the way the proto-roles above get involved in argument selection (Dowty, 1991, p. 576):
- (13) “ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE: In predicates with grammatical subject and object, the argument for which the predicate entails the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as the subject of the predicate; the argument having the greatest number of Proto-Patient entailments will be lexicalized as the direct object.
- (14) COROLLARY 1: If two arguments of a relation have (approximately) equal numbers of entailed Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient properties, then either or both may be lexicalized as the subject (and similarly for objects).
- (15) COROLLARY 2: With a three-place predicate, the nonsubject argument having the greater number of entailed Proto-Patient properties will be lexicalized as the direct object and the nonsubject argument having fewer entailed Proto-

Patient properties will be lexicalized as an oblique or prepositional object (and if two nonsubject arguments have approximately equal numbers of entailed P-Patient properties, either or both may be lexicalized as direct object).

- (16) NONDISCRETENESS: Proto-roles, obviously, do not classify arguments exhaustively (some arguments have neither role) or uniquely (some arguments may share the same role) or discretely (some arguments could qualify partially but equally for both proto-roles)."

LFG's model of argument structure is closely related to Dowty (1991)'s proposal and will be outlined in the following section.

### 1.1.1.2 Lexical Mapping Theory

The basic assumptions of Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) relevant for this study are based on Bresnan and Zaenen (1990) and Zaenen and Engdahl (1994). At the syntactic level, LMT classifies the arguments through the a-structure features  $[\pm o(bjective)]$  and  $[\pm r(estricted) \text{ syntactic function}]$  (Bresnan and Zaenen, 1990). These features are determined by the following basic principles, which are general across languages:

- |      |                              |        |
|------|------------------------------|--------|
|      | patientlike roles:           | $[-r]$ |
| (17) | secondary patientlike roles: | $[+o]$ |
|      | other semantic roles:        | $[-o]$ |

These features also constrain the mapping of roles onto syntactic functions, giving as a result the following grouping into natural classes:

(18)

		$[-r]$	$[+r]$
	$[-o]$	SUBJ	OBL <sub><math>\theta</math></sub>
	$[+o]$	OBJ	OBJ <sub><math>\theta</math></sub>

The *minus* features define syntactic functions that are less marked, so the grouping in (18) can be considered a markedness hierarchy of syntactic functions -being the subject the least marked and the restricted object the most marked (Bresnan and Zaenen, 1990). This markedness of grammatical functions is key in determining the

mapping onto syntactic functions, as formulated in the following mapping principles (Kibort, 2004, p. 345):

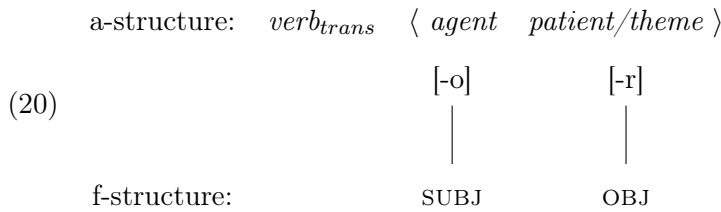
(19) (a) Subject roles:

(i) a [-o] argument is mapped onto SUBJ when initial in the argument structure; otherwise:

(ii) a [-r] argument is mapped onto SUBJ.

(b) Other roles are mapped onto the lowest (i.e. most marked) compatible function on the markedness hierarchy.

Following the principles above, a transitive predicate would be mapped as follows:



Kibort (2004) revises the basic notions in LFG for argument structure and Lexical Mapping Theory. She argues for a separation of the semantic level of thematic roles and the syntactic level of argument positions. She suggests that after this separation, the syntactic representation of a predicate's subcategorisation pattern should have priority over the semantic representation of the roles that link to argument positions. Therefore, the following ordering of syntactic positions is suggested (Kibort, 2004, p. 354):

(21) ⟨ arg<sub>1</sub>   arg<sub>2</sub>   arg<sub>3</sub>   arg<sub>4</sub>   ...   arg<sub>n</sub> ⟩  
       [-o]/[-r]   [-r]   [+o]   [-o]        [-o]

She proposes the reformulated mapping principle in (23) based on the following markedness hierarchy of syntactic functions:

(22) [-o]/[-r] SUBJ   >   [-r]/[+o] OBJ, [-o]/[+r] OBL<sub>θ</sub>   >   [+o]/[+r] OBJ<sub>θ</sub>

(23) "MAPPING PRINCIPLE

The ordered arguments are mapped onto the highest (i.e. least marked) compatible function on the markedness hierarchy." (Kibort, 2004, p. 358)



This new mapping principle would still yield the expected results for a transitive verb in contrast with (20):

$$\begin{array}{cc}
 x & y \\
 | & | \\
 (24) \quad \langle \text{arg} & \text{arg} \rangle \\
 [-o] & [-r] \\
 \text{SUBJ} & \text{OBJ}
 \end{array}$$

For the rest of the dissertation, we will adopt the version of Lexical Mapping Theory as formulated by Kibort (2004) and Kibort (2008).

### 1.1.2 Information Structure

Another key structure from (6) that will be relevant to our study is information structure. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011, p. 45) define information structure as “the level of sentence organisation which represents how the speaker structures the utterance in context in order to facilitate information exchange”.

The representation of information can be divided into *old information* that is known to the addressee and *new information*, which provides the addressee with the appropriate mental representation of the information. This distinction is the basis for the definition of the different units of information structure (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva, 2011), mainly FOCUS and TOPIC. The notion of FOCUS is the most relevant for our discussion of dative weak pronouns, as it is the function that provides new content, and as such it has to be expressed in the sentence. Some syntactic elements mark focus explicitly, such as wh-questions.

As previously mentioned, the notions of FOCUS and TOPIC as grammatical functions are relevant for LFG, so it is important to discuss the interaction between syntax and information structure.

The features FOCUS and TOPIC in LFG are usually used to label displaced constituents in unbounded dependency constructions, such as questions or relative clauses. Crucially, “when the features TOPIC and FOCUS appear at f-structure, they are taken to be **grammaticalised** discourse functions whose synchronic role is purely

syntactic, related to but different from the information-structure roles of topic and focus”(Dalrymple and Nikolaeva, 2011, p. 62). This implies that TOPIC and FOCUS are added to the set of grammatical functions. So if we take our illustrative sentence ‘*Peter saw Mary*’ and turn it into the question ‘*Who did Peter see*’, our f-structure will be as follows:

$$(25) \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'SEE < SUBJ, OBJ >'} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\ \text{FOCUS} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{PRON} & \text{WH} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'PETER'} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} & \text{_____} \end{array} \right]$$

We see in (25) that the initial element ‘*who*’ has two different functions: FOCUS and OBJ. We therefore need to establish a functional control relation between the discourse function and argument function as follows:

$$(26) (\uparrow \text{FOCUS}) = (\uparrow \text{OBJ})$$

A discourse function must be linked to an argument function as stated by the Extended Coherence Condition (Dalrymple et al., 1994):

- (27) An f-structure is locally coherent iff all the governable grammatical functions that it contains are governed by a local predicate. The functions TOPIC and FOCUS must be linked to predicate argument structure either by being functionally identified with subcategorised functions or by anaphorically binding subcategorised functions. An f-structure is coherent iff all its subsidiary f-structures are locally coherent.

Similarly to what we discussed above in § 1.1.1.1 regarding semantic roles and their decomposition into entailments, Mycock and Lowe (2014) propose to replace the very general *discourse function* with the set of semantic attributes below that define discourse functions more accurately based on pragmatic prominence and informational links between utterance and context:

- (28) **ABOUTNESS (ABOUT $\pm$ )**. The proposition expressed is about this meaning, in the sense that it represents a matter of current concern

and is the pivot for truth value assessment.

- (29) **INFORMATIVENESS (INFORM $\pm$ )**. A relation is established between this meaning and other elements of the relevant proposition, conveying new information and changing the addressee's representation of the world as a result.
- (30) **UPDATE (UPDATE $\pm$ )**. This meaning provides an information update that develops the communication due to its novel information structure status relative to the current discourse context.
- (31) **DISCOURSE NEWNESS (DISC\_NEW $\pm$ )**. A meaning explicitly evoked in the discourse.
- (32) **HEARER NEWNESS (HEAR\_NEW $\pm$ )**. A meaning that cannot reasonably be assumed to be already known to the addressee.

The possible combinations of the features above can capture the traditional distinctions and also define four discourse functions (Mycock and Lowe, 2014): *Topic Establisher*, a semantic unit that is a topic for the first time; *Continuing Topic* for a constant or repeated topic; *Focus New Information* provides information that is not shared by the interlocutors, and *Background Information*. We will be referring to information structure especially in Chapter 3, and FOCUS will be the most relevant role for our purposes. Below is the description of this role as defined by Mycock and Lowe (2014):

(33)

	ABOUT	INFORM	UPDATE	DISC_NEW	HEAR_NEW
<b>Focus<sub>ni</sub></b>	-	+	+	+	$\pm$

We have this far outlined the basic machinery of LFG that will serve as basis for our analyses throughout this study. More specific details will be further developed when they become relevant for the discussion in each chapter.

## 1.2 Outline of this study

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows: In Chapter 2, we give a very general account of key literature about the so-called clitics, from the very concept of word,

to the different types of clitics. We present the paradigm of Spanish weak pronouns and describe some of their features and will try to establish whether they can be accommodated into the group of clitics, or somewhere else. We will conclude that some of the discussion, though very interesting and challenging, is irrelevant in terms of what we are trying to accomplish with this study: a general formal characterization of Spanish dative weak pronominals. This introductory chapter will provide general description of all types of weak pronouns (both accusative and dative) in regards to their distribution, position in sentence and other aspects of their behaviour that have been challenging in the literature of this topic.

We then move on to the first set of datives we find pose some challenges. After introducing dative pronominals in general, in Chapter 3, we describe dative pronominals that are part of the subcategorization pattern of a predicate, i.e. selected datives. We put our focus in this chapter on datives that appear in the so-called *ditransitive* construction. We outline previous approaches that claim Spanish shows a kind of *Double Object Construction* similar to the English one. We will argue against such analysis and concentrate on a different treatment of the dative pronoun, focusing on its distribution and its semantic contribution. We will pay closer attention to instances of doubling when a weak pronoun and a noun phrase appear together in the sentence but refer to one same entity. We will treat these cases of doubling in a way that we believe to be quite innovative by giving both items distinct syntactic activity in the f-structure and ensuring we properly deal with their closely connected relationship by syntactic constraints and through semantic description at the information structure level.

We continue to discuss selected datives in Chapter 4. In this chapter, however, we will focus on the so-called psychological predicates which involve alternative mappings of similar thematic roles. We will devote our attention to a group of psychological predicates that displays a pattern which includes an experiencer that takes the form of a dative weak pronoun. We will consider whether this dative pronoun can be considered a subject by applying traditional diagnostics for subjecthood. We will also examine previous approaches that deal with these predicates in various

ways. We will abstract away from treatments that consider the dative as any sort of subject function and will focus on analysing it as an objective function, which is the most widely proposed view in LFG in any case. However, we will slightly modify these approaches to properly accommodate the features that this dative shows and will use tools from Lexical Mapping Theory to account for our proposal.

In Chapter 5 we investigate a set of datives that do not seem to be part of the subcategorization patterns of the verb and that have not received much attention in Spanish. We label them *non-selected* as opposed to the datives discussed in previous chapters. Accounts of these datives in other languages have grouped them based on the meaning they contribute. This classification consists of five different types. We will examine whether we can find instances of all five types in Spanish and will establish a wider division based on their syntactic properties. We will define them as belonging to two possible types: a group of *non-selected arguments* that can be easily derived through lexical operations and a group of *non-argument datives*.

We will conclude this study by summarising our findings and outlining points that can be subject to further research in Chapter 6.



# Spanish Weak Pronouns - Overview

## 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we consider the status, role and function of Spanish weak pronouns in general. Subsequent chapters will focus on what we call dative pronouns. After a general description, we will consider the external morphosyntactic status of weak pronouns by reviewing some traditional literature on the topic of the so-called ‘*clitics*’ and discussion on how to classify these items. Ultimately we will not settle this issue for these pronouns but will show that whether we are concerned with one syntactic word or two syntactic words, is independent of the issues which we will pursue in the rest of the thesis. Following this in the chapter, we turn to a description of aspects of the syntax/function of these pronouns such as their position in the sentence and in regards with the verb (enclitics or proclitics), their behaviour when we have a cluster of more than one pronoun, their binding properties, their ability to combine with non-finite forms and to co-occur with a referential expression in a phenomenon known as *doubling*, their interaction with complex predicates and their use as elements that are not lexically required by the verb.

## 2.2 Weak pronominal system

The weak pronominal system<sup>1</sup> in Spanish consists of unstressed pronouns that *normally* play the role of verbal complements and semantically represent the corresponding arguments.

Number	Person	Accusative	Dative	Reflexive
<i>singular</i>	1	me	me	me
	2	te	te	te
	3	lo (MASC.) / la (FEM.)	le / se	se
<i>plural</i>	1	nos	nos	nos
	2	os	os	os
	3	los (MASC.) / las (FEM.)	les / se	se

First and second person forms show no gender, case or reflexive variation. Third person forms have a reflexive form “se” and distinct forms for the dative - *le/les* - and accusative, which also shows gender distinct forms - *lo/la/los/las*.

As noted by Bosque and Demonte (1999), these forms, even if they belong to the same paradigm, are not completely comparable: first and second person forms show some parallelism while third person forms seem to deviate from them. A first reason for that separation could be historical since first and second person forms are derived from Latin personal pronouns -which show almost identical accusative forms (*me, te, nos, vos*<sup>2</sup>). In contrast, third person forms come from the Latin demonstrative, both from accusative and dative forms: *illum, illam, illi*. It is also within this class of third

<sup>1</sup>For reference and contrast, the paradigm of strong pronouns is given below:

Number	Person	Nominative	Prepositional
<i>singular</i>	1	yo	mí (conmigo)
	2	tí	tí (contigo)
	3	él (MASC.) ella (FEM.) usted (2SG.FORMAL)	él (MASC.) ella (FEM.) usted (2SG.FORMAL)
<i>plural</i>	1	nosotros (MASC.) / nosotras (FEM.)	nosotros (MASC.) / nosotras (FEM.)
	2	vosotros (MASC.) / vosotras (FEM.)	vosotros (MASC.) / vosotras (FEM.)
	3	ellos (MASC.) ellas (FEM.) ustedes (2PL.FORMAL)	ellos (MASC.) ellas (FEM.) ustedes (2PL.FORMAL)

<sup>2</sup>The Spanish dative pronouns seem to have been assimilated from the Latin accusative and Latin dative pronouns have not been kept: *mihi, tibi, nobis, vobis*.



person forms that we find a contrast between accusative and dative pronouns. First and second person forms do not have a (non-) reflexive distinct form, as opposed to third person forms, which also reflects the Latin system which shows reflexive third person forms - being *se* the relevant form inherited in Spanish.

## 2.3 Issues of Terminology

Before we can begin to describe the main characteristics of these items, we need to address a main debate that has been recurrent around the term *clitic* and what items could actually be labelled as such. A major issue in the literature is the status of the morphosyntactic external form of the weak pronoun. We will summarise the debate and the issues as a background for this study overall, even though terminology will not be a determining factor for the phenomena we are interested in.

### 2.3.1 Affixes / clitics / words controversy

There has been lack of agreement on whether to categorise these items as affixes or independent words (or clitics, if an appropriate definition for “clitic” could be provided). We are going to provide an overview of the main theoretical views, which have widely been accepted as initiated by Zwicky (1977) and responses and criticism pointed out by other authors (Gerlach (2002), González-López (2009)...)

#### 2.3.1.1 Definition of the term ‘clitic’

These weak pronouns are often and widely referred to as *clitics*. This term originates from the Ancient Greek verb *klinein* ‘to lean on’ (Gerlach, 2002, p. 2). Based on this idea of ‘leaning on’, it could be roughly stated that clitics are items that cannot occur independently, they need another item they can lean on, a *host*. If we were to apply this definition strictly, we would find that there are many items across languages that this label could be applied to. This is one of the reasons why this term is controversial, since it may include items from virtually any category in virtually any language. This also makes it even harder to come up with a way of

characterizing these items universally. We will review some of the previous literature dealing with this issue.

### 2.3.1.2 Zwicky's criteria

Zwicky (1977)'s essay "On Clitics" is by and large considered by many as a good starting point of the research on this topic. In his essay, Zwicky addresses the fact that in many languages some items seem to be neither independent words nor undoubtedly affixes. In order to figure out how to distinguish between words and affixes, he proposes some principles or properties that apply to words and affixes in different ways, hence being helpful in determining whether an item is a word or an affix. He takes into consideration the following properties: *ordering*, *internal Shandi*, *binding*, *construction with affixes*, *rule immunity* and *accent*. In order to better understand those principles, we are sometimes going to follow Anderson (2005)'s explanation on Zwicky's essay -in those instances where we find Anderson's explanation more straight forward- or Zwicky's itself when it is less opaque.

- "Ordering. Affix order within the word is quite rigid, while word order within phrases can vary". (Anderson, 2005, p. 9). In principle, a change in word order is more likely to appear than a change in word - internal affix order. Besides, if the affix order varies, the meaning is going to be altered more easily than it happens with words within phrases. Anderson (2005) remarks that this assumption is very general and obviously fluctuates from language to language, but that it is a coherent generalisation overall.
- "Internal Sandhi: In many languages there is a set of phonological rules of internal sandhi: these apply only within words, never across boundaries between two words"(Zwicky, 1977, p. 2). The term *shandi* comes from Sanskrit and means 'joining'. This term is used in linguistics to refer to the processes a linguistic item such as a word or other formative may undergo due to the influence of an adjacent item. At first sight, this seems like a straightforward statement. However, it can become tricky since establishing what a word is

and where its boundaries are, is not always obvious.<sup>3</sup>

- “Binding: This is Zwicky’s term for the fact that some morphological elements can appear alone, while others only occur in combination. The latter (‘Bound Morphemes’) are affixes, while words are free”(Anderson, 2005, p. 9). Again we are presented with a tricky piece of information. How do we establish when an element is free or occurring in combination? Orthography may seem helpful in solving this but it can actually be deceiving so we have to be careful when applying this criterion too.
- “Construction with Affixes: A morpheme in construction with an affix is either a base or an affix” (Zwicky, 1977, p. 2). The problem with this criterion may arise when trying to determine what is a base or what is an affix since sometimes the boundaries are not clearly -or at all- identified<sup>4</sup>.
- “Rule immunity: Syntactic rules do not affect affixes, since these are proper parts of words” (Anderson, 2005, p. 10). Thus, if we come across an element that has been affected by a syntactic operation, it therefore must be a word.
- “Accent: Morphemes that do not bear an independent accent are affixes” (Zwicky, 1977, p. 3). If this were to be true, there would be a lot of elements in a language that would be affixes and that is not entirely the case -or at least there has not been agreement on it. This could be the case of weak pronouns or contracted auxiliaries in English, where even if not completely words, they are not clearly affixes either.

This last point leads us to the core of the problem: there are some elements in the language that do not fit into the category of ‘words’ or ‘affixes’ according to the six criteria abovementioned. These items are in principle the so-called clitics.

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<sup>3</sup> There is also lack of agreement on the definitions of terms such as word, lexeme, base, root or stem and how to deal with the way inflection, derivation or compounding work in the language. For an overview and some recent approaches see discussions in Spencer (1991), Aronoff (1992), Aronoff (1994), Stump (2001), Bonami and Boyé (2006), or Spencer (2012).

<sup>4</sup>See footnote 3.

### 2.3.1.3 Classes of clitics

Zwicky (1977) identifies three different types of clitics:

1. A first class that he labels *special clitic*: “an unaccented bound form acts as a variant of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning and with similar phonological makeup”(Zwicky, 1977, p. 3). He provides as examples the weak pronouns of Romance languages like the French pronouns *me* ‘me’ or *le* ‘him’ as opposed to *moi* or *lui*, the former being the weak counterpart of the latter, which typically occur after preposition:

- (1) a. Je vois Jean  
       I see Jean  
       ‘I see Jean’
- b. Je le vois  
       I him see  
       ‘I see him’
- c. Je vis avec lui  
       I live with him  
       ‘I live with him’

2. A second class of clitics labelled as *‘simple clitic’*: “a free morpheme, when unaccented, may be phonologically reduced, the resultant form being phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word”(Zwicky, 1977, p. 5). For this class, the examples include object pronouns in English, which are sometimes reduced in speech to the point of even becoming non - syllabic.
3. Cases where a morpheme that is always bound and always unaccented shows considerable syntactic freedom, in the sense that it can be associated with words of a variety of morphosyntactic categories. Frequently, such a bound word is semantically associated with an entire constituent while being phonologically attached to one word of this constituent, and ordinarily the bound word is located at the margins of the word, standing outside even inflectional affixes (Zwicky, 1977, p. 6). This type is labelled as *bound word*. The typical example is the Latin conjunction *-que* ‘and’, which semantically relates to a

whole constituent but it is attached to only one of its members. A famous example would be the Latin acronym SPQR that stands for ‘*Senatus Populusque Romanus*’

- (2) Senatus Populus=que Romanus  
 Senate people=and Roman  
 ‘The Senate and People of Rome’

#### 2.3.1.4 Responses to Zwicky

As noted by Klavans (1982), this typology is quite problematic. She considers Zwicky’s definitions of the different types of clitics to be vague and weak and so she provides numerous examples where his definitions fail to hold. According to Klavans (1982), some clitics could easily belong to more than one group simultaneously. Thus, Greek proclitics, for instance, could be both simple and special clitics, based on the definitions provided by Zwicky (1977), since they can not only appear as substitutes or different versions of words but also as phonologically reduced morphemes. The strongest criticism against Zwicky’s account is that he assumed that clitics are a distinct, separate category, not belonging at all with words or affixes, but being different, completely independent elements. He seemed to postulate a category that does not seem to be a syntactic terminal, nor a word internal element.

Not only Klavans (1982) questions this independent status of clitics; Everett (1996) categorically rejects the existence of clitics as such. He argues that pronominal clitics, agreement affixes and pronouns are just the result of inserting phi - features (roughly speaking, the semantic content expressed by number, person or gender) into different syntactic positions. His belief is that elements such as pronouns, clitics or agreement affixes are simply not present in the lexicon.

We could argue that one of the main conflicting issues about clitics is that the term clitic is many times used just as an umbrella term where every item that does not fit somewhere else ends up. For this reason we find that pronouns, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions that are considered “weak” have been labelled *clitics*. Therefore, coming up with a general characterisation of the alleged category of clitics is almost

impossible. More recently, there have been attempts to try to agree on certain features that a prototypical clitic would show.

Sometimes, however, even if one is presented with allegedly general criteria to determine whether an item is a word, an affix, or none of them and therefore maybe a clitic; one may struggle when applying those criteria to a language other than that used for the examples. Thus, Zwicky and Pullum (1983)'s criteria proved to be useful and quite straightforward for concluding that the English contracted negative particle 'n't' is actually an affix, for instance. However, when one tries to apply the same criteria to phenomena in another language, as we will do for Spanish in § 2.3.2, one may feel the need for different criteria since the ones that are available may be not perfectly and strictly relevant or useful for the purpose, which is why we could agree with the fact that an abstract definition of a canonical clitic might be perhaps more useful, even though a canonical example of a category might not even exist<sup>5</sup>.

However, Spencer and Luís (2012a) conclude that it would be difficult to characterize clitics and leave affixes or function words to one side, when they actually have many properties in common. They consider that the best solution is to leave the clitics in between affixes and function words as they seem to have the form properties of affixes and the distribution properties of function words.

### 2.3.2 Spanish weak pronouns: affixes, words or clitics?

We will now try to see if we can establish some clear criteria that could help us classify Spanish weak pronouns as affixes, (function) words or clitics. If we take Zwicky (1977)'s definition of simple clitics, i.e., optional variants of full forms that occur in the same positions (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983, p.503), we see that this would not properly fit in with the behaviour of the items we are discussing. Since similar French forms have been considered more like the special clitic type, it is understandable to assume a similar characterization for Spanish: an unaccented bound form acts as a variant of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning

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<sup>5</sup>See Brown et al. (2012) for examples and more details about Canonical Typology

and with similar phonological makeup (Zwicky, 1977, p. 3).

If this were a strictly true definition that we could apply to Spanish, weak pronouns in Spanish should be substitutes of strong - or stressed- pronouns. However, it is precisely when we have the stressed pronouns that weak pronouns are required to appear as well:

- (3) \*Llamo        a        él  
       call.PRS.1SG +ANIM 3.SG.PPL  
       ‘I call him’ (intended)
- (4) Lo<sub>i</sub>        llamo        a        él<sub>i</sub>  
       3.M.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG +ANIM 3.M.SG.PPL  
       ‘I call him’<sup>6</sup>

Judging by these examples, we see that the definition of special clitic does not accurately apply since it does not seem that the weak forms are actually variants of the stressed ones. They definitely do not appear in complementary distribution for the same position so they do not seem to be simple clitics either.

Zwicky (1977) recognised another type of clitic, a bound word. Bound words show quite a high degree of syntactic freedom and are capable of attaching to different categories. This is not the case of Spanish either since these weak pronouns are quite selective in choosing hosts: they always attach to verbs. As we have already seen, Spanish weak pronouns do not fit comfortably under the definition of clitics.

This does not necessarily mean they are not clitics at all, but it certainly highlights the fact that it is really complex to firstly define what a clitic is and also hints that defining these weak pronouns will not be easy either. Let us now turn to the six criteria proposed by Zwicky and Pullum (1983):

- Criterion A: Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems: The clitics can attach to words of virtually any category (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983, pp. 503 - 504). As we have mentioned, in Spanish these pronouns attach

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<sup>6</sup>Since the weak pronoun ‘lo’ is enough to fulfill the lexical requirements of the verb, the presence of the strong form makes this an emphatic construction.

only to verbs, and no other word can intervene between the pronoun and the verb, regardless of the position of the verb (enclitic or proclitic):

- (5) a. Lo compré ayer  
 3.M.SG.ACC buy.PST.1SG yesterday  
 ‘I bought it yesterday’.
- b. \*Lo ayer compré
- (6) a. No lo compré ayer  
 NEG 3.M.SG.ACC buy.PST.1SG yesterday  
 ‘I did not buy it yesterday’.
- b. \*Lo no compré ayer
- (7) a. Quise comprar=lo ayer  
 want.PST.1SG buy.INF=3.M.SG.ACC yesterday  
 ‘I wanted to buy it yesterday’
- b. \*\*\*Quise comprar-ayer=lo  
 want.PST.1SG buy.INF-yesterday=3M.SG.ACC

According to criterion A, these pronouns behave more like affixes. In the case of proclitics one might doubt whether they actually attach to the verb or to the word preceding them -which would give a wider variety of hosts that could be selected. However, taking into consideration on the one hand that no other element can be placed between the pronoun and the verb, and on the other hand, that there are instances of sentences that present only the pronoun and the verb, it seems obvious the verb is indeed the host:

- (8) Lo compré  
 3.M.SG.ACC buy.PST.1SG  
 ‘I bought it’

- Criterion B: “Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups” Zwicky and Pullum (1983, p. 504). Zwicky and Pullum (1983) take inflectional paradigms as an example, being the English *stride* notable for its lack of a past participle form, whereas “there are no cases where a particular host word fails to combine with the clitic” (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983, p. 505).



There could be room for discussion if we consider the so-called clitic clusters. A combination of a weak pronoun and a verb is well behaved in contexts where it can be expected. If we considered clitic clusters as combining together before attaching to the verb, this would still show no gaps. However, if we believe one clitic hosts another before attaching to the verb, we would find some gaps there. Not all clitics can combine together, there are some constraints in their ordering and whether they can co-exist. In general terms, the ordering of both pronouns, when they appear together, is indirect object pronoun first, followed by the direct object pronoun. However, on closer look, it seems that not all pronouns from one set, can combine with all pronouns in the other set. It is difficult however, to conclude whether this lack of some combinations is indeed arbitrary or if, as Spencer (2012) points out, the lack of some of the possible combinations stems from the fact that those combinations would be impossible to pronounce or process. We will discuss the constraints on possible combinations of these pronouns in § 2.4.2. It is difficult to come up with relevant examples, since the dative weak pronoun for instance can have different functions, which might be a factor to take into account too.

- (9) a. Yo            me            entrego            a Pedro  
           1.SG.NOM 1.SG.REFL devote.PRS.1SG to Pedro  
           ‘I devote myself to Pedro’
- b. ?Yo            me            le            entrego            (a Pedro)  
           1.SG.NOM 1.SG.REFL 3.SG.DAT devote.PRS.1SG to Pedro

The probable ungrammaticality of (9b) follows from the constraints on clitic clusters which state that if there is a third person pronoun it must be the direct object (Bonet i Alsina, 1991). In (9b), we have a pronominal verb with a reflexive pronoun which is functioning as direct object but is however in the first person, which would clash with the general constraint. The syncretism in first person forms is not helpful either, since it could lead to ambiguity and make it more difficult to process: it should be expected to find a dative form first based on the general constraints. All in all, a sentence such as (9b) seems to raise quite a few issues since changing the order of the pronouns would

not make (9b) better. We believe, however, these issues are independent from arbitrary gaps in a paradigm or host - clitic combination. Thus, we are inclined to believe that this criterion is either inconclusive for Spanish or even that it might make us lean more towards treating these pronouns as clitics.

- Criterion C: Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups. No morphophonological idiosyncrasies exist within clitic groups - no cases where some particular host - clitic combination shows an unexpected phonological form (pp. 504 - 505 ). The only pronoun that shows allomorphy is the third person dative pronoun *le*. When it is in combination with a direct object pronoun, it becomes *se*:

- (10) a.  $Le_i$             doy            un            regalo (a  $Juan_i$ )  
           3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift    to Juan  
           ‘I give a gift to Juan’
- b.  $Se_i$             lo            doy            (a  $Juan_i$ )  
           3.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PRS.1SG to Juan  
           ‘I give it to Juan’

However, it is also interesting to examine if there are idiosyncrasies affecting the host so that it shows any alterations. It actually seems to be the case when we combine the imperative forms of some verbs with the pronouns:

- (11) Comed            el            bocadillo  
       eat.IMP.2PL the.M.SG sandwich  
       ‘Eat the sandwich!’
- (12) Comed=lo  
       eat.IMP.2PL=3.M.SG.ACC  
       ‘Eat it!’
- (13) Comé=os=lo  
       eat.IMP.2PL=2.PL.REFL=3.M.SG.ACC  
       Eat yourselves it  
       ‘Eat it!’

As we see in (13), the final *-d* of the imperative form, which we can see in (11) and (12), has been dropped. Bermúdez-Otero and Payne (2011) explain

how this alternation is arbitrary and does not follow from regular phonological processes. This null allomorph is triggered solely by the presence of the pronoun *os*. This dropping of the final sound of an imperative form is found also in the form of the first person of the plural, which is not specifically an imperative form but a subjunctive form.

- (14) Concentremos                      nuestros              esfuerzos  
 concentratePRS.SBJV.1PL POSS.M.1.PL effort.PL  
 ‘Let us concentrate our efforts’

- (15) Centrémolo=nos  
 concentratePRS.SBJV.1PL=1.PL.REFL  
 ‘Let us concentrate ourselves’

In (15) the final -s we see in (14) has been dropped. This behaviour is systematic and there are only three contexts for an orthographic change (DPD, 2005):

1. Before an enclitic *nos*, the final -s of the first person plural subjunctive used with an imperative value (also referred to as exhortative subjunctive) as in (15).
2. Second person plural imperative drops the final -d when the enclitic *os* is added as in (13). There is only one exception to this, the imperative form of ‘to go’, which is *idos* but it is not frequently used by speakers, who tend to use “incorrect” forms such as *?iros* or *ios*.
3. If the pronoun *se* is added to a verbal form ending in -s, the resulting double ‘s’ is reduced to only one (*pongámoselo* vs *\*pongámosselo*). This does not happen, however, if we have the pronoun *nos* attached to a verbal form that ends in -n, in which case the double ‘n’ is kept (*dígannos* vs *díganos*<sup>7</sup>) :

- (16) a. pongámo=se=lo  
 put.PRS.SBJV.1PL=3.SG.DAT=3.M.SG.ACC

<sup>7</sup>In this case, the -nn- allows us to differentiate between plural (*dígannos* - you -plural and formal- tell us) and singular (*díganos* - ‘you’ - singular and formal- ‘tell us’).

‘Put it on him/her/it’ (possible context: agreeing on what a child will wear)

- b. dígan=nos  
tell.PRS.SBJV.3PL=1.PL.DAT  
‘Tell us<sup>8</sup>’

Within this criterion, we could also include the behaviour of stress and physical accentuation when these pronouns come into play. Generally speaking, there seems to be some tendency for the stress to fall within the so-called three-syllable window at the right edge of the word<sup>9</sup>. This means that even if we cannot predict on which exact syllable the stress will be, it should be on one of the three last syllables of a word. There seems to be some considerations to take into account regarding this more or less general pattern: adverbs formed by adding the suffix *-mente* (‘-ly’) to adjectives and verbal forms that include two weak personal pronouns:

- (17) *lógica,mente*  
logical-ly  
‘logically’

According to Real Academia Española (1999), compound words behave as a single word and follow therefore the general rules. However, adverbs ending in *-mente* as seen in (17) are an exception. These adverbs are actually pronounced with two stresses, one falling on the adjective and one on the derivative suffix *-mente* and if the original adjective had an orthographical accent mark prior to derivation, this is kept: *‘fácil,mente* (‘easily’), *‘rápida,mente* (‘quickly’) but *maravillosa,mente* (‘wonderfully’). The accent mark in (17) is kept from the adjective *lógica* (DPD, 2005) and it seems that the incorporation of the derivational suffix *-mente* does not affect it.

We will contrast next the behaviour of stress when weak pronouns are attached to verbal forms:

<sup>8</sup>The form of the verb is 3PL but the meaning is 2PL.FORMAL.

<sup>9</sup>For proper discussion of Spanish stress patterns see Harris (1983), Harris (1987), Roca (1988), Oltra-Massuet and Arregi (2005), Roca (2005), Roca (2006), Gibson (2011) and Doner (2013) or for more general description see Real Academia Española (1999).

- (18) a. Ex'plica  
explainIMP.2SG/PRS.3SG  
'Explain / (s)he explains'
- b. ex'plica=me=lo  
explainIMP.2SG=1.SG.DAT=3.SG.ACC  
'Explain it to me!'

In (18b) we can see that the pronouns do become part of the word orthographically, which is reflected in the placement of the accent mark, but the stress is not shifted. Without the pronouns, the imperative form of the verb ‘to explain’ would be *ex'plica* as seen in (18a), with stress on the penultimate syllable, which does not require an orthographic accent mark as it follows the expected general rules. The stress is kept in the same syllable in (18b) but as shown by the placement of the accent mark, this syllable is now outside the three syllable window and it is not the penultimate anymore. If these items were affixes, we could expect them to influence the lexical stress pattern, shifting the stress rightwards in accordance to expectations for Spanish words to conform with the three-syllable window. It is difficult however, to decide whether this actually tells us anything about the treatment of these pronouns as affixes or not, firstly because we are dealing with weak elements that never carry stress and also because this might be an exception, as we know happens with some other elements of the language as seen above.

- Criterion D: Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups. There are no cases where the contribution of these clitics to sentence meaning is not identical to the contribution of their associated full forms. Inflectional formations, in contrast, do occasionally show idiosyncratic semantics (pp. 504 - 505). This criterion proves quite complicated to examine in Spanish, especially with some uses of the dative pronoun and when we have an accusative weak pronoun because a strong pronoun can never appear without the weak one, so they are not in complementary distribution:

- (19) a. Llamó a Marta  
Call.PRS.1SG +ANIM Marta

‘I call Marta’

- b. La                llamo  
3.F.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG

‘I call her’

But

- (20) a. \*Llamo            a            ella  
Call.PRS.1SG +ANIM 3.F.SG.PPL

- b. La                llamo            a            ella  
3.F.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG +ANIM 3.F.SG.PPL

‘I call her’

Furthermore, full forms have a [+human] reading as we will discuss in § 2.4, whereas weak pronouns can refer also to inanimate objects:

- (21) a. La                toco  
2.F.SG.ACC touch.PRS.1SG  
‘I touch it/her’ (= a stone / Marta)

- b. La                toco                a            ella  
2.F.SG.ACC touch.PRS.1SG +ANIM 3.F.SG.PPL  
‘I touch her’ (= \*a stone / Marta)

We cannot easily contrast a pronoun with a full NP and there are not many instances of strong pronouns appearing without a weak one in constructions that can show a weak pronoun. Strong pronouns do appear without weak ones as subjects, and after prepositions - both of which do not have a weak pronoun counterpart or any possible combination with a weak pronoun that could refer back to the same entity:

- (22) Yo                como                un            bocadillo  
1SG.NOM eat.PRS.1SG a.M.SG sandwich  
‘I eat a sandwich’

- (23) Confío                en ti  
trust.PRS.1SG in 2.SG.PPL  
‘I trust you’

Some instances of full pronouns appearing without a weak one include cases with ellipsis, such as contrastive uses of the pronouns or as short answers to questions:

- (24) Te lo di a ti, no a ella  
 2.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PST.1SG DAT 2.SG.PPL not DAT 3.F.SG.PPL  
 ‘I gave it to you, not to her’

- (25) - A: ¿A quién se lo diste?  
 DAT who 3.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PST.2SG  
 ‘Who did you give it to?’

- B: A ella  
 DAT 3.F.SG.PPL  
 ‘To her’

In any case, the meaning contributed by the weak pronouns in the sentences above is the same - grammatical information pertaining to person, gender and number. Dative pronouns in ditransitive contexts as below show again no difference in meaning, both the weak and strong pronoun are semantically equivalent and a strong pronoun cannot appear without a weak one:

- (26) Juan me da un libro  
 Juan 1.SG.DAT givePRS.3SG a.M.SG book  
 ‘Juan gives me a book’

- (27) Juan \*(me) da un libro a mí  
 Juan 1.SG.DAT givePRS.3SG a.M.SG book DAT 1.SG  
 ‘Juan gives a book to me’

As we have previously discussed, what is strange or unexpected is the fact that ‘*me*’ is still required to appear together with *a mí*. The same thing applies to reflexive weak pronouns. The strong pronoun is accompanied by ‘self’ to convey that meaning of reflexivity, but we could not do without it, so again the weak pronoun and the ‘self’-phrase are equivalent:

- (28) a. Te lavas  
 2.SG.REFL wash.PRS.2SG  
 ‘You wash (yourself)’

- b. \*?Te        lavas        a        ti  
          2.SG.REFL wash.PRS.2SG +ANIM 2.SG.PPL  
          ‘You wash you’
- c. \*(Te)        lavas        a        ti        mismo  
          2.SG.REFL wash.PRS.2SG +ANIM 2.SG.PPL self.M.SG  
          ‘You wash yourself’<sup>10</sup>

We could posit that when we have a reflexive we get some semantic idiosyncrasies but they are quite subtle. However, it becomes much clearer if we take a look at what happens with non-argument datives, sometimes referred to as *ethical datives*. They are particularly tricky since they do not even share all properties among themselves. For this reason, they are usually divided into different groups (Franco and Huidobro, 2008). However, for our purpose here, we are going to take an example from one of the groups, which contains a type of clitic that has been labelled generally as aspectual clitics or reflexive non - argumental clitics. “The aspectual properties of these clitics are geared on the fact that they must take a non - bare direct object” (Franco and Huidobro, 2008, p. 216).

- (29) Yo        me        como        el        bocadillo  
          1.SG.NOM 1.SG.DAT eat.PRS.1SG the.M.SG sandwich  
          ‘I (myself) eat the sandwich’

There is no alternative to (29) which may present a strong pronoun either co-occurring with or in place of the weak pronoun. So then, we might find these pronouns have idiosyncratic meanings that are not found in contexts where they are actually arguments (benefactive, attitude holder, external possessor, etc. - see Chapter 5). This might again not be the strongest argument to help us decide what to label these items. If we believe the behaviour of non-argument datives proves that they show idiosyncratic semantics, we should get to the conclusion, according to criterion D, that these items are more affix-like.

<sup>10</sup>The strong pronoun here refers to the object (you do it to yourself). Compare with

(i) te        lavas        tú        mismo  
      2.SG.REFL wash.PRS.2SG 2.SG.PPL self  
      ‘You wash yourself’.

Here the strong pronoun refers to the subject (you do it yourself)



- Criterion E: syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups - no syntactic operations exist which treat a word combined with one of the clitics as a unit (pp. 504 - 506). This seems to work neatly for the elements Zwicky and Pullum (1983) discuss for English: the contracted forms of the auxiliary 'have': ('s, 've'). No syntactic operations treat these forms and the word they attach to as a unit.

For Spanish weak pronouns it means that if these pronouns are actually affixes, they should be affected as a whole by all syntactic operations. Heggie and Ordóñez (2005, p.4) provide some counterexamples for this criterion: “we find that syntactic rules may affect clitic placement. For instance, clitic climbing is sensitive to *wh* - islands in Spanish, as shown in the following contexts in which the clitic can climb over a declarative complementiser but not over an interrogative one”:

- (30) a. Tengo                      que comprar=lo  
           Have.PRS.1SG that buy.INF=3.M.SG.ACC
- b. Lo                      tengo                      que comprar  
           3.M.SG.ACC have.PRS.1SG that buy.INF
- ‘I have to buy it’
- (31) a. No sé                      si comprar=lo  
           NEG know.PRS.1SG if buy.INF=3.M.SG.ACC
- b. \*No lo                      sé                      si comprar  
           NEG 3.M.SG.ACC know.PRS.1SG if buy.INF
- ‘I don’t know whether to buy it’

What Heggie and Ordóñez (2005) point out here relates to the weak form itself, but what criterion E implies is that if the clitic is an affix then the verb and the clitic together should operate as a syntactic word and potentially it should be available to be affected by a syntactic operation. The relevant difference between (30) and (31) is that (31) contains a complementiser (*si*- ‘if’). Heggie and Ordóñez (2005)’s assumption predicts that clitic climbing should always be possible for declarative complements. That is not always the case:

- (32) a. El                    gobierno      permitió            derribar el                    edificio  
          The.M.SG government allow.PST.3SG demolish the.M.SG building  
          ‘The government allowed to demolish the building’
- b. El                    gobierno      permitió            derribar=lo  
          The.M.SG government allow.PST.3SG demolish=3.M.SG.ACC  
          ‘The government allowed to demolish it’
- c. \*El                    gobierno      lo                    permitió            derribar  
          The.M.SG government 3.M.SG.ACC allow.PST.3SG demolish  
          ‘The government allowed to demolish it’

It is possible, however, that these differences are related to whether the predicates can be considered monoclausal or biclausal - which is a discussion relevant to complex predicates or periphrastic forms, for instance. Therefore, it is not clear that this observation provides us with relevant information about external syntax or form itself.

- Criterion F: clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot (p. 504). This is the most puzzling and opaque of all six criteria since it is quite difficult to find relevant examples in Spanish. Both Spencer and Luís (2012b) and Heggie and Ordóñez (2005) provide examples of the third person plural ending attaching to clitics. Apparently, these are mainly found in some varieties of Caribbean Spanish and are definitely colloquial.

- (33) dígan=me (standard' form)  
Say<sub>PRS.SBJV.3PL=1.SG.DAT</sub>  
'Say to me' (formal)

- (34) diga=me-n  
SayPRS.SBJV.3PL=1.SG.DAT-PL  
'Say to me (formal in form but informal in use)'

The plural marker *-n* in (34) is coding the subject and we have a subjunctive form of the verb even though the meaning is imperative. That is because in Spanish there are only distinct imperative forms for second person. In the sentences above we have an example of an honorific or formal form, which is always coded by a third person form, hence why we have a subjunctive form.

but an imperative second person translation<sup>11</sup>. This is a weak argument that these pronouns are affixes: if affixes cannot attach to material containing clitics, but the plural does indeed attach as seen in (34), it would imply these items are therefore not clitics. However, this phenomenon definitely needs further assessment to establish how regular it is in the varieties of Spanish where it is used. And in any case, even if this could serve as an argument favouring that these items could be affixes in those varieties of Spanish; it does not apply to the variety used for this study or to most varieties, so it therefore does not tell us much about the issue we are discussing. If they are affixes, they are inflections themselves and cannot therefore inflect further. If they are clitics, plural or gender affixes should not be able to attach to them. However, if we take a look for instance at the variety of options for the third person accusative pronouns, namely *lo*, *la*, *los*, *las*, it may be difficult to argue all of them are individually different affixes instead of inflected forms stemming from a common base or lexeme, which can be associated with a vector of possibly different phonological representations (Bonami and Boyé, 2006, p. 4).

### 2.3.3 Summary

After having checked Spanish weak pronouns against Zwicky and Pullum (1983)'s six criteria we can conclude that, based on these particular six principles, Spanish weak pronouns do not fit comfortably in their definition of clitics or special clitics as per Zwicky (1977)'s definition. Our intuition about this issue is to follow the basic ideas in Everett (1996) or Bermúdez-Otero and Payne (2011) in claiming these elements are not *special clitics* even though our analysis will be independent of any specific terminology. It might be safer to follow Spencer and Luís (2012a) and state that these items lie in some in-between land, which is what makes them interesting since we will have to look at them at the interfaces between Morphology, Syntax and Semantics.

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<sup>11</sup>Note that the formal or honorific forms are used informally in many variants of Spanish so in those variants speakers use *usted/ustedes* - 'you (formal)'- forms, which conjugate as third person instead of *tú/vosotros* - 'you'- which are the standard informal second person forms.

As stated in Chapter 1, our analysis will be based on the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar, so we will make at least one general theoretical assumption regarding the treatment of these items. We assume the Lexical Integrity Principle based on its early statement by Simpson (1983) but further reformulated in LFG as follows:

(35) “Words are built out of different structural elements and by different principles of composition than syntactic phrases”.(Bresnan and Mchombo, 1995, p. 181)

(36) “Morphologically complete words are leaves of the c- structure tree and each leaf corresponds to one and only one c-structure node”.(Bresnan, 2001, p. 93)

Simply put, this means that the terminal nodes of a c-structure are morphologically complete words(Asudeh et al., 2008). This implies that no syntactic process can affect the internal morphology of these items. What is crucial for our purposes, however, is that both morphological and syntactic constituents can contribute information to the f-structure (Simpson (1983), Bresnan and Mchombo (1987), Bresnan and Mchombo (1995), Bresnan (2001)).

## 2.4 General characteristics

In this section, we will present some general features of these weak pronouns, including mention of those characteristics that have proven problematic. We will deal here with the position of clitics within the sentence, what they can attach to, how they combine with different verbal forms, their binding properties and the order in which they appear when we have a cluster consisting of more than one pronoun. We will try to be systematic with the use of terminology, but as explained above, the terminology is without theoretical commitment.

As pointed out by Bosque and Demonte (1999), weak pronouns can refer both to people and objects, whereas strong pronouns are restricted to personal reference:

(37) **Le**        **di**                **un**        **golpe**        (=a la mesa/a Marta)  
       3.DAT.SG give.PST.1SG a.M.SG hit.M.SG (=to the table/to Marta)

lit. ‘it/her I gave a hit (=to the table/to Marta)’

‘I hit it/her (=the table/Marta)’ (Bosque and Demonte, 1999, ex 42a, p.1223)

- (38) **Le**        **di**                    **un**        **golpe**        **a**        **ella** (= \*a la mesa/ a Marta)  
          3.DAT.SG give.PST.1SG a.M.SG hit.M.SG to her (= \*to the table/ to Marta)

lit. ‘her I gave a hit to her (= \*to the table/to Marta)’

‘I hit her (= \*the table/Marta)’ (Bosque and Demonte, 1999, ex 42b, p.1223)

It is also relevant to point out that strong and weak pronouns are not in complementary distribution - actually, a strong pronoun in an object position cannot occur without the presence of a weak one:

- (39) **\*(Te)**        **he**                    **llamado**        **a**        **ti**  
          DAT.2.SG have.PRS.1SG call.PASTPART a.DAT you.DAT

lit. ‘You I have called to you’

I have called you

Weak pronouns therefore alternate and co-occur with strong pronouns and can also do so with other referential expressions, a phenomenon known as *doubling* or *reduplication*. In most varieties of Spanish<sup>12</sup>, the possibilities for doubling or reduplication differ between direct and indirect objects:

- (40) **Le**        **di**                    **un**        **regalo** **a**        **Marta**  
          3.SG.DAT give.PST.1SG a.M.SG gift        DAT Marta

‘I gave a gift to Marta’.

- (41) a. **La**                    **nombraron**        **a**        **Mara**  
          3.F.SG.ACC mention.PST.3PL [+ANIM] Mara

‘They mentioned Mara’

[Limeño Spanish (Mayer, 2006)]

- b. **Nombraron**        **a**        **Mara**  
          mention.PST.3PL [+ANIM] Mara

‘They mentioned Mara’

[Standard Spanish]

<sup>12</sup>We will not be discussing varieties of Spanish in this study, we will be using mostly data from what has traditionally been called *Peninsular Spanish* or *Castilian Spanish*. These terms might carry some political / dialectal connotations for some readers, but will be used here with no value judgement. Data is mainly obtained from the Reference Corpus of Current Spanish (CREA), filtering for examples from Spain and intuitions are checked with native speakers from the Northwestern regions of Spain. It is worth mentioning, however, that the phenomena discussed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are well spread over all varieties of Spanish.

- (42) a. Yo las                tenía                guardadas las                cartas  
           I    3.F.PL.ACC have.PST.1SG stored.F.PL the.F.PL card.PL  
           ‘I had the cards stored’                [Rioplatense Spanish (Estigarribia, 2005)]
- b. Yo tenía                guardadas las                cartas  
           I    have.PST.1SG stored.F.PL the.F.PL card.PL  
           ‘I had the cards stored’                [Standard Spanish]

(41a) and (42a) are ungrammatical in Standard Spanish unless they are intonationally separated by a pause. Standard Spanish shows less restrictive doubling with datives as in (40). Reduplication of accusatives with full NPs is only allowed - actually, obligatory- in when the full NP is fronted, but this is a case of left-dislocation rather than doubling. Note left-dislocated constituents are intonationally marked by a pause (Zagona, 2002)<sup>13</sup>:

- (43) Las                cartas, yo                las                tenía                guardadas  
           the.F.PL card.PL 1.SG.NOM 3.F.PL.ACC have.PST.1SG stored.F.PL  
           ‘The cards, I had stored them’

### 2.4.1 Position in sentence

As previously mentioned in § 2.2, these pronouns generally substitute verbal arguments - mainly objects- but they do not necessarily appear in the expected position an object would take in an SVO language such as Spanish, but adjoined to the verb. These pronouns have to appear adjoined to the verb in a relationship of strict adjacency: only another weak pronoun may appear between them (Bosque and Demonte, 1999).

- (44) No    te                lo                digo  
           NEG 2.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC say.PRS.1SG  
           *lit.* I don’t say it to you  
           ‘I won’t tell you’

- (45) \*Te lo no digo

- (46) \*Te no lo digo

<sup>13</sup>This will be further discussed in § 2.4.5.

They can appear right in front of the main verb as proclitics (*lo leo* - ‘it read’) or with certain verbal forms attached to the end of the verb as enclitics (*leer=lo* - ‘read=it’):

- (47) a. Leo                      un              libro  
           Read.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book  
           ‘I read a book’
- b. **Lo**                      leo  
           3.M.SG.ACC read.PRS.1SG  
           ‘I read it’ [proclitic]
- c. Quiero                      leer**lo**  
           Want.PRS.1SG read.INF=3.M.SG.ACC  
           ‘I want to read it’ [enclitic]

We will now discuss in some more detail some of these properties.

#### 2.4.1.1 Enclitics

Weak pronouns can be attached post-verbally to non-finite forms of the verbs, namely infinitives, present participles and imperatives<sup>14</sup>. When they attach in this particular way, they are called **enclitics**:

- (48) Juan quiere                      leer              el              libro  
       Juan want.PRS.3SG read.INF the.M.SG book.M.SG  
       ‘Juan wants to read the book’
- (49) Juan quiere                      leerlo  
       Juan want.PRS.3SG read.INF=it3.SG.ACC  
       ‘Juan wants to read it’ [infinitive]
- (50) Juan está                      leyéndolo  
       Juan be.PRS.3SG read.PRS.PTCP=3.M.SG.ACC  
       ‘Juan is reading it’ [present participle]
- (51) Léelo  
       Read.2.SG.IMP=3.M.SG.ACC

<sup>14</sup>Imperatives are better considered as finite forms as per Huddleston and Pullum (2002)’s criteria: they can stand alone as a full sentence and a finite verb is characteristically limited with respect to person a number, which is more evident in Spanish since imperative forms inflect for second person singular and plural, first person plural and formal ‘you’ - *usted/ustedes*, which is interpreted as second person but shows the morphology of third person forms.

‘Read it!’

[imperative]

We see in (51) that the placement of the clitic attached to the verb has no consequences for the placement of the stress as discussed in previous sections: the stress remains in the same place and we see an orthographical accent mark that shows the position of the stress is preserved -in contrast with *le'yendo* and *'lee* that show no accent mark. Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) claim that the verb and the pronoun form one phonological word, which is clearly reflected orthographically when we have an encliticised form, but not when it is procliticised (p. 3). This is expected as we are dealing with weak forms, but we should bear in mind that this has nothing to do with syntactic words, and the fact that the stress is not affected is more likely indicating that syntactically, these are independent units.

#### 2.4.1.2 Proclitics

These weak forms of the pronoun can also be realised as what seem to be “independent” lexical units with finite forms of the verb other than imperative, but as previously mentioned, they do not appear in the canonical object position but immediately in front of the verb. When these pronouns appear in this position, they are called **proclitics**:

- (52) Juan **lee** **el libro**  
 Juan read.PRS.3SG the.M.SG book  
 ‘Juan reads the book’

- (53) Juan **lo** lee  
 Juan 3.ACC.M.SG read.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Juan reads it’

- (54) Juan **lo** quiere leer  
 Juan .3.ACC.M.SG. want.3SG.PRES read.INF  
 ‘Juan wants to read it’

- (55) Juan **lo** está leyendo  
 Juan 3.ACC.M.SG be.PRS.3SG read.PRS.PTCP  
 ‘Juan is reading it’



Sentences (54) and (55) alternate with (49) and (50) in § 2.4.1.1 above but this alternation has no semantic or discursive implications.

### 2.4.2 Clitic clusters

As seen in (44) repeated below as (56), we can have two weak pronouns (or possibly more) in one same sentence - one corresponding to the traditionally labelled as direct object and the other to the indirect object.

- (56) No    te                    lo                    digo  
       NEG 2.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC say.PRS.1SG  
       *lit.* I don't say it to you  
       'I won't tell you'

When we have more than one pronoun, the order in which they appear in relation to the other pronouns is fixed: *se* always comes first, then second person forms, first person forms and last we get third person forms, other than *se* (Pineda and Meza, 2005). A clitic cluster seems to form some type of unit as the sequence formed by the pronouns cannot be interrupted:

- (57) Quiero                    contarte                    un            cuento  
       Want.PRS.1SG tell.INF=2.DAT.SG a.M.SG tale  
       'I want to tell you a tale'

- (58) Quiero                    contártelo<sup>15</sup>  
       Want.PRS.1SG tell.INF=2.DAT.SG=3.ACC.M.SG  
       'I want to tell you it'

- (59) a. Te                    lo                    quiero                    contar<sup>16</sup>  
       2.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC want.PRS.1SG tell.INF  
       'I want to tell you it'

b. \*Te quiero contar

c. \*Lo quiero contarte

<sup>15</sup>We see again in (58) our observations about accent/stress placement: the infinitive form of the verb *contar* - 'tell' is stress final, and the verb together with the pronouns gives us an item whose stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable which ensures it is the same syllable (*-tar*) the one to receive the stress, which again supports our claim that clitics do not induce stress shift, as could be the case if we were dealing with affixes .

An interesting note on this clustering is that when we have a third person dative pronoun (*le(s)*) followed by a third person accusative pronoun (*lo(s)*, *la(s)*), the dative pronoun suffers a phonological process of dissimilation obtaining *se*<sup>17</sup>:

- (60) Le            cuento            un            cuento → Se            lo            cuento  
       3.DAT.SG tell.PRS.1SG a.M.SG tale    → 3.DAT.SG 3.ACC.M.SG tell.PRS.1SG  
       ‘I tell her/him a tale’ → ‘I tell him it’

- (61) \*Le            lo            cuento  
       3.DAT.SG 3.ACC.M.SG tell.PRS.1SG  
       ‘(*intended*) I tell him/her it ’

There are, however, some other constraints that must be taken into account. Further to Pineda and Meza (2005)’s very general person ordering of clitics, there are combinations of clitics that are not possible. Bonet i Alsina (1991) devises two constraints, a first one that she believes to be universal and a second one that would be “only fairly general” (p. 181):

- (62) “**The \*me lui Constraint** (universal):

- (a) In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, if there is one third person, it has to be the direct object.
- (b) Both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak.

- (63) **The \*I/II Constraint:**

- (a) In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, the two objects cannot be first and second person.
- (b) Both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak.”

(Bonet i Alsina, 1991, pp. 181-182)

She ends up merging both into a constraint that states that the direct object has to be third person, which should be enough as we would not have two indirect objects. Generally speaking this constraint would block accusative clitics and object

<sup>16</sup>Note that when we have only one pronoun and the other argument is realised by an NP, the two arguments do not need to be stuck together: *te quiero contar un cuento*.

<sup>17</sup>This is easier to account for if the cluster itself is morphologically formed.

agreement morphemes other than third person when we have a dative in the cluster. Ormazabal and Romero (2007) believe Bonet i Alsina (1991)'s constraint is a subcase of a much broader one: the Object Agreement Constraint, that is not CASE specific and can therefore include more languages like some Bantu languages with accusative marking on applied objects. Furthermore, they believe this constraint must be described in syntactic terms rather than morphologically in order to account for languages or contexts with no morphological marking. This constraint is also sensitive to animacy, rather than person, which would fit more easily with instances of *leísta* dialects of Spanish, which use *le* for accusative animate arguments:

animate object	inanimate object
(64) a. Llamó a Juan call.PRS.1SG [+anim] Juan 'I call Juan'.	(65) a. Llamó un taxi call.PRS.1SG a.M.SG taxi 'I call a taxi'.
b. Lo llamo 3.M.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG 'I call him'. [standard]	b. Lo llamo 3.M.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG 'I call it'. [standard]
c. Le llamo 3.M.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG 'I call him'. [ <i>leísta</i> version]	c. *Le llamo 3.M.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG 'I call it'. [ <i>leísta</i> version]

### 2.4.3 Binding properties

Binding properties can be easily predicted by the speakers (Pineda and Meza, 2005). The weak pronouns give grammatical information pertaining to case, number and some of them gender. Furthermore, when we have a weak pronoun appearing together with a full NP, it is quite straightforward for speakers to know what is the antecedent of what:

- (66) a.  $Le_i/*e/*x$  di un libro<sub>e</sub> a Marta<sub>i</sub>  
3.DAT.SG give.PST.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
'I gave (her) a book to Marta'
- b.  $Se_i/*x$  lo<sub>\*i</sub> di a Marta<sub>i</sub>  
3.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PST.1SG to Marta

‘I gave it to Marta’

c. El libro<sub>i</sub>, se<sub>e/\*i/\*x</sub> lo<sub>i/\*e/\*x</sub> di a Marta<sub>e</sub>  
 The.M.SG book 3.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PST.1SG to Marta

‘The book, I gave to Marta’

We do find, however, cases that show more than two pronouns, some of them necessarily non-arguments. In these -not very frequent- cases, processing is more complex, especially if we take into account that non-argument datives do not co-occur with full NPs thus making it even harder to resolve the references of the pronouns:

(67) Se te me le marchitaron los pétalos a  
 3.REFL 2.DAT.SG 1.DAT.SG 3.SG.DAT wilt.PST.3PL the.M.PL petal.PL (to)  
 la rosa.  
 theF.SG rose

‘The rose wilted’ -a paraphrase of the meaning here would be something along the lines of “The rose petals wilted themselves on it, and the rose was mine so it wilded on me, but you were taking care of it, so it wilted on you too” (González-López, 2009, p. 236, ex. (9))

This seems to prove that Spanish allows for a combination of up to four pronouns, in this particular case with different functions<sup>18</sup>

(68) Hay veces que se te me caes  
 there.is.PRS timePL that 3.SG.DAT/REFL? 2.SG.REFL 1.SG.DAT fall.PRS.2SG  
 de las manos  
 from the.F.PL hand.PL  
 lit. *There are times when you fall yourself from the hands on me*  
 ‘There are times when you fall from my hands’ (sic. in CREA )

(68) is taken from the corpus. However, the *se* is quite likely a mistake on the part of the speaker as there is no 3.SG referent it could bind to. This is related to the fact that *caerse* is a reflexive verb, and even though the reflexive in the sentence is *te*, the context seems to be quite strange and could lead the speakers themselves to confusion. It is, however, not possible to have more than two selected argument pronouns, which follows from the fact that we assume they function as some OBJ and we can only have a limited number of them.

<sup>18</sup>There are no argument clitics in (67), so one might wonder if we could have even more pronouns in one sentence.

### 2.4.4 Combination on non-finite forms: climbing

If we have a certain combination of verbs such as a finite verb and an infinitive or gerund, the clitic can appear as an enclitic as in (49), repeated below as (69), where it was attached to the infinitive or as a proclitic where it seems to go with the finite form of the verb, a phenomenon known as *climbing* as seen in (70). This dichotomy in placement does not seem to have any consequences for a correct interpretation of the sentence.

- (69) Juan quiere leerlo  
 Juan want.PRS.3SG read.INF .3.M.SG.ACC  
 ‘Juan wants to read it’

- (70) Juan lo quiere leer  
 Juan .3.M.SG.ACC want.PRS.3SG read.INF  
 ‘Juan wants to read it’

Clitic climbing is common across the Romance languages but mostly absent in French (Kayne, 1975)<sup>19</sup>. It is not a phenomenon exclusive to Romance languages, though; Tagalog also exhibits this phenomenon<sup>20</sup> (Kroeger, 1993, p. 189):

- (71) a. Hindi kaya ni=Pedro=ng bigyan siya ng=pera  
 not able GEN=Pedro+COMP give-DV 3.SG.NOM GEN=money  
 ‘Pedro cannot give her money’  
 b. Hindi siya kaya=ng bigyan ni=Pedro ng=pera  
 not 3.SG.NOM able=LNK give-DV GEN=Pedro GEN=money  
 ‘Pedro cannot give her money’

What is interesting about climbing is that the dependent of a complement verb seems to appear as dependent of the main verb instead, i.e. the pronoun does not necessarily appear attached to the verb it complements<sup>21</sup>. Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) and

<sup>19</sup>There are actually instances of climbing in French: namely with the verb *faire* ‘to make’ and *laisser* and perception verbs (M. Jones, personal communication, March 28, 2017)

<sup>20</sup>There might be some other factors to consider for Tagalog, such as non-configurationality and some second position clitic placement constraints in some clauses, but still, this resembles the Romance phenomena enough and has been nonetheless labelled and analysed as restructuring or clause reduction by Kroeger (1993), which has also been done for Romance by Rizzi (1982), Kayne (1975) or Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) among others. However, Tagalog seems to show a similar phenomenon with full NP in Equi constructions, so clause reduction might very well be a broader phenomenon in this language.

<sup>21</sup>Note that these remarks are to be taken as descriptively as possible. Wording could suggest we are discarding a possible analysis of these predicates as a complex predicate that fuses the argument

Fernández-Soriano (1999) list a few generalizations regarding the contexts when clitic climbing is allowed:

- (i) clitics cannot “leave” their sentence if said sentence is finite:

- (72) a. Juan quiere                      que lo                      leas  
           Juan want.PRS.3SG that 3.M.SG.ACC read.PRS.2SG  
           ‘Juan wants you to read it’
- b. \*Juan lo                      quiere                      que leas  
           Juan 3.M.SG.ACC want.PRS.3SG that read.PRS.2SG  
           ‘Juan wants you to read it’

- (ii) There is a limited set of elements that might intervene between the two verbs, namely some prepositions and particles.

- (iii) If there are two clitics, they must appear together and cannot be separated, as seen in (59) above repeated below as (73):

- (73) a. Te                      lo                      quiero                      contar  
           2.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC want.PRS.1SG tell.INF  
           ‘I want to tell you it’
- b. \*Te quiero contarlo
- c. \*Lo quiero contarte

Apart from these general characteristics, there are some restrictions pertaining the verbs that can actually host a clitic from its complement. Fernández-Soriano (1999) claims the class of verbs that allow clitic climbing is limited to a few cases, mainly modal and aspectual auxiliaries, causatives and those whose subject is coreferent with the embedded subject. She also claims that the so-called verbs of “opinion, belief, knowledge”, factives or impersonals do not allow clitic climbing. Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) label verbs “trigger” or “non-trigger” verbs depending on this ability to host clitics from the complement clause. Fernández-Soriano (1999) also mentions another general observation about dative clitics: a dative clitic that is a complement of the main verb -understood as the higher verb- makes this verb “unable” to host a clitic from the embedded clause. There is a scale of acceptability relating to this,

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lists of both predicates. We are not arguing either for or against such assumption at this stage.

however: if the embedded clitic is personal, the inability of climbing is absolute, if the embedded clitic is non-animate, then climbing might be possible, especially if we have causative verbs, as shown in the examples below, taken from Fernández-Soriano (1999, p. 1263):<sup>22</sup>

- (74) a. Me            permitieron educarla  
           1.SG.DAT let.PST.3PL raise.INF=3.F.SG.ACC  
           ‘They let me raise her’  
       b. \*Me la permitieron educar
- (75) a. Te            prohibió            tocarlo  
           2.SG.DAT forbid.PST.3SG touch.INF=3.M.SG.ACC  
           ‘He forbade you to touch it’  
       b. ?Te lo prohibió tocar
- (76) a. Te            dejó            arreglarlos  
           2.SG.DAT let.PST.3SG fix.INF=3.M.PL.ACC  
           ‘He/she let you fix them’  
       b. Te los dejó arreglar

There is obviously much that can be discussed about climbing and how to best analyse this phenomenon. In other frameworks, Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) propose a clause reduction process that is determined by the lexical properties of the verb (labelled *trigger* vs. *non-trigger* verbs). Similarly, Rizzi (1982) talks about a restructuring rule for Italian verbs. Strozer (1976) proposes that these verbs do not select for clauses but rather for verbal phrases but it is not clear what that implies for the analysis. In LFG, in a similar way to restructuring, we could assume a complex predicate analysis following Alsina (1996) or Andrews and Manning (1999). This could raise some issues, especially if we had a string of verbs combining two at a time forming a complex predicate with a single f-structure. The string of verbs between the pronoun and the verb it actually complements can include as many verbs as we

<sup>22</sup>These examples are however a bit troublesome, as many of the clitics labelled as dative would be accusative in a simple construction. This shift is most likely triggered by the predicates forming a complex predicate, which will be further discussed in § 2.4.7. It is worth mentioning that, probably due to this issue, intuitions about these sentences are not uniform among speakers.

could combine together - it would be difficult to process but not ungrammatical:

- (77) Juan quiere            intentar empezar a    dejar    de    no    parar    de  
 Juan want.PRS.3SG try.INF start.INF (to) quit.INF (of) NEG stop.INF (of)  
 beber    vino  
 drink.INF wine  
 ‘Juan wants to try to start quitting not stopping drinking wine’
- (78) a. Juan **lo**            quiere            intentar empezar a    dejar    de    no  
 Juan 3.M.SG.ACC want.PRS.3SG try.INF start.INF (to) quit.INF (of) NEG  
 parar    de    beber  
 stop.INF (of) drink.INF
- b. Juan quiere            intentar empezar a    dejar    de    no    parar  
 Juan want.PRS.3SG try.INF start.INF (to) quit.INF (of) NEG stop.INF  
 de    beber**lo**  
 (of) drink.INF=3.M.SG.ACC  
 ‘Juan wants to try to start quitting not stopping drinking it’

We could also consider these predicates as control predicates but this would also raise issues. It might well be that we need different analysis for different types of predicates, so we would have to check the different lexical properties of each predicate. We will not however, discuss this in much more detail as it is not paramount to our specific discussion of datives. We will devote a section to complex predicates and their interaction with clitics (§ 2.4.7) but will not discuss what makes a complex predicate or how to group Spanish verbs.

### 2.4.5 Doubling

Clitic doubling is a well known phenomenon in many languages including Romance languages such as Romanian, Catalan or Portuguese as well as some Slavic languages such as Bulgarian or Macedonian and others such as Albanian, each with different properties and restrictions. In this phenomenon, also referred to as pronominal reduplication, both the weak pronoun and the full NP the pronoun is supposed to be substituting are present in the sentence at the same time.

- (79) Ion    i-a            dat    bonboane    Mariei  
 John 3.SG.DAT-has given chocolates Mary.DAT



‘John has given Mary some chocolates.’ [Romanian (Jaeggli, 1982, p.57)]

- (80) La Maria li va donar el llibre (a ell)  
the Maria him.DAT PAST give the book to him

‘Maria gave him the book.’ [Catalan (Alsina, 1996, p.151)]

- (81) Vi-os a eles  
I.saw=them to them

‘I saw them.’ [Portuguese (Ledgeway and Maiden, 2016, p.434)]

- (82) Ivan ja pomoli Marija da posviri na pianoto  
Ivan 3.S.F.DO asked Maria to play on the.piano

‘Ivan asked Maria to play the piano.’ [Bulgarian (Harizanov, 2014, p. 1048)]

- (83) Na momče-to mu ja davam kniga-ta  
to boy.DEF 3SG.DAT.M 3SG.ACC.F give.1SG.PRES book(F)-DEF

‘I give the book to the boy’ [Macedonian (Spencer and Luís, 2012b, p.154)]

- (84) Djalit ia jap librin  
boy.DEF.DAT 3SG.DAT/3SG.ACC give.1SG-PRES book.DEF-ACC

‘I give the boy the book’ [Albanian (Spencer and Luís, 2012b, p.154)]

Doubling of the accusative pronoun works in Spanish only under certain restricted conditions: it is obligatory when we have a strong pronoun, but not acceptable if we have a NP:

- (85) a. \*Llamo a ella  
call.PRS.1SG [+ANIM] 3SG.F.PPL

‘I call her’

- b. La llamo a ella  
3.SG.F.ACC call.PRS.1SG [+ANIM] 3SG.F.PPL

‘I call her’

- (86) a. Llamo a Marta  
call.PRS.1SG [+ANIM] Marta

‘I call Marta’

- b. \*La llamo a Marta  
3.SG.F.ACC call.PRS.1SG [+ANIM] Marta

‘I call Marta’

We must contrast doubling with dislocation, where an NP element is fronted or postposed to the periphery of the sentence, which triggers the appearance of a weak pronoun:

- (87) a. A        Marta, la                llamé        ayer  
           +ANIM Marta 3.F.SG.ACC call.PST.1SG yesterday

‘Marta, I called her yesterday’

- b. La                llamé        ayer,        a        Marta  
       3.F.SG.ACC call.PST.1SG yesterday +ANIM Marta

‘I called her yesterday, Marta’

Dislocated constituents -such as ‘*a Marta*’ in (87)- are intonationally marked by a pause -or a comma in writing. (87a) is a case of left-dislocation and can be used to emphasise a topic and (87b) is right-dislocation, which can be used as a means of clarification or as an afterthought. The crucial distinction between dislocated and doubled constituents is that dislocation is an optional mechanism used for discourse purposes, whereas doubling is in many cases obligatory syntactically and does not necessarily imply any intonational prominence. Doubling is found with the dative pronoun in all contexts and all varieties of Spanish:

- (88) Le        di                un        libro a        Marta  
       3.SG.DAT give.PST.1SG a.M.SG book DAT Marta

‘I gave a book to Marta’

- (89) A        Marta le                gusta        el        cine  
       DAT Marta 3.SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG the.M.SG cinema

‘Marta likes the cinema’

What is most challenging about this phenomenon is that we seem to have two different elements - a noun phrase and a pronoun- potentially fulfilling one same function, which would violate the Uniqueness Condition, by which a given attribute has a unique value. This makes us consider how to best treat these elements, and the theoretical implications different analyses might pose. This will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

### 2.4.6 Some other features of Spanish weak pronouns

As mentioned above in § 2.2, the different forms these pronouns present are derived from distinct Latin forms. Fernández-Soriano (1999) roughly groups first and second person forms on the one hand and third person forms on the other. As far as form is concerned, the paradigm of first and second person pronouns shows no distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive forms and has no gender or case specific forms, as opposed to the third person paradigm with forms which inflect for case and gender and with reflexive forms. First and second person forms are always obligatory. There are also syntactic differences pertaining to case. The dative form co-occurs with referential expressions in object position across the different variants of Spanish and in all contexts. Accusative only does so in certain variants and in most varieties, it only happens under certain restricted conditions like fronting of the NP (see § 2.4). We might think some of these contrasts have to do with expected general differences between pronoun persons. However, the differences between accusative and dative forms are of a much deeper nature (Fernández-Soriano, 1999). Datives have a unique feature in that they can introduce non-argument elements with a varied array of meanings (benefactive, attitude holder, external possessor, etc.). There are also instances of a dative third person singular pronoun being used with plural reference:

- (90) No le tiene miedo a las balas  
 NEG 3.SG.DAT have.PRS.3SG fear DAT the.F.PL bullet.PL  
 ‘He/she does not fear bullets’ (Fernández-Soriano, 1999, p. 1259)

We have an instance of doubling where the weak pronoun has no plural mark whereas the NP is plural. Following Rini (1991)’s terminology, this dative has been generally considered as an expletive that does not have any pronominal function, so it might well be some phenomenon different from doubling. Datives also show a much broader inventory of syntactic functions and are by no means restricted to be indirect objects. Aside from the abovementioned non-argument datives, these pronouns can have a locative value and can be used in impersonal sentences (Fernández-Soriano, 1999, p. 1260):

- (91) Se le acercó  
 3.REFL 3.SG.DAT come.close.PST.3SG  
 ‘He/she got close to him/her’ (physically)

With verbs such as (91) we have a dative with a locative value and it can also reproduce prepositional complements -mainly introduced by ‘*de*’ - ‘of’ that also have a locative value:

- (92) a. Se le puso al lado  
 3.REFL 3.SG.DAT put.PST.3.SG to-the.M.SG side  
 ‘He/she positioned himself/herself next to him/her/?it<sup>23</sup>’
- b. Se puso al lado de Juan/Marta/un árbol  
 3.REFL put.PST.3.SG to-the.M.SG side of Juan/Marta/a.M.SG tree  
 ‘He/she put himself/herself next to Juan/Marta/a tree’

- (93) Le fue imposible llegar  
 3.SG.DAT be.PST.3SG impossible arrive.INF  
 ‘It was impossible for him/her to arrive’

Specificity also plays a different role with accusative and dative pronouns. As pointed out by Suñer (1988), third person accusative pronouns cannot refer to indefinite or interrogative phrases, as opposed to datives:

- (94) \*A ninguna persona la interrogaron por el crimen  
 DAT any/no.F.SG person 3.F.SG.ACC question.PST.3PL for the.M.SG crime  
 ‘No person was questioned for the crime’
- (95) A ningún profesor le dieron regalos  
 DAT any/no.M.SG teacher 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3PL gifts.PL  
 ‘No teacher was given gifts’
- (96) \*¿A quién lo llamaste?  
 DAT who 3.M.SG.ACC call.2.SG.PAST  
 ‘Who did you call?’

<sup>23</sup>We have previously seen in § 2.4 that dative pronouns can have both animate and inanimate references. However, it is not so clear in the case of the locative use of the dative. This use of the pronoun is in any case not extended and is not part of the cases that will be discussed in the main chapters of this dissertation, but we are not ready to discard completely an inanimate reference for the dative:

- (ii) Se le sentó encima (a la muñeca)  
 3.REFL 3.SG.DAT sit.PST.3.SG on.top DAT the.F.SG doll  
 ‘He/she sit on the doll’

- (97) ¿A quién le dieron regalos?  
 DAT who 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3PL gifts.PL  
 ‘Who did they give gifts to?’

Most of these differences have to do with the phenomenon known as doubling, which was introduced above in § 2.4.5 but will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

### 2.4.7 Interaction with periphrastic forms / causatives / complex predicates

We have previously mentioned complex predicates in passing earlier in the chapter. We will now present in this section a few features that connect complex predicates and weak pronouns. Alsina (1996) and Alsina (1997) note some interesting behaviour of these pronouns when they appear with periphrases/causatives/complex predicates. We use these terms to refer to two or more words that seem to function as a single verb. It is worth mentioning that there are differences in behaviour with different types of these verbal constructs. This, however, might be more relevant to an analysis of verbal complementation than to one of weak pronouns as we are attempting here so we will only provide a brief description. For causatives, Alsina (1996) and Alsina (1997) propose that the causee shows case alternation depending on the transitivity of the embedded predicate; if it is intransitive as *reír* ‘laugh’ below, the causee would be accusative, but if the embedded predicate is transitive as *comprar* ‘buy’, the causee would be dative. This should clearly show on the pronouns but it is not that obvious that an accusative pronoun is not possible with an embedded transitive predicate.<sup>24</sup>

- (98) Juan hizo reír a María  
 Juan make.PST.3SG laugh.INF +ANIM Mary  
 ‘Juan made Mary laugh’

- (99) Juan la hizo reír  
 Juan 3.F.SG.ACC make.PST.3SG laugh.INF  
 ‘Juan made her laugh’

<sup>24</sup>Note the preference when ordering the elements of the clause. *Juan hizo reír a María* (preferred) vs. *Juan hizo a María reír* and *Juan hizo a María comprar un vestido* (preferred) vs. *Juan hizo comprar un vestido a María*.

- (100) \*Juan hizo reír=la  
 \*Juan make.PST.3SG laugh.INF=3.F.SG.ACC  
 ‘Juan made her laugh’
- (101) Juan hizo a María comprar un vestido  
 Juan make.PST.3SG +DAT/+ANIM? Mary buy.INF a.M.SG dress  
 ‘Juan made María buy a dress’
- (102) Juan ?la/?le hizo comprar=lo / un  
 Juan 3.F.SG.ACC/3.SG.DAT make.PST.3SG buy.INF=3.M.SG.ACC / a.M.SG  
 vestido  
 dress  
 ‘Juan made her buy it / a dress’

According to Alsina (1996) and Alsina (1997), in (102), because of transitivity and the fact that ‘make’ and ‘buy’ will form one complex predicate, we could not have two accusative pronouns since this predicate will allow only one, and so the dative *le* should be the chosen pronoun to encode the causee. This is also the view posited by Kayne (1975) who argues that the causee is accusative if there is no clause union but dative if there is clause-union and the infinitive is transitive and has an object. However, considering the order of the elements in (101), we do not think an accusative pronoun would be ungrammatical in (102), it is possibly preferred<sup>25</sup>. Ackerman and Moore (1999) argue for a slightly different approach by which the causee shows alternative grammatical relations regardless of transitivity based on argument selection (*cf.* Dowty (1991)): the most proto-patientive argument tends to be encoded as accusative and the least proto-patientive one encodes as dative. This renders similar results in any case as they claim that in the case of embedded transitive clauses, the embedded object will show more proto-patientive properties than the causee, which will trigger the encoding of the causee as dative. Ackerman and Moore (2001) seem to accept an accusative encoding of the causee based on “directness of causation”:

- (103) La hice probar=lo a la fuerza  
 3.F.SG.ACC make.PST.1SG try.INF=3.M.SG.ACC to the.F.SG force  
 ‘I made her try it by force’

<sup>25</sup>These are tentative assumptions that require proper exploration by surveying speakers’ attitudes towards the grammaticality of these combinations of pronouns.

According to them, we would however still keep the dative if causation is not that abrupt.

- (104) Le            hice            probar=lo            diciendo=le            que  
           3.SG.DAT make.PST.1SG try.INF=3.M.SG.ACC say.PRS.PTCP=3.SG.DAT that  
           era            riquísimo  
           be.PST.3SG tasty.SUP.M.SG

‘I made him/her try it by saying to him/her it was really tasty’

This would go against the claims by Kayne (1975) or Alsina (1997) since we have the same combination of predicates in (103) and (104). Nevertheless, assessing whether we can have complex predicate formation or clause union and what factors play a role in determining it is beyond the scope of this study and tangential to our aim of formalising dative pronouns. Furthermore, it is not clear that an accusative pronoun is disallowed in (104) as we have seen above with (102), but it is difficult to assess what the reason for this is without a more in depth examination of the predicates to establish whether they actually form a complex predicate or not. As stated before, however, this is more related to an account of verbal complementation than to a description of weak pronouns.

## 2.5 Non-argument/non-selected datives

There is a use of the set of dative pronouns that is interesting to mention too. These pronouns in these cases are not required by the verb and so are labelled as non-selected. We will describe and analyse these datives further in Chapter 5.

These datives will be further divided in Chapter 5 into two bigger groups: a group of what we will label ‘non-selected arguments’ and a group of what we will call ‘non-argument datives’. Within these two broader groups, we will classify the datives based on the meaning they contribute.

What is interesting about these datives is that even though they take the form of the weak pronoun, they do not behave in the same way dative arguments do. We will be using some tests to decide how to classify them, such as doubling or their behaviour with participles, and then we will see how they can be best analysed: if





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information to the f-structure, which is what will be key for the sketch of our analyses in subsequent chapters. We have introduced description of various characteristics regarding Spanish weak pronouns in general, but upcoming chapters will be devoted to the analysis of dative pronouns, specifically in ditransitive constructions (Chapter 3), when they are arguments of psychological predicates (Chapter 4) and when they appear in constructions where they are not part of the lexical requirements of the verb (Chapter 5).



# Dative Arguments

## 3.1 Introduction

In Spanish, only certain pronominal items have morphological case. The set of dative forms are *me*, *te*, *le*, *nos*, *os*, *les*<sup>1</sup>. As seen in Chapter 2, first and second forms are syncretic with accusative forms.

Dative pronominals can appear in the context of all types of verbs and have many different meanings. A quite exhaustive list gathered by Cuervo (2003, pp.29-30) includes both selected and non-selected datives. The term selected is used to refer to arguments which are required as a lexical property by the argument structure of the verb while non-selected datives are not<sup>2</sup>:

- With directional ('to') transitive activity verbs, we get a recipient meaning. As described by Levin (1993), these verbs imply causing a participant to change

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<sup>1</sup>

Number	Person	Dative
<i>singular</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>me</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>te</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>le / se</b>
<i>plural</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>nos</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>os</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>les / se</b>

For the full paradigm of weak pronouns in Spanish see Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup>The purpose of this list is to show the varied meanings a dative can have, regardless of its syntactic function, which will be discussed more in depth later in the chapter.

location - and in some cases causing to change possession- and this participant undergoes the movement unaccompanied by the agent. The motion entails a separation in time and space:

- (1) Juan le           envió           un       regalo a   Marta  
       Juan 3.DAT.SG send.PST.3SG a.M.SG gift   to<sup>3</sup> Marta  
       ‘Juan sent a gift to Marta’

- With verbs of creation, the meaning we get is benefactive<sup>4</sup>. These verbs are usually transitive, with one of the arguments being an agent that creates or transforms another participant (Levin, 1993):

- (2) Juan me<sup>5</sup>       prepara           la       cena   cada noche  
       Juan 1.DAT.SG prepare.PRS.3SG the.F.SG dinner every night  
       ‘Juan prepares dinner for me every night’

- With directional (‘from’) transitive activity verbs, the dative represents the source. These verbs denote the removal of an entity from a previous location or possessor (Levin, 1993):

- (3) Juan le       quitó           el       juguete a   Marta  
       Juan 3.DAT.SG remove.PST.3SG the.M.SG toy   to Marta  
       ‘Juan took the toy from Marta’<sup>6</sup>

- With non-directional transitive activity verbs the dative refers to a possessor:

- (4) Juan le       limpia           la       casa   a su madre  
       Juan 3.DAT.SG clean.PRS.3SG the.F.SG house to his mother  
       ‘Juan cleans his mother’s house’<sup>7</sup>

- Similarly, with stative transitive verbs, we have a possessor meaning:

- (5) Pablo le       admira           la       paciencia a   Valeria<sup>8</sup>  
       Pablo 3.DAT.SG admire.PRS.3SG the.F.SG patience to Valeria

<sup>3</sup>At the moment, we are not yet labelling the *a*, but only translating it as ‘to’ until we get to proper discussion in forthcoming sections.

<sup>4</sup>Non-selected type of argument, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>5</sup>(2) can be ambiguous between a *benefactive* and a *receiver, recipient* meaning, which can get resolved by adding a *recipient* participant that is different from the referent of the dative:

(i) Juan me       prepara           la       cena   para mis   primos   cada noche  
       Juan 1.DAT.SG prepare.PRS.3SG the.F.SG dinner for   my.PL cousin.PL every night  
       ‘Juan prepares dinner for my cousins for me every night’

<sup>6</sup>Some malefactive reading is also likely to be available here.

<sup>7</sup>We can also hint a benefactive nuance here.

‘Pablo admires Valeria’s patience’

- With unaccusative verbs of change or movement we obtain a location/recipient meaning. These verbs do not specify the manner of change or movement, but indicate that motion has taken place. Some may further specify the direction of motion (Levin, 1993):

(6) Me llegaron tres postales de Nueva Zelanda  
 1.DAT.SG arrive.PST.3PL three postcard.PL from New Zealand  
 ‘Three postcards from New Zealand arrived for me’

- With causative verbs, we get an affected meaning, together with a possessor reading. These verbs usually involve a change of state (Levin, 1993):

(7) Juan le rompió el juguete a Marta  
 Juan 3.DAT.SG break.PST.3SG the.M.SG toy to Marta  
 ‘Juan broke the toy on Marta’ (Marta’s toy)

- We also see an affected meaning with inchoative verbs:

(8) A Marta se le rompió el juguete  
 To Marta 3.REFL 3.DAT.SG break.PST.3SG the.M.SG toy  
 ‘The toy broke on Marta’

- With unaccusative<sup>9</sup> psychological predicates, an experiencer meaning is expressed by the dative. These verbs typically denote a change in psychological or emotional state with an experiencer participant and a stimulus / cause one (Levin, 1993):

(9) A Marta le encantan los juguetes  
 To Marta 3.DAT.SG love.PRS.3PL the.M.PL toy.PL  
 ‘Marta loves toys’

- With unaccusative existentials, the dative refers to the possessor:

(10) Me faltan veinte cromos para completar el  
 1.DAT.SG lack.PRS.3PL twenty sticker.PL for complete.INF the.M.SG

<sup>8</sup>As previously mentioned, we are describing different types of available meanings for dative pronouns. For this particular sentence, we have a non-selected dative and one might wonder whether *a Valeria* is clausally attached. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>9</sup>Understanding “unaccusative” as a predicate that fails to produce any sort of passive (Pesetsky, 1995).

álbum  
album

‘I am missing twenty stickers to complete the album’

- With unergative (intransitive) verbs we get an ethical dative reading - mainly benefactive/malefactive:

- (11) Juanita ya le camina (\*a Vicky)  
Juanita already 3.DAT.SG walk.PRS.3SG (to Vicky)  
‘Juanita already walks (on Vicky)’

As previously pointed out, this list includes both selected and non-selected datives. We will focus in this chapter on selected datives that usually appear in ditransitive contexts, even though selected datives are also found in different constructions such as those involving the so-called psychological predicates or more generally intransitive predicates that select for just one argument in the dative case. The inventory of verbs with this latter structure -two-place predicates- is not too vast, psychological verbs arguably being the most interesting. Two place-predicates that take a dative have been classified in five different groups (Gutiérrez-Ordóñez, 1999):

1. Verbs of concern. This group includes concepts such as *concern*, *incumb*, *correspond*, *be responsibility of*, *be someone’s turn*.... They are similar to psychological predicates. It has also been noted that verbs in this group might be incompatible with the perfective aspect:

- (12) Le esperaba un porvenir radiante en la  
3.SG.DAT wait.PST.IPFV.3SG a.M.SG future bright in the.F.SG  
administración pública  
administration public.F.SG  
‘A bright future was awaiting him in the public administration’

- (13) ?Le esperó un porvenir radiante en la  
3.SG.DAT wait.PST.PFV.3SG a.M.SG future bright in the.F.SG  
administración pública  
administration public.F.SG  
‘A bright future awaited him in the public administration’ (Gutiérrez-Ordóñez, 1999, p. 1878)

2. Verbs of adequacy. Notions of being enough or having some left over are

expressed by the verbs in this group:

- (14) Tres horas me bastaron para preparar el  
 Three hour.PL 1.SG.DAT be.enough.PST.3PL for prepare.INF the.M.SG  
 examen  
 exam  
 ‘Three hours were enough for me to prepare the exam’

3. Verbs of physical motion and change. In this group, we find concepts such as *arrive, go, go up, come, return, escape, be born, die...*:

- (15) Me volvió el dolor de cabeza  
 1.SG.DAT return.PST.3SG the.M.SG pain of head  
 ‘The headache came back to me’

4. Verbs of occurrence, including *happen, occur, turn up, take place, happen suddenly...*:

- (16) Nos pasó una cosa horrible en el viaje  
 1.PL.DAT happen.PST.3SG a.F.SG thing horrible in the trip  
 ‘Something terrible happened to us on the trip’

5. Psychological verbs. There are quite a few verbs that are part of this group, relating to psychological experience: *like, interest, amuse, bore, worry, convince...* Some of them allow both a transitive pattern and an ergative one, in which the experiencer is mapped as a dative:

- (17) Me ofenden tus comentarios  
 1.SG.DAT offend.PRS.3PL 2.SG.POSS comment.PL  
 ‘Your comments offend me’

Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999) notes that some of these datives could possibly be non-argumental, i.e. not required in the valency of the verb, even though it is hard to conclude unambiguously in some cases. We will leave psychological predicates that require a dative in their argument structure and non-argument datives for Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.

This far we have seen dative pronouns can appear in many different contexts. The rest of the chapter will be devoted to discuss three-place predicates which take a dative as one of their arguments, i.e. ditransitive verbs.

## 3.2 Distribution

It has traditionally been claimed in grammars (Gutiérrez-Ordóñez, 1999) that dative arguments in ditransitive constructions can be expressed in Spanish in three different ways:

- Through an *a* - dative marked NP as in (18):

(18) Doy                      un              regalo a Marta  
       give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift        to Marta  
       ‘I give a present to Marta’

- With a weak dative pronoun<sup>10</sup>:

(19) Le                      doy                      un              regalo  
       3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift  
       ‘I give him/her a present’

- Both with the *a* - marked noun phrase and the weak dative pronoun, a phenomenon known as *doubling* or *reduplication*:

(20) Le<sub>i</sub>                      doy                      un              regalo a Marta<sub>i</sub>  
       3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift        to Marta  
       ‘I give her<sub>i</sub> a gift to Marta<sub>i</sub>’

Note that in (19), the weak pronoun only conveys some grammatical information pertaining to case and number, but not gender. In (20), however, we have a noun phrase that narrows down the reference of the pronoun to a feminine noun (Marta). We do believe the alternation of these three configurations is not simply optional, nor just free variation. In this chapter we will discuss the implications of the presence/absence of a weak pronoun in a dative configuration and will claim that (18) is becoming a less felicitous alternative in some cases, because of a nuance of affectedness provided by the weak pronoun that might be becoming grammaticalised.

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<sup>10</sup>As seen in Chapter 2, Spanish weak dative pronouns are *me*, *te*, *le* (*se*), *nos*, *os*, *les* and only third person pronouns *le*, *les* differ from the accusative forms *la*, *lo*, *las*, *los*.

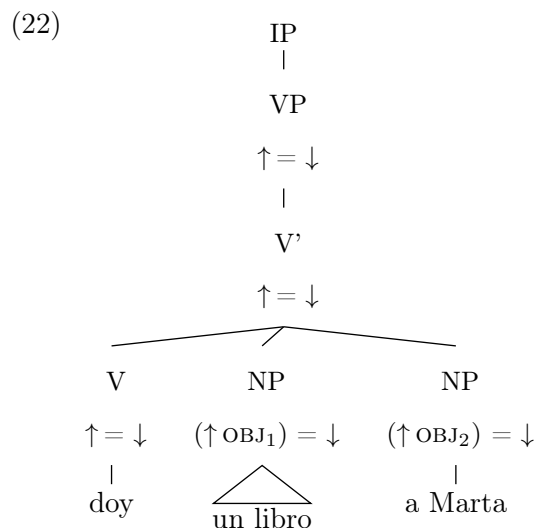


### 3.3 Preliminary syntactic account

Syntactically speaking, (18) and (19) do not pose major issues, other than deciding what to label each of the arguments in the sentence. For a first approach, we could tentatively use OBJ1 and OBJ2, on the assumption that the dative marks an objective function. A simple f-structure for (18) would be as follows:

$$(21) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'DAR< (SUBJ) (OBJ}_1\text{) (OBJ}_2\text{)>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_1 \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'REGALO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad - \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_2 \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'MARTA'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT <'A'>} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

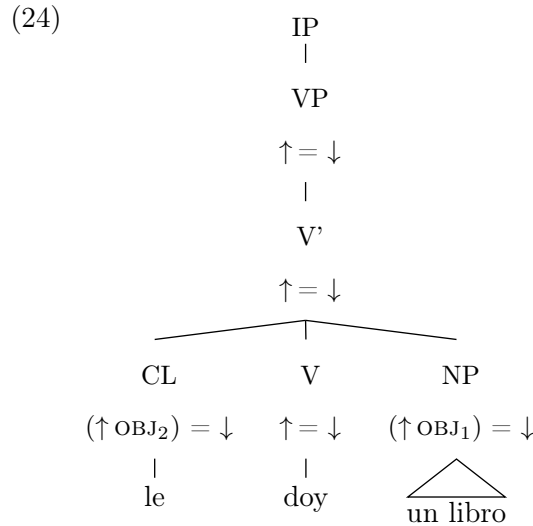
And the corresponding c-structure:



For a sentence such as (19) with a weak pronoun instead of a NP, we would again have quite straight forward structures:

$$(23) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'GIVE'} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}_1) (\text{OBJ}_2) > \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_1 \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LIBRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad - \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_2 \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

And the corresponding c-structure is given in (24) below



An issue that arises from the analyses in (23) and (24) is that we would need to assign the weak pronoun a part of speech status and account for its special linearization properties. We could argue that they need to be separated from the rest of pronouns in the language as they do not share all properties with them, hence why they are distinguished as “weak”. Following Bresnan (2001), we could consider CL - ‘clitic’ as a part of speech. Our lexical entry for the dative pronoun would follow that proposed by Bresnan (2001) for accusatives in River Plate Spanish and it should be unproblematic:

$$(25) \text{le} \quad \text{CL} \quad \begin{array}{l} (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'PRO'} \\ (\uparrow \text{CASE}) = \text{DAT} \\ (\uparrow \text{NUM}) = \text{SG} \end{array}$$

Our simple rule for  $\bar{V}$  would therefore look like:

$$(26) \quad \bar{V} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{CL} & \text{V} & \text{NP} \\ (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_2) = \downarrow & \uparrow = \downarrow & (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_1) = \downarrow \end{array}$$

It can be, however, a bit far-fetched to argue for the introduction of a whole new category into the parts of speech inventory, especially when they are very limited in distribution. They do belong to the category of pronouns but even though they do not share the same characteristics with all of them, it would also be quite odd to conflate phonological weakness with part of speech and argue that these pronouns belong to a lexical category different from the rest of pronouns in the language.

Because they do not have any of the characteristics any regular projected phrase has (e.g. they cannot be modified), we could also consider them non-projecting words in the way Toivonen (2001) treats Swedish verbal particles. This analysis would preserve the notion that we are dealing with syntactic entities or constructs, but they are somehow “special”.<sup>11</sup> This approach would also overcome the shortcomings of introducing a new part of speech altogether, especially one that seems to be quite defective in behaviour if compared with the traditional inventory of parts of speech. Toivonen (2001, p.16) provides a set of criteria that make Swedish particles a group of its own, namely they are stressed, they immediately follow the verb position within the VP and they cannot have a modifier or complement. It is precisely this last criterion that makes a compelling argument to treat these particles as non-projecting elements, since no full phrase could ever appear in the particle position. Similarly, Spanish weak pronouns show specific characteristics that would make them pattern together as a group:

- (27) (a) They are unstressed pronouns.
- (b) They are attached to verbs and can only appear in specific positions: proclitics or enclitics (see Chapter 2).
- (c) They cannot be modified or take a complement

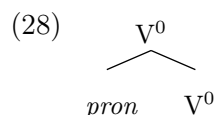
It follows that it would be sensible to make weak pronouns non-projecting elements

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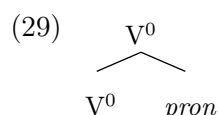
<sup>11</sup>See Chapter 2 for discussion on clitics and their status.

too. They cannot form their own syntactic category as syntactic categories are not limited in distribution the way weak pronouns are.

This could be implemented following Toivonen (2001)’s approach. She assumes the following notation: *a non-projecting word is a plain  $X$ , and a projecting word is an  $X^0$* .<sup>12</sup>



This therefore implies that weak pronominals are head adjoined to the verb, which is quite an elegant solution that works also if we are dealing with enclitics. (28) shows adjunction for proclitics and (29) for enclitics:



This analysis would also preserve the locality observed in the behaviour of these pronouns due to their phonological weakness. They must appear attached to their host. Full phrases -even if with some discourse implications- show more flexibility regarding their placement:

- (30) Le            di                    un        libro a Marta  
       3.DAT.SG give.PST.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
       ‘I gave a book to Marta’.

- (31) Le            di                    a Marta un        libro  
       3.DAT.SG give.PST.1SG to Marta a.M.SG book  
       ‘I gave to Marta a book’

This flexibility does not apply to the dative pronoun, which displays very strict patterns of placement as discussed in Chapter 2.

An issue that might arise from this analysis is how to deal with clusters of

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<sup>12</sup>Most linguists now use  $\hat{X}$  for non-projecting words, as proposed by Asudeh (2002) who thought that notation was visually clearer to indicate a type of “roof” (*sic*) meaning these categories cannot project any further. Therefore, unless we are referring to Toivonen (2001)’s work specifically, we will adopt the  $\hat{X}$  notation.

clitics. For instance, in a construction with two objects, they both can be expressed as a weak pronoun at the same time:

- (32) Me            dio            un        libro  
       1.DAT.SG give.PST.3SG a.M.SG book  
       ‘He/she gave me a book’.

- (33) Me            lo            dio  
       1.DAT.SG 3.ACC.M.SG give.PST.3SG  
       ‘He/she gave me it.’

We could still utilise the same type of analysis, with a recursive head adjunction in a similar fashion to Sadler (2000)’s approach to Welsh noun phrase structure:

- (34)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 V^0 \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \text{pron} \quad V^0 \\
 \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \quad \text{pron} \quad V^0
 \end{array}$$

It might also be possible that the cluster is created first in the morphology and gets attached to the verb at once, rather than having a recursive attachment of pronouns. This could also serve as explanation for the allomorphy of the dative clitic when in a cluster: when we have a third person dative clitic together with an accusative one, the clitic is spelled as *se*:

- (35) (a) **Le**            doy            un        libro (a Juan)  
       3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to Juan  
       ‘I give a book to Juan’  
       (b) **Se**            lo            doy            (a Juan)  
       3.SG.DAT 3.M.SG.ACC give.PRS.1SG to Juan  
       ‘I give it to Juan’

This morpho-phonological operation might indeed take place in the morphology and the clitic cluster gets attached to the verb as a unit. We would have cluster formation in the morphology and then the cluster would be a derived word that get attached as a non-projecting word to V in the syntax. This derived item could define two different functions -two objects in this case. This can be easily specified in the lexical entry

of this item:

- (36) *se lo*      ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = PRO  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>1</sub> NUM) = SG  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>1</sub> PERS) = 3  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>1</sub> CASE) = ACC  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>2</sub> NUM) = SG  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>2</sub> PERS) = 3  
                   ( $\uparrow$  OBJ<sub>2</sub> CASE) = DAT

Sentences that present doubling as (20) -repeated below as (37)- pose more issues syntactically as we in principle could have two items -an NP and a weak pronoun- with one same function, which would violate the “*Function-argument biuniqueness*: Each a-structure role must be associated with a unique function, and conversely” (Bresnan and Zaenen, 1990, 7).

- (37) *Le<sub>i</sub>            doy            un        regalo a    Marta<sub>i</sub>*  
       3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift    to Marta  
       ‘I give her<sub>i</sub> a gift to Marta<sub>i</sub>’

In principle, this is easily solved if we were to follow Bresnan (2001)’s proposal, by which, in the event of doubling, the PRED value of the pronoun CL would become optional as shown in the following lexical entry:

- (38)            (( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘PRO’)  
       *le: CL*    ( $\uparrow$  CASE) = DAT  
                   ( $\uparrow$  NUM) = SG

This solution, however, would not work as neatly for datives as it does for the accusative sentences in River Plate Spanish, where either the weak pronoun or the full co-referred phrase could be made optional at any given time<sup>13</sup>.

With dative configurations, we will argue the weak pronoun is not simply *op-*

<sup>13</sup>There are patterns displayed by verbs such as psychological predicates, which will be discussed in Chapter 4 that make the presence of the pronoun obligatory, and as such it is quite likely the bit of the sentence that gets the relevant GF, which is one of the reasons why we will be arguing against making its PRED value optional when it appears with a NP.

*tional*, and as suggested by Cuervo (2003) and Demonte (1995) there are possibly implications depending on the presence/absence of the pronoun. We will examine the different possibilities in upcoming sections.

### 3.4 A first approach to Argument Structure

When dealing with ditransitive constructions, i.e. constructions with two arguments besides the subject, we find that the typical roles assigned to those arguments are theme and some sort of recipient:

- (39) I gave a book to Mary  
                     *theme*    *recipient*

Different languages have different ways to express these two participants. Some languages also show alternations in the mapping of said participants, e.g. English:

- (40) (a) I gave a book to Mary  
                     *theme*    *recipient*  
                     [OBJ]    [OBL]
- (b) I gave Mary a book  
                     *recipient*    *theme*  
                     [OBJ]    [OBJ<sub>θ</sub>]

#### 3.4.1 Lexical Mapping Theory

These argument structure alternations must be captured by a theory that accounts for the alternative GF mapping and any semantic alternation that might occur. Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) proposes a model that offers a constant template for the syntactic arguments and allows the different semantic participants to align as necessary<sup>14</sup>. In the version of LMT reformulated by Kibort (2008), the following basic valency template is assumed:

- (41) ⟨arg<sub>1</sub> arg<sub>2</sub> arg<sub>3</sub> arg<sub>4</sub> ... arg<sub>n</sub>⟩  
           [-o/-r] [-r]    [+o] [-o]            [-o]

The feature [-r] refers to a syntactic function which is not restricted as to the semantic role. A [-o] syntactic function is *nonobjective* (Bresnan and Zaenen, 1990). Syntactic

<sup>14</sup>See Chapter 1 for description of Lexical Mapping Theory.

functions have a particular set of features associated with them as in (42):

(42)

		[-r]	[+r]
	[-o]	SUBJ	OBL <sub>θ</sub>
	[+o]	OBJ	OBJ <sub>θ</sub>

This classification will restrict the mapping possibilities: only subjects and objects are [-r] and only a [+o] role will be able to map into an [OBJ] function.

There are some basic principles that restrict the mapping of roles onto GFS. Thus, the external argument<sup>15</sup> would be a [-o/-r] role and the internal argument would have [+r/-o] features. The external argument has to be mapped onto the SUBJ, and if there is no such argument, the internal argument would map onto the SUBJ function.

A given predicate will have a list of argument roles that are ordered by the thematic hierarchy derived by Bresnan and Zaenen (1990) as follows:

(43) *agent* < *beneficiary* < *experiencer/goal* < *instrument* < *patient/theme* < *locative*

The [± o] and [± r] features will constrain the mapping into functions resulting in the grouping in (42).

### 3.4.2 Ditransitive constructions in Spanish

Spanish encodes ditransitive predicates with a theme argument mapped as some OBJ function and a beneficiary/affected argument which displays dative marking. The distribution of the dative argument is (repeated from § 3.2) as follows:

(a) Through an *a* - dative marked NP<sup>16</sup>:

(44) Doy                      un        regalo a Marta  
       give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift    to Marta  
       ‘I give a present to Marta’

<sup>15</sup>As defined by Levin and Rappaport (1986), the external argument would be the predicator whose most prominent role is [-o].

<sup>16</sup>Note we will end up arguing this alternative is becoming less and less frequent and it is actually the dative weak pronoun that encodes the entailments of affectedness.



(b) with a weak dative pronoun:

- (45) Le            doy            un            regalo  
       3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift  
       ‘I give him/her a present’

(c) both with the *a* - marked noun phrase and the weak dative pronoun<sup>17</sup>:

- (46) Le<sub>*i*</sub>            doy            un            regalo a Marta<sub>*i*</sub>  
       3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift    to Marta  
       ‘I give her<sub>*i*</sub> a gift to Marta<sub>*i*</sub>’

Kibort (2008, pp. 5-6) identifies three patterns of alignment in ditransitives, basing this split on morphosyntactic behaviour, such as ability to passivise and on morphological expression such as marking with case:

1. Beneficiary as canonical dative:

- (47)
- |                    |                  |                    |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>x</i>           | <i>y</i>         | <b><i>b</i></b>    |
|                    |                  |                    |
| ⟨ arg <sub>1</sub> | arg <sub>2</sub> | arg <sub>3</sub> ⟩ |
| [-o]               | [-r]             | [+o]               |

2. Beneficiary as oblique:

- (48)
- |                    |                  |                    |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>x</i>           | <i>y</i>         | <b><i>b</i></b>    |
|                    |                  |                    |
| ⟨ arg <sub>1</sub> | arg <sub>2</sub> | arg <sub>4</sub> ⟩ |
| [-o]               | [-r]             | [-o]               |

3. Beneficiary as shifted dative:

- (49)
- |                    |                  |                    |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>x</i>           | <b><i>b</i></b>  | <i>y</i>           |
|                    |                  |                    |
| ⟨ arg <sub>1</sub> | arg <sub>2</sub> | arg <sub>3</sub> ⟩ |
| [-o]               | [-r]             | [+o]               |

<sup>17</sup>Constraints on the mapping include *Function-argument biuniqueness*: Each a-structure role must be associated with a unique function, and conversely (Bresnan and Zaenen, 1990, 7).

$x$ ,  $y$  and  $b$  stand for sets of entailments and we see in (49) that the shifted dative construction involves ‘ $b$ ’ as  $arg_2$  in direct contrast with the other patterns, especially with (47). We will now examine the three options to determine whether the dative argument in Spanish should be analysed as oblique, shifted dative or canonical dative and any issues these analyses may raise.

### 3.4.2.1 Beneficiary as oblique

If we take a sentence such as (18) -repeated below as (50)- as reference, we see we have two arguments other than the external argument, that are traditionally labelled as “direct” (*un regalo*) and “indirect” (*a Marta*) objects.

- (50) Doy                    un            regalo a Marta  
       give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift      to Marta  
       ‘I give a present to Marta’

Direct objects in ditransitive contexts are generally NPs that show no particular marking<sup>18</sup>. In contrast, indirect objects expressed as full phrases as in (50) require to be introduced by *a*. *a* in Spanish can appear in different contexts:

- With indirect objects, marking dative case:

- (51) Le                    doy                    un            regalo **a** Marta  
       3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift      DAT Marta  
       ‘I give a gift to Marta’

- Prepositional use:

Directional ‘to’:

- (52) Voy                    **a** Londres  
       go.PRS.1SG to London  
       ‘I go to London’

- (53) Envío                    una            postal      **a** Londres  
       send.PRS.1SG a.F.SG postcard to London  
       ‘I send a postcard to London’

Preposition of time - ‘at’:

---

<sup>18</sup>The *a* that appears with some direct objects is an animacy marker and has nothing to do with case.

- (54) Siempre como            **a** las            tres  
       always    eat.PRS.1SG at the.F.PL three  
       ‘I always have lunch at three’

Because of the various uses of *a* as a preposition, it could be worth considering whether the *a*-marked phrase could be a PP and therefore the so-called indirect object analysed as OBL. As noted by Alsina (1996), indirect objects resemble obliques in different aspects and also differ in their behaviour from objects. Both obliques and indirect objects follow the direct object and cannot correspond to the SUBJ in passive constructions.

However, there are many respects in which indirect objects behave much like objects and unlike obliques: *a* can be also found in different contexts where it does not work as a preposition and is actually a grammatical marker of different features. For instance it marks animacy/human in objects:

- (55) Peino            el            pelo  
       Comb.PRS.1SG the.M.SG hair  
       ‘I comb the hair’

The corresponding sentence with a human object would require *a*:

- (56) Peino            a            Marta  
       Comb.PRS.1SG +HUM Marta  
       *lit.* ‘I comb Marta’  
       ‘I comb Marta’s hair’

- (57) Llamo            a            Marta  
       call.PRS.1SG +HUM Marta  
       ‘I call Marta’

We will therefore argue, following Alsina (1996), that indirect objects should be grouped with subjects and objects, as opposed to obliques. Subsequently the *a*-phrase will be considered a dative marked NP rather than a PP. We will see below some more relevant arguments supporting our position.

As pointed out by Kayne (1975), personal pronouns with any object function must be expressed as clitics, with optional doubling. This holds both for direct and

indirect objects:

- (58) a. \*Llamo                    a                    ella  
          Call.PRS.1SG +HUM 3.F.SG.NOM                    [OBJ]
- b. La                    llamo                    (a                    ella)  
          3.F.SG.ACC call.PRS.1SG +HUM 3.F.SG.NOM  
          ‘I call her’
- (59) a. \*Doy                    un                    regalo a                    ella  
          give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift                    DAT 3.F.SG.NOM                    [IND OBJ]
- b. Le                    doy                    un                    regalo (a                    ella)  
          3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift                    DAT 3.F.SG.NOM  
          ‘I give a gift to her / I give her a gift’

This is not true of oblique arguments, which do not show doubling either<sup>19</sup>:

- (60) a. Confío                      en ella  
      trust.PRS.1SG in 3.F.SG.NOM
- b. \*Le/la                      confío                      en ella  
   3.SG.DAT/3.F.SG.ACC trust.PRS.1SG in 3.F.SG.NOM  
   ‘I trust her’

A reflexive weak pronoun binds a subject to another argument which would correspond to a direct or indirect object in a non-reflexive construction, but never to an oblique (Alsina, 1996). If we replace the clitics in (58) - (60) by reflexive clitics, we obtain the following:

- (61) Se llama  
3.REFL call.PRS.3SG  
'She calls herself'
- (62) Se da un regalo  
3.REFL give.PRS.3SG a.M.SG gift  
'She gives a gift to herself'
- (63) \*Se confía  
3.REFL trust.PRS.3SG  
'She trusts herself'

---

<sup>19</sup>Note there is no oblique use of *a* in Spanish.

Alsina (1996) provides more arguments that he applies to Catalan and some of them can be applied to Spanish too:

1. Disjoint reference of pronouns: “a pronominal object must be disjoint in reference with the subject of its clause while the pronominal object of an oblique preposition is free to refer to the subject of its clause”(Alsina, 1996, p. 154):

(64) Marta<sub>i</sub> la<sub>\*i/e</sub> llama a ella<sub>\*i/e</sub>  
 Marta 3.F.SG.ACC call.PRS.3SG +ANIM 3.F.SG.NOM

‘Marta calls her’

(65) Marta<sub>i</sub> sólo mira por ella<sub>i/e</sub>  
 Marta only look.PRS.3SG for 3.F.SG.NOM

‘Marta only looks out for her/herself’

2. Ability to bind quantifiers: “a possessive pronoun modifying the accusative object can be bound by a quantified dative object, but not by a quantified oblique”(Alsina, 1996, p. 155). Even though he uses Catalan to illustrate this contrast, he bases his observations in examples from Demonte (1987), whose examples we adapt below:

(66) (a) El profesor le dio su<sub>i</sub> dibujo  
 the.M.SG teacher 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3SG 3.SG.POSS drawing  
 favorito a cada niño<sub>i</sub>  
 favourite.M.SG DAT each child

‘The teacher gave each child his favourite drawing’

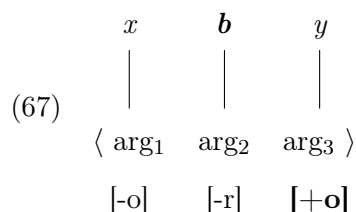
(b) El profesor enmarcó su<sub>\*i</sub> dibujo favorito  
 the.M.SG teacher frame.PST.3SG 3.SG.POSS drawing favourite.M.SG  
 con cada niño<sub>\*i</sub>  
 with each child

‘The teacher framed his favourite drawing with each child’

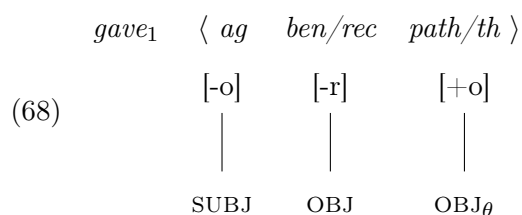
It seems therefore that we can rule out an OBL analysis for the dative argument in ditransitive constructions in Spanish. We will now turn to the two other patterns of alignment proposed by Kibort (2008): shifted dative or canonical dative.

### 3.4.2.2 Beneficiary as shifted dative

In analyses of dative shift, the focus was on characterising the alternation between the *Double Object Construction* (DOC) and the OBL variant - i.e. ‘*I gave them a present*’ vs. ‘*I gave a present to them*’. For English, for instance, Rappaport-Hovav and Levin (2008) modify the uniform multiple meaning approach by which the oblique variant would entail caused motion and the DOC caused possession, and argue this distinction is actually verb sensitive and not all verbs in the OBL variant convey that meaning. We will not commit to either approach here since, according to them, in the DOC variant, which is the one relevant for us, in both approaches, we only get the caused possession meaning. In English we find this pattern, repeated from above, which is associated with caused possession entailments:



So following Kibort (2008) and the traditional LFG analysis for these constructions, a sentence such as ‘I gave them cheques’ would be analysed as follows:



The second argument shows no morphological marking for case but has an object-like property which is that it can become the subject of a passive construction:

(69) They were given cheques

In Spanish, however, this argument is always marked as dative and it can never

become the subject in the passive:

- (70) \*Marta fue           dada           un       regalo  
       Marta   be.PST.3SG give.F.SG.PART a.M.SG gift  
       ‘Marta was given a gift’.

We can argue therefore that the Spanish dative is not a case of a shifted dative. We will examine next the possibility that it might behave as a canonical dative.

### 3.4.2.3 Beneficiary as canonical dative

In the pattern for canonical dative proposed by Kibort (2008), we find the dative as  $arg_3$ :

- (71)
- |           |         |             |
|-----------|---------|-------------|
| $x$       | $y$     | $b$         |
|           |         |             |
| ⟨ $arg_1$ | $arg_2$ | ⟨ $arg_3$ ⟩ |
| [-o]      | [-r]    | [+o]        |

The properties displayed by this type of structural datives listed by Kibort (2008, p.5) are the following:

- Dedicated morphology (usually dative case). This applies for Spanish. This argument is expressed through a dative weak personal pronoun or marked with *a* if an NP is present.
- Availability for all predicates, with different meanings (benefactive, malefactive or other related meaning).
- Impossibility of promoting it to subject - as seen in (70) above.
- Impossibility of changing its status to object (as in dative shift) through any argument-structure alteration in the predicate.
- Unavailability for raising
- Resistance to multiplication





2. with a weak dative pronoun:

(74) Le            doy            un            regalo  
3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift

‘I give him/her a present’

3. both with the *a* - marked noun phrase and the weak dative pronoun:

(75) Le<sub>i</sub>            doy            un            regalo a    Marta<sub>i</sub>  
3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift    DAT Marta

‘I give her<sub>i</sub> a gift to Marta<sub>i</sub>’

As mentioned in R.A.E (2009a), option 1 is characteristic of indirect complements that are interpreted as recipient<sup>21</sup>. However, they do concede that speakers tend to prefer options 2 or 3, and options such as 1 are becoming less frequent and are relegated to the written language. The results of a simple corpus search confirm this tendency:

una. Cuando termino vuelvo al cuarto de baño y me doy una ducha. Me miro al espejo y me digo: "¿Me afeí se, pero dos... A ver si me aficiono y después no doy una... No, no, de verdad, no. - Esta no es del Ca dice ni miau. Por ser un cabrón con pintas no le doy propina. Por lo bajini me llama hijoputa, pero yo a me pida el autógrafo, por mi madre que no se lo doy. Desde luego hay putas que no se recatan. Esta es s piernas se me habían quedado dormidas y casi me doy una leche con una mesita que estaba plantada allí ete. Se quedó con las ganas. Yo por el culo no le doy ni a las mujeres. Mi padre decía que era cosa de la suela de los zapatos-, pero el gustazo que me doy no hay quien me lo quite. Con el jaleo, claro, ap aya a cagar o a hacer lo que le venga en gana. Le doy la tela y me besa a modo de despedida. Las putas ¡Y a mí qué coño me importa! -le espeto. Salgo y doy un portazo. La gente empieza a darte información apoyo a la clase obrera como otra cualquiera. Le doy al gin-tonic y abro la bolsa para comprobar la ca do la tarde, mientras no acabe en la comisaría me doy con un canto en los dientes. Capítulo IV JUEVES , Caudillo de España por la G. de Dios. 1957." Le doy la vuelta y me encuentro con un escudito y un águ una cafetería y me decido a entrar. Al tiempo que doy descanso a mis posaderas pido una cerveza y un sa firma. Cojo cuatro billetes de cinco mil y se los doy. - Insisto. Tenga este dinero como señal. A mí m - Le haré un recibo. Con un ademán de la mano le doy a entender que entre caballeros esas cosas no se unos cuantos. Aparto el plato de un manotazo y me doy al vino en plan de dedicación exclusiva. El camar ientes, pero yo no le hago ni puto caso. Mientras doy cuenta del vino me dedico a observar a una panda mo se arrastran por las calles, cojo un taxi y le doy al chófer la dirección de Sempere. Sempere vende les. Ya sabe cómo son los niños. Con un ademán le doy a entender que no se preocupe, que ya sé cómo son repercusión en el mercado negro de armamentos le doy lo que me ha pedido. Me acompaña hasta la puerta cape. Como nunca he podido soportar la sangre, le doy la espalda. Oigo sus estertores y me vienen unas una cosa dura. Me pregunto qué puede ser. Pronto doy con la respuesta. Es su polla que, con el susto y comer con los dedos. Para entretener la espera le doy a la conversación. - ¿Mucho trabajo? Dejo caer. M por una, las joyas. Mientras él las examina yo le doy al purito. Concluido el análisis, Rivera se quita habrá que esperar hasta mañana. Con un ademán le doy a entender que me parece muy bien. - Tiene que ve

Figure 3.1: Example from CREA - Real Academia Española (nd)

After a corpus search with a prototypical verb such as *dar* ‘to give’, we see that most of the examples contain a weak pronoun, and out of the examples that do not, 4 of them have no “indirect” object, and we find only one that has an *a*-marked phrase that is not doubled by a weak pronoun and it is also quite likely an idiom:

<sup>21</sup>“La opción 1 es característica de los complementos indirectos que se interpretan como destinatarios” (R.A.E, 2009a, p.2679).

- (76) Doy                    descanso a    mis    posaderas  
       Give.PRS.1SG rest            to my.PL buttock.PL  
       ‘I give rest to my buttocks’

This could very well be as we say some idiomatic meaning, but in any case, it seems clear that an a-marked phrase is not preferred by the speakers.

For a more accurate result, we could look for *dar* together with *a* to check what the tendency is when we actually have the NP: do we get doubling in most cases or is it still not clear? If we filter for the type of text and choose “oral speech”, we find that the majority of examples show doubling in the spoken language as suggested:

or ejemplo, necesita un empresario, yo **a** usted le **doy** tal dinero y usted hace tal negocio o hace usted  
 í un problema que han planteado, y ahora mismo le **doy** la palabra **a** usted, ustedes han planteado pública  
 mo. ¡No me diga! Sí. ¡Caramba! No fumo, no le **doy** un beso **a** mi marido delante de él tampoco. ¡No m  
 á no os gusta que os besen, pero yo **a** Carolina le **doy** un beso muy grande, le agradezco mucho A Cristin  
 par dos seis. Vamos a ver, si yo aquí **a** éste, le **doy** el valor dos . ¿Cuántas veces lo hemos hecho equi  
 daca. ¿Qué pasa? Que lo que ella me da, yo se lo **doy** **a** Andrés lo que me dé. Pero eso como toda la vi  
 quería y no la gustó. Entonces: "Pues ahora se la **doy** **a** ésta y como la guste, vas a ver, te vas ". Y en  
 ndo a todo dios, porque, claro, esto es decir que **doy** **razón a éstos** que están ahí, nada más con el únic  
 voy diciendo: bueno, ¡y tú eres inglés! O sea, le **doy** esta carta **a** mi profesor de la facultad y flipa y  
 ¡Salud! ¡Alo! Oye, Dolores. ¿Qué? Bueno, le **doy** el teléfono **a** Rubén. ¿Qué? Le **doy** el teléfono **a**  
 é? Bueno, le **doy** el teléfono **a** Rubén. ¿Qué? Le **doy** el teléfono **a** Rubén, ¿tú oyes? Bueno, que se pon  
 n la mía. Yo te **doy** en la tuya, esto. Ahora te **doy** **a** ti. Podrán pasar varias cosas. Las manos tienen  
 eros, te lo digo yo, me machaco mucho, ¿no?, y le **doy** vueltas **a** la cabeza, y despertarme y ponerme el v  
 loco, esos tipos que tenían esas ideas: yo no le **doy** **a** mi hija sino a aquel hombre que viniera en un c  
 ros. Tú ya sabes que lo he demostrado, que yo le **doy** la vuelta **a** un partido en un momento, vamos, y me  
 una cosa que yo lo he dicho muchas veces, que yo **doy** **gracias a Dios** ahora porque el éxito me haya veni  
 lo dicen. Además, también me han dicho que me **doy** un aire **a** Felipe Conosacuer ¿sabes?, el torpedo e  
 todo, tía. Yo toco la guitarra y demasiado, y ya **doy** **gracias a Dios**. ¿Por lo que veo sólo sabemos coc  
 ncantado, estoy a vuestra disposición. pinzas le **doy** aquí **a** algunas personas que tienen perro. Pongo a  
 ne sus ventajas e inconvenientes. Entonces, yo le **doy** **a** usted mi opinión. Mi opinión es que lo que evi  
 contra de esa violencia. Ésa es una idea que les **doy** **a** los objetores. . ¿Qué le parece? Pues me ha  
 de el Zorro. Le **doy** la capa y la máscara y se la **doy** **a** Antonio Banderas y si empezamos en enero en Méj  
 rtad. Vamos a publicidad otra vez y enseguida le **doy** **a** usted la palabra, señor López. Volvemos ensegui  
 é quieres ¡Increíble! No pasa nada. Pero oye le **doy** cerrojazo y **a** otra cosa, es igual. Bien, si no te  
 iga una cosa. Hay un comentario, y ahora mismo le **doy** paso **a** usted, y a usted, Julián Marías ha dicho,

Figure 3.2: Example from CREA - Real Academia Española (nd): oral speech

However, when we check for written language and filter for examples from writ-  
 ten media such as newspapers, the results show a higher number of constructions  
 with a dative NP and with no weak pronoun:

ierda y otra que te chuleen y te tomen por tonto; doy mi brazo a torcer hasta cierto punto, lo entiendo u vez, recibió un rosario de perlas y plata. "Les doy a los dos la enhorabuena y también a los Reyes, a Maragall fue para demostrarle la importancia que doy a este concepto de la lista más votada. Yo espero cuencias que pudo haber tenido aquella agresión y doy gracias a Dios por lo que pudo haber pasado y que del G-7, el mes próximo. Apoyo al terrorismo "No doy este paso a la ligera", indicó el presidente Clin orte de los tableros. El caso es que cada vez que doy en asomarme a esa ágora me vienen al pensamiento posea dotes adivinatorias, pero lo cierto es que doy mala suerte a los partidos políticos de los que h clase de papeles. "El viernes que viene -me dijo- doy una cena a la que todo el mundo vendrá disfrazado tos. Pero mis obligaciones me lo han impedido. Os doy las gracias a todos por los buenos ratos que nos tos. Pero mis obligaciones me lo han impedido. Os doy las gracias a todos por los buenos ratos que nos los cuadros de las sociedades nacionalizadas, no doy crédito a mis propios oídos. ¡Es una preocupación Le preocupa su imagen? - Mucho, sobre todo la que doy a los niños. Hay muchísimos niños en España que m os y a alguno le cuento alguna idea. Pero a quien doy el coñazo es a mi mujer. Es terrible lo que mi mu costosas. Y estas obras no son posibles si no me doy a conocer y cuento con el reconocimiento del públ as. EPIDURAL. Llamo desde Alcalá. Estoy a favor y doy mi apovo a estos señores que han llamado para que vaba a Europa desde Buenos Aires: "Un consejo les doy: imaten a Borges!". ¿Lo dijo de veras? Ésa es la dos del eurosocialismo español, en el sentido que doy a este término (PSOE, PCE, PSP, PSC, PSUC...) par ntarse a Ben Johnson en Barcelona 92; "pero no le doy demasiada importancia a ese hecho", dijo. Lewis s en las revistas del corazón? R. Gracias a Dios no doy motivo para ello. Si fuera joven efebo, quizá, pe cumentada. "Cuando me aplico al trabajo novelesco doy permiso a la ficción aunque el relato se base en "que nunca se me ha pasado por la cabeza eso, ni doy ninguna significación a que ustedes comieran con saliendo solo. Claro que no soy exactamente como doy a entender en él, pero ni yo sé cómo soy, así que edes hacer lo que deseas. Sabía que iba a ganar y doy las gracias a Dios por ayudarme y a Tyson por con ón económica y para la justicia social. Igual que doy las gracias a los obispos, respeto la libertad de é quién lo habrá inventado). Así que me resigno y doy vía libre a todo lo que venga. En algún lugar del

Figure 3.3: Example from CREA - Real Academia Española (nd): press<sup>22</sup>

It is probably because of this preference on the part of the speakers to have the dative pronoun in the sentence that sentences that are grammatical -based on main grammars of the language such as the Royal Academy grammar- are getting less used.

There have been however some views on the use of the dative that claim there actually are significant and systematic differences between the presence and absence of the pronoun.

### 3.5.1 Dative NP vs. PP

Cuervo (2003) and Demonte (1995) argue that if there is no dative weak pronoun, there is no dative at all and so sentences such as (77) below would not present a dative noun phrase but a prepositional phrase.

- (77) Doy                    un        regalo a                    Marta  
       give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG gift        **TO.DAT/P** Marta  
       'I give a present to Marta'

The alternative distribution of these sentences has been paired to *ditransitive* sentences in languages like English. These sentences would seem to show an alternation

<sup>22</sup>Some of the examples include constructions that might be idiomatic, such as 'give thanks', but even if we removed some of those, the number of occurrences would still quite clearly be higher than in the spoken language.

between a [NP PP] and a [weak pronoun NP a+NP] structure for the doubled complement. They seem to assume that it is the clitic that triggers “*dativity*” and if it is not present the a-phrase would be a prepositional phrase. However, as discussed above in § 3.4.2.1, we argue against treating the phrase as a PP and consider it a dative marked NP in all cases, therefore discarding a possible analysis of such phrase as OBL. In their view, if the dative is present, “it is interpreted as “affected”, in the sense that it is considered to be either the possessor or an intrinsic part of the theme argument” (Demonte, 1995, p. 12).

- (78) Le<sub>i</sub>            puse            el            mantel    a la            mesa<sub>i</sub>  
       3.DAT.SG put.PST.1SG the.M.SG tablecloth to the.F.SG table  
       ‘I put the tablecloth on the table’ = the table was covered by the tablecloth

- (79) \*Le            puse            los            platos    a la            mesa  
       \*3.DAT.SG put.PST.1SG the.M.PL plates.PL to the.F.SG table  
       ‘I put the plates on the table’

This quite clearly reflects the notion of *affectedness*: the table is fully covered by the table cloth -hence “affected”- but not by the plates. For (79) to be grammatical, a different preposition would be required and we would not have the dative pronoun:

- (80) Puse            los            platos            en la            mesa  
       put.PST.1SG the.M.PL plates.M.PL on the.F.SG table.F.SG  
       ‘I put the plates on the table’

However, this only proves that arguments that are not affected cannot be expressed through a dative, but does not explain what happens with a-introduced phrases with no weak pronoun that are also affected and that Strozer (1976), Masullo (1992) or Cuervo (2003) would still claim are PPs<sup>23</sup>. Cuervo (2003) also favours this analysis and argues that doubled dative arguments are NPs and not PPs - which would mean *a* is a case marker rather than a preposition in those instances. She believes the presence or absence of the pronoun leads to two different configurations:

<sup>23</sup>For example (ii) -introduced below- which will be discussed later as (89):

- (ii) Juan (le)            pegó            (a            su            hermano)  
       Juan 3.DAT.SG hit.PST.3SG to/DAT 3.POSS.SG brother.M.SG  
       ‘Juan hit his brother’

1. With pronoun - double object construction (or similar) - but there is no mention about how to deal with the pronoun in the syntax
2. Without the pronoun - the non doubled “indirect” object is a PP

As far as syntactic function is concerned, Cuervo (2003) assumes we have a Double Object Construction (DOC) when we have a weak pronoun and an *a*-marked NP. The weak pronoun works as an applicative head that licenses the NP. Without this applicative head, the NP cannot be licensed, hence why we would have a prepositional phrase when the weak pronoun is not present<sup>24</sup>. Cuervo (2003) does not go into much detail about how to deal with the prepositional variant, as it would not be considered a dative so it is outside of the scope of her interests.<sup>25</sup> We could assume that under an LFG approach, this would translate into a difference in the mapping: the first one would likely map as an OBJ<sub>θ</sub> whereas the second one would map as an OBL. However, as discussed in § 3.4.2.1, we believe it is not convenient to argue that a non-doubled variant with a recipient/benefactive meaning is a PP introduced by a content preposition based only on the fact that the weak pronoun is not present. This NP and PP dichotomy has been claimed too by Masullo (1992, p. 60) who assumes that “where the clitic can be omitted there is actually no indirect object (no dative-marked NP) but a PP introduced by a content preposition”. Based on their assumptions, the following would represent the allowed combinations of either NP or PP:

- (81) Carlos **les** construyó una casa a los suegros  
 Carlos 3.DAT.PL give.PST.3SG a.F house **DAT** the.PL parents-in-law.PL  
 ‘Carlos built the parents-in-law a house’

In (81) we have a weak pronoun, so we therefore also have a dative NP

- (82) Carlos construyó una casa a los suegros  
 Carlos build.PST.3SG a.F house **to.PREP** the.PL parents-in-law.PL

<sup>24</sup>“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”.(Cuervo, 2003, p. 33)

<sup>25</sup>“whenever there is a dative argument in Spanish, there is a clitic that doubles it. If there is no clitic, there is no dative argument but a PP introduced by *a*. Doubling of datives is obligatory in Spanish, contrary to the widely held view that it is optional in certain cases” (Cuervo, 2003, p. 34).

‘Carlos built a house for the parents-in-law’

In (82) we do not have a weak pronoun, which necessarily means the benefactive phrase must be a PP. Similarly, (83) and (84) would not be acceptable, which follows from their assumptions: we cannot have a PP and a weak pronoun as in (83) nor a dative NP without a weak pronoun as in (84).

- (83) Carlos **les** construyó una casa a los  
 Carlos **3.DAT.PL** build.PST.3SG a.F house **\*to.PREP** the.PL  
 suegros  
 parents-in-law.PL

‘Carlos built them a house for the parents-in-law’

- (84) Carlos construyó una casa a los suegros  
 Carlos build.PST.3SG a.F house **\*DAT** the.PL parents-in-law.PL

‘Carlos built the parents-in-law a house’

It is very difficult to argue for such proposal since the sentences are identical, so no speaker would be able to tell the difference or ungrammaticality of any of them. Besides, the choice of verb here is not very helpful since ‘build’ is not a ditransitive predicate so the dative is probably non-argumental which would have a different set of characteristics and the ‘for’-benefactive reading of the preposition is clearer.

If we were to apply their generalisation to purely ditransitive verbs such as ‘give’, the contrast would not be clear, and if there is a contrast, it is of a different nature: the weak pronoun introduces a notion of affectedness, but this does not affect the syntax of the construction.

This is also reflected if we test some coordinated phrases including some that are clearly PPs introduced by *a* used as a preposition as seen in § 3.4.2.1:

- (85) Voy a mandar una carta a París, (a) Londres y (a) Berlín  
 go.PRS.1SG to send.INF a.F.SG letter to Paris, (to) London and (to) Berlin

‘I am going to send a letter to Paris, London and Berlin’

- (86) Voy a mandar una carta a Juan y (a) Marta  
 go.PRS.1SG to send.INF a.F.SG letter to Juan and (to) Marta

‘I am going to send a letter to Juan and Marta’

- (87) \*Voy            a mandar una carta a Juan y a Londres  
 go.PRS.1SG to send.INF a.F.SG letter to Juan and to London

‘I am going to send a letter to Juan and to London’

- (88) Voy            a mandar una carta a Juan y (a) Marta a Londres  
 go.PRS.1SG to send.INF a.F.SG letter to Juan and (to) Marta to London

‘I am going to send a letter to Juan and Marta to London’

In (85) we see three NPs introduced by a content *direction* preposition. The phrases refer to places, so they cannot be the recipient of the letter, which clearly makes them PPs. In (86) we have two recipients, Juan and Marta, and they can also coordinate. So far, based on the views above, they could be prepositional phrases. In this case we can also have a weak pronoun, which, if present, would make them NPs.

However, if they were indeed PPs we could coordinate all kinds as in (87)<sup>26</sup>. This is not the case, which indicates that we are indeed dealing with different types of phrases, presumably a recipient dative-marked NP and a PP. In (88) we see that we can coordinate the recipients and add a separate phrase, which can be a PP.

Strozer (1976) proposes an informal generalisation by distinguishing two different types of indirect objects that she labels IND<sub>1</sub> and IND<sub>2</sub><sup>27</sup>:

1. IND<sub>1</sub> [+TRANSFER] = optional doubling
2. IND<sub>2</sub> [-TRANSFER] = obligatory doubling

This view by Strozer (1976) is a bit more accurate in some more semantic sense, but the labels are not so clear: based on the examples she provides, she could also be distinguishing between selected and non-selected datives rather than indirect

<sup>26</sup>This can be an overgeneralisation as we have to also take into account the existence of non-standard coordination phenomena such as coordination of unlike categories and coordination of different grammatical functions (*cf.* Patejuk (2015)) and the identity of theta roles that seems to be required for coordination.

<sup>27</sup>It is not clear from this account what their syntactic function would be or even if they would show any difference in the syntactic mapping.

objects.<sup>28</sup>

Non-selected datives seem to require an obligatory pronoun, but we should not call it doubling, as the *a*-phrase is not always available as we will discuss in Chapter 5.

Syntactically speaking, this NP vs. PP contrast would be simple enough to account for in an LFG approach. We would have an OBJ-type participant in the case of the NP and an OBL when the weak pronoun is not present and we have a PP instead. The main syntactic issue -regardless of the treatment of the phrases- still remains how to deal with the weak pronoun when present together with the NP.

Furthermore, the difference between a sentence with a pronoun + NP or a sentence with a PP needs to show not only in the syntax (OBJ or OBJ $\theta$ ) but also in the semantics. Oblique arguments are less affected than OBJ type arguments, the dative in this case, which would traditionally be labeled as an indirect object.

In order to account for this difference semantically, each participant should have a role that would presumably be different for a participant that is mapped as an OBJ or as an OBL. Following Beavers (2006) “an individual thematic role is a rich set of lexical entailments about the role a participant plays in an event”. What we would need to decide is whether the alternation OBL *vs.* some type of OBJ that the dative seems to show in Spanish -according to the views above- also shows an alternation on the lexical entailments that could be applied to each participant.

This could be sometimes quite straight forward if we applied Beavers (2006)’s scales (affectedness, traversal and possession) but it might be too subtle or even non-existing in some other cases:

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<sup>28</sup>This notion of transfer is not very clear either. Generally speaking, it does not seem to hold as it is not that difficult to find examples where the pronoun can optionally be doubled but there is no strict sense of transfer:

(iii) Le            pido            un        favor    a Juan  
           3.DAT.SG ask.PRS.1SG a.M.SG favour to Juan  
           ‘I ask Juan a favour’



- (89) Juan (le)            pegó            (a        su            hermano)  
       Juan 3.DAT.SG hit.PST.3SG to/DAT 3.POSS.SG brother.M.SG  
       ‘Juan hit his brother’

Issues seem to arise with examples of this sort as first of all, we could not have any other preposition in the place of *a* and semantically, it is not very clear how the ‘brother’ would have different semantic properties depending on whether we have a NP or a PP, and without a relevant semantic effect, it would be difficult to argue for such major syntactic alternation.

There should be some differences that would account for the existence of the two configurations in the language and following Beaver’s *Principle of Contrast for Alternation*: every alternation expresses some contrast. It might be that in certain cases, that contrast is more subtle than in others.

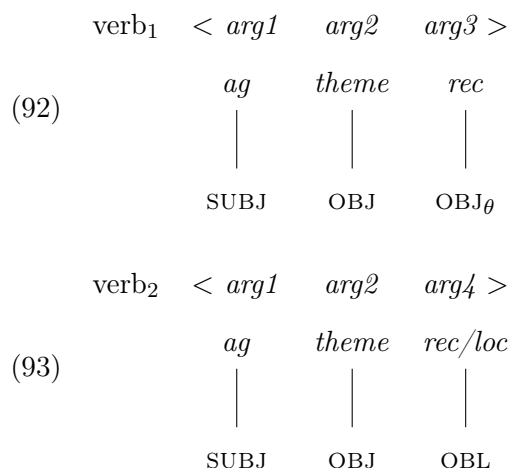
The difference becomes a bit more evident with a dative possessor, for instance:

- (90) Le            cogieron        el            libro        a            Marta  
       (3.DAT.SG) take.PST.3PL the.M.SG. book.M.SG to/DAT Marta  
       ‘They took the book from Marta’

With the pronoun, Marta as a participant is more affected with an entailment of being negatively affected by this event - this would be understood as a theft. Without the pronoun, we would not only need the preposition *de*- ‘of’ but the reading would not so clearly imply a theft but it could be understood that the book was borrowed:

- (91) Cogieron        el            libro        de Marta  
       take.PST.3PL the.M.SG. book.M.SG of Marta  
       ‘They took Marta’s book’

In any case, a predicate that shows any alternation will have three main participants that will show more proto-agentive features, a participant with the most proto-patient properties and a third participant that could be described as having proto-recipient characteristics (Kibort (2008); Dowty (1991)). The participants will be mapped onto different functions:



We will not go into more detail since we are not adopting an analysis which treats the recipient as an oblique for the reasons discussed in § 3.4.2.1.

To conclude this section, even if we do not agree with the conceptualization of the arguments by Strozer (1976), Masullo (1992) or Cuervo (2003), we accept that there are some differences between the possible structures. In our view, however, what is interesting is the presence / absence -more the presence- of the weak pronoun, but always assuming an NP for the *a*-phrase, rather than a contrast between a structure with an NP and one with a PP if we agreed the *a* phrase is a PP<sup>29</sup>. In the upcoming sections, we will try to characterize these ideas both syntactically and semantically.

### 3.5.2 Affectedness

Even if the non-doubled variant is not completely ungrammatical, there exists a strong preference on the part of the speakers to use the doubled variant as discussed in § 3.5.<sup>30</sup> The reason for that might have to do with the weak pronoun having an extra role to play, giving a sense of *affectedness* to the sentence. A sentence with a weak pronoun would imply a stronger meaning of the transfer being successful, as if Marta was the intended target of possession as below:

<sup>29</sup>Note we refer to a PP here based on the previous discussion. It is worth mentioning that an OBL can also be an NP, e.g. a case-marked instrumental NP

<sup>30</sup>This preference for doubling is well attested in the language. R.A.E (2009a) explains how this is especially evident in the spoken language, it is really difficult to find non-doubled instances of sentences like (94) and the ones we might find belong to the written language - see § 3.5 for examples from the corpus.

- (94)  $Le_i$             doy            un       libro a  $Marta_i$   
       3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
       ‘I give her a book to Marta’

The idea of Marta possessing the book is a bit more loosely conveyed in (95):

- (95) ?Doy            un       libro a Marta  
       give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
       ‘I give a book to Marta’

The contrast might be clearer with a different verb such as ‘send’:

- (96) a. ?Envié            un       libro a Marta  
       send.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
       ‘I sent a book to Marta’  
       b. Le                envié    un       libro a        Marta  
       send.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to        Marta  
       ‘I sent a book to Marta’

The reading that Marta actually received the book is more clear in (96b) than in (96a), where the book might not have reached Marta. This is but a nuance yet, but it seems that speakers are more inclined to use the weak pronoun, which means that the idea of affectedness is in the process of becoming grammaticalised.

Affectedness comes through more strongly with a set of constructions such as the following:

- (97) Juan le            dio            un       beso a        Marta  
       Juan 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3SG a.M.SG kiss    DAT Marta  
       ‘Juan gave Marta a kiss’  
       (98) Marta le            dio            una       bofetada a        Juan  
       Marta 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3SG a.F.SG slap        DAT Juan  
       ‘Marta gave Juan a slap’

In cases such as the above (97) and (98), we can clearly see how the dative argument is strongly affected, which might make us consider a type of dative shift construction by which the dative gets promoted to the second argument slot because of its affectedness or patient / theme - like properties:

- (99)
- |                    |                  |                    |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| $x$                | $\mathbf{b}$     | $y$                |
|                    |                  |                    |
| ⟨ arg <sub>1</sub> | arg <sub>2</sub> | arg <sub>3</sub> ⟩ |
| [-o]               | [-r]             | [+o]               |

This seems quite evident if we contrast the above examples with their mono-transitive counterparts:

- (100) Juan besó                      a                      Marta  
          Juan kiss.PST.3SG [+HUM] Marta

‘Juan kissed Marta’

- (101) Marta abofeteó                      a                      Juan  
          Marta slap.PST.3SG [+HUM] Juan

‘Marta slapped Juan’

In (100) and (101), we only have one argument that is clearly the theme / patient and it does not seem that the entailments associated with these participants in constructions with a dative get altered, which is why a dative shift analysis might seem sensible.

However, we still argue against a dative shift treatment of datives, even in cases such as (97) and (98) because it is, for instance, impossible for the dative to become the subject of a passive sentence, which is one of the characteristics associated with arguments in that slot. A possible explanation for this patient-like, very affected argument might be that in these constructions we have a verb that behaves very much like a light verb and so the meaning of the action is lexicalised onto the object. We can conclude, therefore, that even if the dative pronoun entails a sense of affectedness, it is not enough for us to consider treating the construction as a dative shift but we will be following our proposed treatment of datives as canonical as discussed in § 3.4.

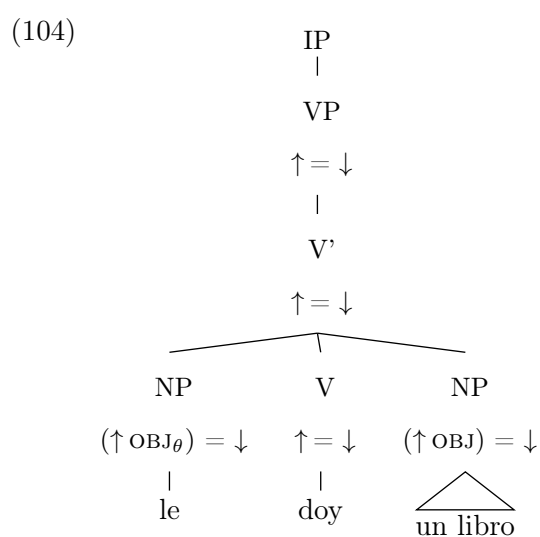
### 3.6 Syntactic account revisited: doubling

Following the discussion in § 3.4, we will revisit our preliminary sctructures to include the revised function labels. For a sentence with a weak pronoun such as (102), and after having discarded treating the weak pronoun as a separate part of speech and labelling it “clitic”, we would have the f- and c-structures as below in (103) and (104):

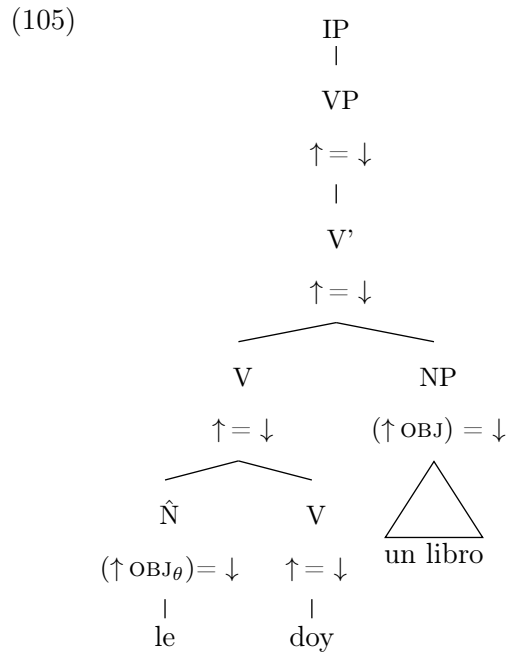
(102) Le doy un libro

‘I give him/her a book’

$$(103) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'GIVE< (SUBJ) (OBJ) (OBJ}_\theta\text{)>} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LIBRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad - \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{CASE} & \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$



Or if we were to follow Toivonen (2001)’s approach of head-adjoining the pronoun to the verb:



And for a sentence such as (106) below

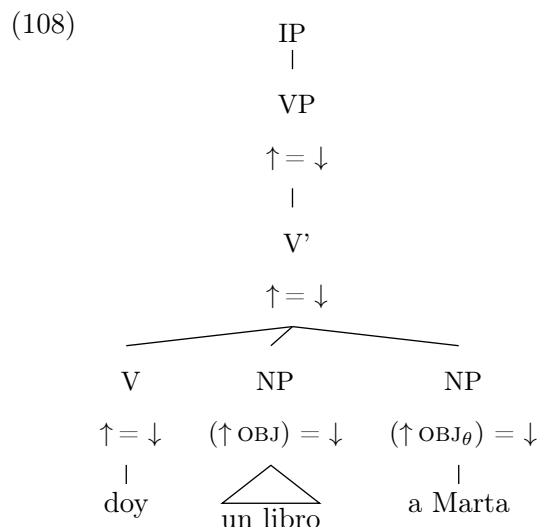
- (106) Doy un libro a Marta  
 ‘I give a book to Marta’

we would have the following f-structure:

(107)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'DAR} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}) (\text{OBJ}_\theta) > \text{' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'REGALO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad - \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'MARTA'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} < \text{'A'} > \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

And the corresponding c-structure:



The problem arises when we have a configuration that includes both the weak pronoun and a full phrase, the phenomenon known as *doubling* (see chapter Chapter 2) because we could potentially have two elements fulfilling the same  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$  function:

- (109)  $\text{Le}_i$        $\text{doy}$        $\text{un}$        $\text{libro}$   $\text{a}$   $\text{Marta}_i$   
 3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book to Marta  
 ‘I give her a book to Marta’

As a reminder, with a verb such as ‘give’, we seem to have three possibilities available:

1. weak pronoun + NP
2. NP + a-headed NP
3. weak pronoun + NP + a-headed NP

The first two should not be problematic as seen above in the structures (103), (104), (107) or (108), where we have one phrase only for each of the arguments required by the verb. Furthermore, if all verbs behaved like ‘give’, it would be plausible to follow Bresnan (2001)’s proposal, as seen in § 3.3, since it would seem all options are acceptable and alternative. We could therefore make the weak pronoun’s  $\text{PRED}$  value optional allowing for the lack of doubling.

Since we believe the presence or absence of the weak pronoun has some relevant implications, we would need to come up with a more elaborate analysis that could

capture this.

Furthermore, with some verbs, we do not get a free choice as to whether we can have one configuration or the other. In cases such as ‘give’, even if with some preference for some of the options, either the weak pronoun or the co-referred a-NP could be dropped. This is not the case with psychological predicates such as *gustar* - ‘like’.

- (110) Le            gustan            los            libros  
          3.DAT.SG like.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL  
          *‘Books please her’*  
          = ‘She likes books’

- (111) a. (A   María) le            gustan            los            libros  
              DAT Mary   3.DAT.SG like.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL  
              *‘Books please Mary’*  
              = ‘Mary likes books’

- b. Le            gustan            los            libros    (a   María)  
          3.DAT.SG like.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL DAT Mary  
          *‘Books please Mary’*  
          = ‘Mary likes books’

- (112) a. \*(A   María) gustan            los            libros  
              DAT Mary   like.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL  
              *‘Books please Mary’*  
              = ‘Mary likes books’

- b. \*Gustan            los            libros    (a   María)  
          like.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL DAT Mary  
          *‘Books please Mary’*  
          = ‘Mary likes books’

In (112) we see that the weak pronoun is not really optional. The sentence becomes ungrammatical without it. However, both in (110) and (111) we observe that the *a*-phrase can be perfectly omitted.

This fact together with the implications in the semantics observed in the other verbs lead us to think that the key element in a dative configuration is indeed the



weak pronoun. It is precisely for this reason that we choose not to adopt Bresnan (2001)'s proposal and simply make the PRED value of the weak pronoun optional. This solution will of course still work, but the weak pronoun would not be making any key contribution, it would be like an agreement marker; which is a position we will not adopt since we believe it is the pronoun that seems to be carrying the GF associated with a dative (e.g. OBJ<sub>θ</sub>) and therefore seems a more key participant. It is for these reasons that we are going to assign it a more prominent position in the structure.

Since we argued that the *a*-phrase is always optional, we might be tempted to inverse the analysis and make the PRED value of that phrase optional, but it would be quite difficult to argue why a noun phrase that could be as complex as we would like to make it, has no PRED value.

- (113) Le            doy            un        libro a        la            niña        con los  
           3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book DAT the.F.SG girl.F.SG with the.M.PL  
           ojos azules que lleva            un        vestido de flores  
           eye.PL blue.PL that wear.PRS.3SG a.M.SG dress    of flower.PL  
           'I give her a book, to the girl who is wearing a floral dress'

We see in (113) that the phrase doubling a weak pronoun can be quite complex. However, the key function and information required by the verb are sufficiently expressed by the weak pronoun.

If we do not adopt Bresnan (2001)'s proposal and make the PRED value of the pronoun optional, it still remains unsolved how to deal with cases of doubling when we have a configuration both with a weak pronoun and a full phrase that refer to the same entity. If we take the example in (109) repeated below, we see that there are two items in the sentence that could potentially be the OBJ<sub>θ</sub> of the sentence - the weak pronoun *le* and the phrase *a Marta*.

- (114) Le<sub>i</sub>            doy            un        libro a        Marta<sub>i</sub>  
           3.DAT.SG give.PRS.1SG a.M.SG book DAT Marta  
           'I give her a book to Marta'

As discussed above, either of them could fulfil that GF when they do not co-occur. However, we could not as easily do away with the weak pronoun as we can with the

full phrase, which led us to believe that when both are present, it is the weak pronoun that will be mapped onto the  $OBJ_\theta$  function. The question remains how to deal with the full phrase. We have also argued it would not be sensible to make its PRED value optional, and even if its content is optional, and the argument requirements of the verb would be fulfilled without it, we are not inclined to treat it as an ADJ.

After careful consideration, we will argue that the information provided by the phrase is a means of clarification as the weak pronoun only specifies number and case, but not even gender. The weak pronoun fulfills the syntactic requirements of the verb, but discourse wise, its content is quite vague. It is for this reason that it would not seem inappropriate to consider the phrase as a DF contributing to the information structure and linked somehow with the  $OBJ_\theta$ . Based on the outline of roles as discussed by Mycock and Lowe (2014), the information provided by the full phrase would correspond to their **focus<sub>ni</sub>** (Focus New Information). This applies not only to dative cases but also to the accusative<sup>31</sup> :

- (115)  $Lo_i$              $llamó$              $a$      $él_i$   
           3.ACC.M.SG call.PST.3SG DAT 3.S.PPL  
           ‘He/she called him’

Furthermore, we can also have multiple foci -probably for contrast-, following Krifka (1992) if we front both the direct and indirect phrases, which will trigger doubling of both pronouns:

- (116)  $Un$          $libro_i$   $a$   $Juan_e$   $se_e$          $lo_i$          $dio$   
           a.M.SG book to Juan 3.DAT.SG 3.ACC.M.SG give.PST.3SG  
           ‘A book to Juan he/she gave’

The interpretation of the dative NP as FOCUS is clear from its behaviour in questions

<sup>31</sup>Note that in Castillian Spanish we only find doubling with the accusative when we have a strong pronoun, in some other varieties like River Plate or Limeño Spanish, doubling is also found with full NPs as in the examples below repeated from Chapter 2:

- (iv)  $La$              $nombraron$              $a$          $Mara$   
       3.F.SG.ACC mention.PST.3PL [+ANIM] Mara  
       ‘They mentioned Mara’ [Limeño Spanish (Mayer, 2006)]
- (v)  $Yo$   $las$              $tenía$              $guardadas$   $las$          $cartas$   
       I 3.F.PL.ACC have.PST.1SG stored.F.PL the.F.PL card.PL  
       ‘I had the cards stored’ [Rioplatense Spanish (Estigarribia, 2005)]

and answers as we see below:

- (117) - A: ¿A quién le dio un libro?  
           DAT who 3.SG.DAT give.PST.3SG a.M.SG book  
           ‘Who did he/she give a book to?’
- B: A Juan  
       DAT Juan  
       ‘Juan’

Since we are dealing with unbounded dependencies, we can have a longer string as below:

- (118) - A: ¿A quién le vas a pedir que se  
           DAT who 3.SG.DAT go.PRS.3SG to ask that 3.SG.REFL  
           vaya?  
           leave.SBJV.PRS.3SG  
           ‘Who are you going to ask to leave?’
- B: A Juan  
       DAT Juan  
       ‘Juan’

In order to account for the presence of the focus, as we do with any unbounded dependency construction, we have to make sure the Extended Coherence Condition is not violated:

- (119) The functions TOP and FOC must be linked to predicate argument structure either by being functionally identified with subcategorised functions or by anaphorically binding subcategorised functions.

We are arguing that we do not have functional equality, so we would not have two grammatical functions with a same shared value, as we have for example in wh-questions in English.

That leaves us with anaphoric binding. Following Asudeh (2012)’s approach to resumptive pronouns that are syntactically active, we need to include a semantic feature ANTECEDENT<sup>32</sup> and the FOCUS would be binding an argument, in this case

<sup>32</sup>This ANTECEDENT does not actually have to precede the pronoun, but this term is commonly used to refer to both antecedents and postcedents, which is particularly relevant for our proposed analysis for Spanish.

the  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$ . We need to use a binding equation that makes sure that the semantic content of weak pronoun functioning as  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$  is linked to the semantics of the dative NP that is FOC. The equation would be as follows:

$$(120) (\uparrow \text{FOC})_\sigma = ((\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta)_\sigma \text{ ANTECEDENT})$$

This way the two functions would share semantic but not syntactic properties. However, we have to make sure they also have the same features of case, number and person - gender is underspecified for dative pronouns. A general description of the weak pronoun and the dative noun phrase is given in the lexical entries below:

$$(121) \textit{le} \quad \begin{aligned} (\uparrow \text{PRED}) &= \text{'PRO'} \\ (\uparrow \text{CASE}) &= \text{DAT} \\ (\uparrow \text{NUM}) &= \text{SG} \\ (\uparrow \text{PERS}) &= 3 \end{aligned}$$

$$(122) \textit{Marta} \quad \begin{aligned} (\uparrow \text{PRED}) &= \text{'Marta'} \\ (\uparrow \text{CASE}) &= \text{DAT} <\text{'a'}> \\ (\uparrow \text{NUM}) &= \text{SG} \\ (\uparrow \text{PERS}) &= 3 \end{aligned}$$

Because we could have a NP that had gender and that would still be compatible, we need to make sure we only make arrangements for case, number and gender to be identical, so after defining the features of the NP we could constrain the crucial ones as to check that the defining equation has the features specified by the following constraining equation:

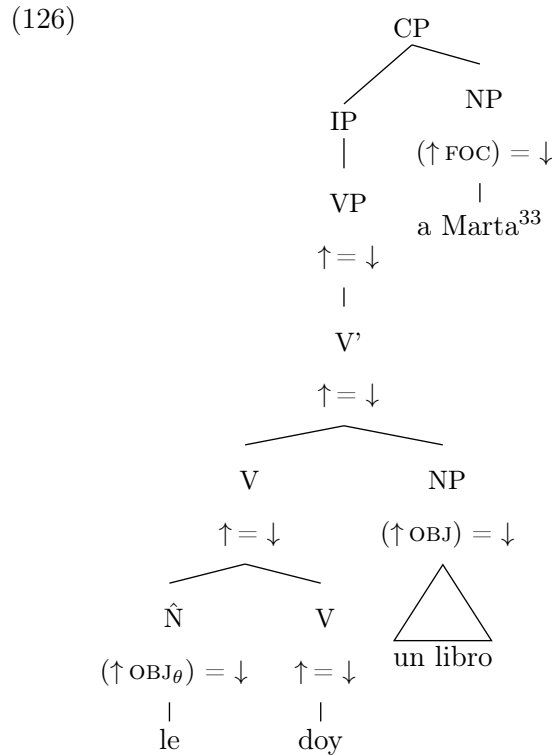
$$(123) \begin{aligned} (\uparrow \text{FOC CASE}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta \text{ CASE}) \\ (\uparrow \text{FOC NUM}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta \text{ NUM}) \\ (\uparrow \text{FOC PERS}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta \text{ PERS}) \end{aligned}$$

Going back to our simple example repeated below as (124) we could have the f-structure and c-structure outlined in (125) and (126):

$$(124) \begin{array}{ccccccc} \textit{Le}_i & \textit{doy} & & \textit{un} & \textit{libro} & \textit{a} & \textit{Marta}_i \\ & 3.\text{DAT.SG} & \textit{give.PRS.1SG} & \textit{a.M.SG} & \textit{book} & \textit{DAT} & \textit{Marta} \\ & & & & & & \text{'I give her a book to Marta'} \end{array}$$

$$(125) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{FOC} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'MARTA'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{'A'} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'GIVE} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}) (\text{OBJ}_\theta) > \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LIBRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad - \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

This way, both the pronoun and the full phrase would have a function on the f-structure and a proper node in the c-structure as below:



There is one - minor- issue that could arise from such analysis of the status of the NP as focus. As defined by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011, p. 47) “Focus is a relational notion in the sense that it is not the focus referent itself that is necessarily

<sup>33</sup>Note that the antecedent does not necessarily precede the proform as mentioned above.

new for the addressee, but the fact that it participates in the proposition conveyed by the sentence and fills the informational gap”. This holds in the case of the NP under discussion. However, we will have to make a comment regarding the prosodic prominence of the FOCUS when in a contrastive context. Because the dative weak pronoun is arguably becoming grammaticalised and the NP in a doubled construction has lost many of the traditional marks of focus such as a comma in writing or a pause in oral speech, we are labelling the phrase FOCUS as part of the list of grammatical functions that are relevant for LFG. Because of this grammaticalisation process, a strange word order has arisen when we want the NP to be specifically a contrastive focus, with the rising intonation and pause as expected, i.e. a usual topical element as noted by Becerra Bascuñán (2006):

- (127) Le            doy            A    MARTA un        libro  
           3.SG.DAT give.PRS.1SG DAT Marta    a.M.SG book  
           ‘I give Marta a book’

This would give *Marta* the required emphasis but it serves as argument for the process of grammaticalization undergone by the dative, as the FOCUS has to appear in an unexpected position to get prominence. This prominence can of course be achieved too by having the dative NP either at the beginning or the end of the sentence, but in this case there would need to be an explicit signal such as a pause, whereas the position after the verb always gets the focal prominence. This process of grammaticalization is not complete yet, which is why we find the preference of having the weak pronoun but we still have plenty of examples without it, and a few in which the presence of the pronoun is ungrammatical as pointed out by Suñer (1988): doubling is ungrammatical with bare nouns unless the argument is qualified or phonologically heavy:

- (128) (a) (\*Les)    donaré            todos    mis    bienes    a    museos  
           3.PL.DAT donate.1.SG.FUT all.M.PL my.PL good.PL DAT museum.PL  
           ‘I will donate all my belongings to museums’
- (b) (Les)    donaré            todos    mis    bienes    a    museos  
           3.PL.DAT donate.1.SG.FUT all.M.PL my.PL good.PL DAT museum.PL

locales  
local.PL

‘I will donate all my belongings to local museums’

- (c) (Les) donaré todos mis bienes a museos  
3.PL.DAT donate.1.SG.FUT all.M.PL my.PL good.PL DAT museum.PL  
y bibliotecas  
and library.PL

‘I will donate all my belongings to museums and libraries’

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 43)

This is however, the only instance when doubling is dispreferred, even though not all speakers reject it completely, but consider it questionable or even acceptable. This would not be enough to disqualify our analysis of the NP as FOCUS in doubled constructions, nor the idea that its function is to clarify the reference of the pronoun, which is clearly seen in questions. Whatever is asked about in a question is considered FOCUS and it is precisely the dative NP that gets fronted in questions, which also triggers the obligatory presence of the weak pronoun:

- (129) ¿A quién le diste un libro?  
DAT who 3.SG.DAT give.2.SG.PAST a.M.SG book

‘Who did you give a book to?’

The idea of the FOCUS providing new information that cannot be predicted from context or -as expressed by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011, p. 47): “focus corresponds to an informationally unpredictable part of the proposition” - is also clear if we think of a context where one of the participants is not privy to the information the speaker maybe thought was known. Imagine a context where I have been deciding what present to give a friend for their birthday. I have been talking about this for a long time and discussed with a lot of people. I have finally found the perfect gift and given it to the birthday person and I am now telling someone that I did. I just assumed they knew whose birthday it was and who I gave the present to, but they did not. They would have to use the FOCUS to ask for a reference for the pronoun:

- (130) - A: ¡Ya le di el regalo!  
 already 3.SG.DAT give.PST.1SG the.M.SG gift  
 ‘I have already given him/her the gift!’
- B: ¿A quién?  
 DAT who  
 ‘To whom?’
- A: A Marta, para su cumpleaños  
 DAT Marta for her birthday  
 ‘To Marta, for her birthday’

So even if the use of the dative is becoming grammaticalised and the NP is now used without any special intonation or prominence, it is quite clear from the examples above that its function is definitely that of the FOCUS so we are arguably proposing a sensible approach to the issue of doubling.

### 3.7 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter we have seen an overview of the use of the dative in Spanish but have focused on its use in ditransitive contexts. We have argued that the dative behaves as a canonical dative and have therefore rejected treating it as an oblique argument or a case of dative shift. Syntactically, that means we are labelling it OBJ- $\theta$ . We have also proposed that what is interesting is the absence / presence of the weak pronoun and that we are not dealing with a case of alternation between a NP and a PP. Even though such alternations are available in the language for some constructions, we do not believe the absence or presence of the weak pronoun in otherwise identical constructions is argument enough to consider that a case of NP vs. PP alternation. We have argued the presence of the weak pronoun is becoming grammaticalised and it introduces an entailment of affectedness. This process is still undergoing and so it is not evident in all cases, even though there clearly is a preference to use the weak pronoun in the spoken language as we have shown through examples from the corpus. What we found more challenging was the configuration where we have both a weak pronoun and a NP that could potentially be having a



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same function. We have reviewed previous approaches, but have decided to propose a new approach by which both elements get linked semantically but are given different syntactic functions so they can co-exist in the syntactic structure.



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# Psychological Predicates

## 4.1 Introduction

There is a group of verbs that require a dative argument but are different from ditransitive predicates as seen in Chapter 3. Within this group, the so-called psychological predicates are the most interesting. The dative argument in these constructions is realised by a weak pronoun, which can be optionally doubled by a full phrase:

- (1) Le            gustan            las            pulseras  
       3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.F.PL bracelet.PL  
       *‘Bracelets please him/her’*  
       =‘He/she likes bracelets’<sup>1</sup>

When the optional full phrase is present, it is more naturally found at the beginning, even though it can also appear at the end:

- (2) (A    María) le            gustan            las            pulseras    (A    María)<sup>2</sup>  
       (DAT Maria) 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.F.PL bracelet.PL (DAT Maria)  
       *‘Bracelets please Mary’*  
       =‘Mary likes bracelets’

---

<sup>1</sup>Although sentences like (1) are analogous to ‘he/she likes bracelets’ in terms of information structure, they reflect the structure of ‘bracelets please him/her’ in terms of grammatical relations. We will therefore gloss *gustar* as ‘please’ and give two translations throughout the chapter: one with ‘please’ and one with ‘like’.

The full phrase can be referential as above and also quantified as below:

- (3) A algunas/muchas personas les gustan las pulseras  
 DAT some/many.F.PL people 3PL.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.F.PL bracelet.PL  
*‘Bracelets please some/many people’*  
 =‘Some/many people like bracelets’

The configuration of a sentence with a psychological verb follows an unexpected pattern. Spanish is, generally speaking, an SVO order language, but if we take a look at the agreement patterns of psychological verbs, we find that order altered with what looks like the SUBJ -at least based on agreement- appearing after the verb. Note the agreement patterns in the following examples:

- (4) Les gusta el cine  
 3.PL.DAT please.PRS.3SG the.M.SG cinema  
*‘Cinema pleases them’*  
 =‘They like cinema’

- (5) Le gustan los libros  
 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.M.PL book.PL  
*‘Books please him/her’*  
 =‘(S)he likes books’

In this chapter, we will define psychological predicates and their characteristics. We will then focus on Spanish psychological predicates, group them in different types and present the issues they raise when trying to analyse them. We will examine different approaches and will provide one that seems most appropriate.

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<sup>2</sup>A *María* sounds more natural when fronted but tends to appear at the end of the sentence in questions:

- (i) ¿Le gustan las pulseras (a María)?  
 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.M.SG bracelet.PL DAT Maria  
*‘Do bracelets please Mary?’*  
 =‘Does Mary like bracelets?’
- (ii) ¿Qué le gusta a María?  
 what 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3SG DAT Maria  
*‘What pleases Mary?’*  
 =‘What does Mary like?’

## 4.2 Psychological predicates

Psychological predicates are those whose argument structure involves an experiencer and a theme or stimulus/cause. They typically involve concepts such as *fear*, *enjoy*, *hate* or *frighten*, *worry*, *irritate*... These arguments map differently depending on the type of predicate and have traditionally been grouped according to their mapping pattern (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988). In English there is a FEAR group with the experiencer as SUBJ and a FRIGHTEN category where the experiencer is OBJ:

(6) I fear spiders.

(7) Spiders frighten me.

Both predicates take, in principle, the same thematic roles<sup>3</sup> but they differ in the way they map those roles into syntactic arguments. Italian also exhibits these two classes of predicates but also has a third alternative that marks the experiencer with a dative. (8) and (9) are exactly like the English (6) and (7) with the inversion of the mapping of theta roles and in (10) we have a dative experiencer and two possible orderings (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988, p. 291):

(8) Gianni teme questo

‘Gianni fears this’

In (8), the experiencer NP ‘*Gianni*’ controls agreement with the verb.

(9) Questo preoccupa Gianni

‘This worries Gianni’

In (9), contrary to (8), we have the stimulus/cause/theme controlling the agreement.

(10) A Gianni piace questo / Questo piace a Gianni

‘To Gianni pleases this’ / ‘This pleases to Gianni’

This third pattern, as in (10), comprises a dative experiencer and it is the other NP

<sup>3</sup>Based on the assumption that *theme* can be considered general enough, even though more specifically we have *theme*, *stimulus*, *cause*. This is more clearly seen with *frighten*-type predicates where we get a range of readings/roles which can be more or less causative since the subject can also get an agentive reading (Grimshaw, 1990).

(stimulus/cause/theme) that agrees with the verb<sup>4</sup>

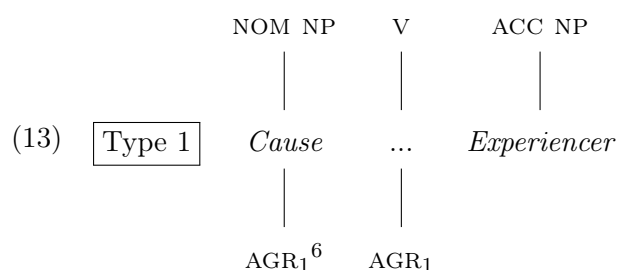
### 4.2.1 Psychological predicates in Spanish

Spanish also shows the same three groups of predicates Italian does. However, Vogel and Villada (1999) propose a group of five different types, based on the subcategorisation patterns they display. We will modify slightly the description of the patterns they propose:

1. These verbs subcategorise for an accusative experiencer. Some of the verbs in this group are: *aburrir* ‘to bore’, *molestar* ‘to disturb’, *ofender* ‘to offend’...

- (11) Los niños están molestando a<sup>5</sup> las niñas  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL be.PRS.3PL disturb.PRESPART [+ANIM] the.F.PL child.F.PL  
 ‘The boys are disturbing the girls’

- (12) Los niños las están molestando  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL 3.F.ACC.PL be.PRS.3PL disturb.PRESPART  
 ‘The boys are disturbing them’



2. This group comprises the same verbs as Type 1 verbs but they display a different pattern. In this case, the experiencer is dative and the presence of a weak

<sup>4</sup>This is not clearly evident in the examples (8), (9) and (10) from Belletti and Rizzi (1988) because all the NPs involved are singular, but the agreement patterns are as described above. See (iii) for clarity:

(iii) A Gianni piacciono questi  
 please.PRS.3PL these  
 ‘To Gianni please these’

<sup>5</sup>‘a’ here is marking the OBJ as animate. See Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 for discussion on the different uses of ‘a’.

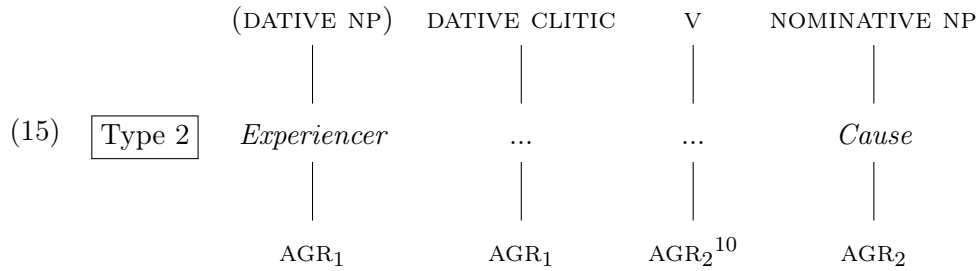
<sup>6</sup>AGR<sub>1</sub> is used to mark what element agrees with the verb.

pronoun is obligatory.<sup>7,8</sup>

- (14) (A Marta) le molestan los ruidos  
 DAT<sup>9</sup> Marta 3SG.DAT annoy.PRS.3PL the.M.PL noise.PL

(*lit.*) To Marta her annoy the noises

‘Marta finds the noises annoying’

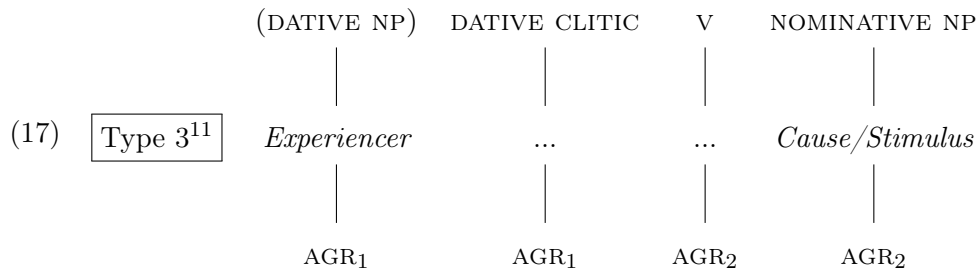


3. We see in this group again verbs that take a dative experiencer. Verbs of this type include *gustar* ‘to like’, *doler* ‘to hurt’, *fascinar* ‘to fascinate’, *interesar* ‘to interest’...

- (16) A Marta le gustan las fresas  
 DAT Marta 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.F.PL strawberry.PL

‘*Strawberries please Marta*’

=‘Marta likes strawberries’



<sup>7</sup>It is difficult sometimes to clearly see whether these verbs take an ACC or DAT argument since both patterns are possible. There seems to be a slight change of meaning depending on the pattern - related with volition of the SUBJ, which is also why we distinguish between *cause* and *stimulus* in Types 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup>Vogel and Villada (1999) describe the first NP and the clitic as either accusative or dative, but with the accusative, it would just be a Type 1 verb with a left-dislocated experiencer, which will trigger the doubling of the clitic as per general clitic rules. If we take the accusative out, the patterns in Type 2 and 3 become identical in regards to syntactic pattern.

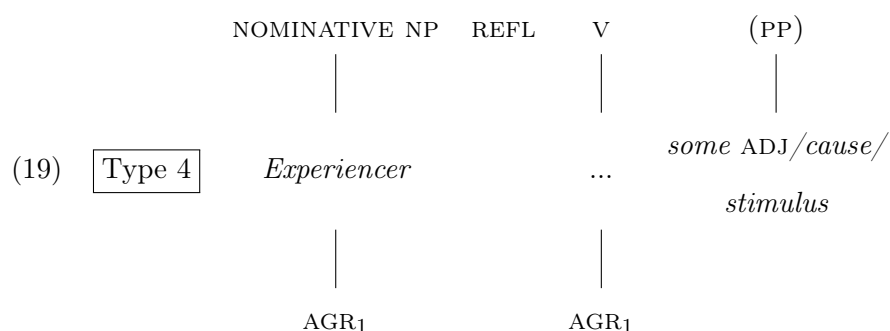
<sup>9</sup>‘a’ in this instance is a case marker for DATIVE case

<sup>10</sup>AGR<sub>1</sub> and AGR<sub>2</sub> are used by Vogel and Villada (1999) to indicate that one element agrees with the verb and the other two elements share the same index and refer to the same entity.

<sup>11</sup>After amending the pattern for Type 2 verbs proposed by Vogel and Villada (1999), Type 2 and 3 look identical, so we could group them together. We can still leave them as a separate group since verbs of Type 2 can alternate with Type 1, whereas Type 3 verbs do not show a Type 1 pattern.

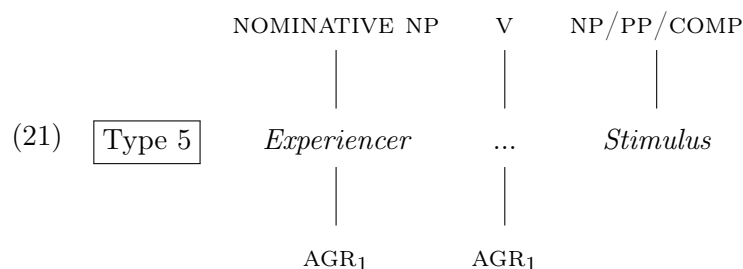
4. Reflexive verbs<sup>12</sup>. The pattern for this group consists of a experiencer subject, a reflexive pronoun that refers to the subject and an optional phrase such as PP. This class includes reflexive verbs that express a feeling undergone by the experiencer: *aburrirse* ‘to get bored’, *enfadarse* ‘to get angry’, *alegrarse* ‘to feel happy’...

- (18) Los niños se aburren en el colegio  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL REFL bore.PRS.3PL in the school  
 ‘Children get bored in school’



5. The last group corresponds to verbs that behave like the English *fear*, with the experiencer as subject and the stimulus as an object which could be an NP, PP or a complement clause: *odiar* ‘to hate’, *temer* ‘to fear’, *adorar* ‘to adore’, *creer* ‘to believe’...

- (20) Juan odia los lunes  
 Juan hate.PRS.3SG the.M.PL Mondays  
 ‘Juan hates Mondays’.



Out of all of these more general types of psychological predicates, we will be focusing

<sup>12</sup>Pretty much all verbs in Spanish can become reflexive by adding the pronominal element *se* to the infinitive and inflecting it for the right person to agree with the subject. Not all verbs with a reflexive pronoun have the same status, however. There is a group, for instance, that is inherently reflexive and has no non-pronominal counterpart. There are also instances of verbs that by adding a reflexive pronoun also get a telic interpretation. This pronominal element can also give readings of reflexivity or reciprocity depending on the construction.



on the types that display a dative at the beginning of the sentence, i.e. Type 2 and 3. All the other groups have straightforward mappings and do not present any particular theoretical challenges.

There are other constructions in Spanish that display a similar syntactic pattern, in the sense that we have the dative participant appearing pre-verbally while the nominative one comes after the verb. As noted by Cuervo (2010), dative arguments can combine with virtually any type of unaccusative predicate and it is because of their morphosyntactic properties that we might be inclined to group them together. However, they are distinguished by semantic properties, which is why we are dealing in this chapter with predicates which show not only the aforementioned structure but also the *experiencer* and *theme/stimulus/cause* semantic distribution. Cases with no experiencer are mostly unaccusatives that include existential predicates and predicates of change or inchoatives where the dative can be interpreted as the possessor of the participant denoted by the nominative or as affected by the change of state:

- (22) A    la            ventana le            falta            un            cristal  
       DAT the.F.SG window 3SG.DAT lack.PRS.3SG a.M.SG glass

‘The window is missing a pane’.

- (23) A    su            hijo le            están            saliendo            los  
       DAT 3SG.POSS son 3SG.DAT be.PRS.3PL come-up.PRESPART the.M.PL  
       dientes  
       tooth.PL

*lit.* ‘To his/her son, the teeth are coming up’

‘His/her son is teething’.

- (24) A    Marta se            le            rompió            el            plato  
       DAT Marta 3.REFL 3SG.DAT break.PST.3SG the.M.SG plate

‘The plate broke on Marta’.

Some of the datives in the sentences above can be characterised as *non-selected*. This type will be discussed in Chapter 5.

## 4.3 Subject Issues

In this section, we will discuss the possibility that either the experiencer or the stimulus/cause could be the subject in these constructions. We will first outline previous approaches that argue for the treatment of the dative experiencer as subject. We will apply standard subject diagnostics and will later discuss the implications of the results from such tests.

### 4.3.1 Some previous approaches

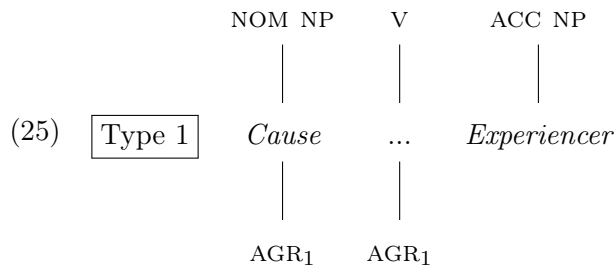
In this section, we will summarise some of the previous approaches to the subject issue.

#### 4.3.1.1 Alarcos Llorach (1994)

Alarcos Llorach (1994) argues *a*-introduced phrases are PPs and they cannot be subjects at all. Even if we agree they are not subjects, this is probably a simplistic view of the issue. The *a*-phrase is optional in many cases, and we have also argued in Chapter 3 that it is not a prepositional phrase but rather a noun phrase that is dative marked through *a*. In any case, he does not provide an analysis that explains what the function of the dative is or how to characterise these predicates.

#### 4.3.1.2 Mendívil Giró (2002)

Mendívil Giró (2002) proposes a system similar to the one shown by languages with ERGATIVE and ABSOLUTIVE case system. He claims psychological predicates are to be described as displaying “*lexically conditioned partial ergativity*”. According to him, the dative experiencer would be analysed as an ergative subject whereas the postposed argument would be analysed as an absolutive direct object. This implies accepting that Spanish shows a partially absolutive-ergative agreement pattern. He also claims that the default lexical entry for these verbs would be the ergative one, and in cases where we have two different possible patterns - as seen with Types 1 and 2 in § 4.2.1 repeated below- we could get the accusative alternative by introducing a causative operator, for example.

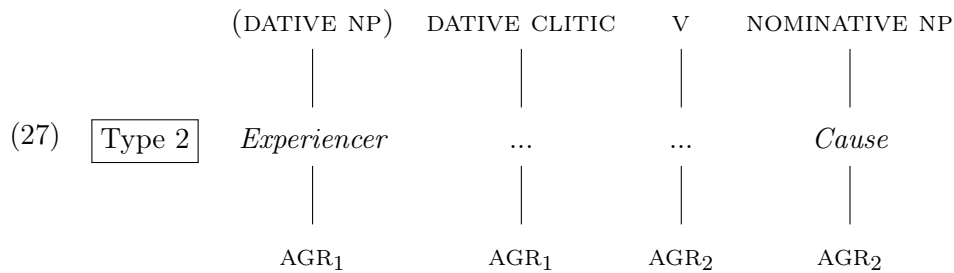


- (26) a. Los niños están molestando a las  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL be.PRS.3PL disturb.PRESPART [+ANIM] the.F.PL  
 niñas  
 child.F.PL

‘The boys are disturbing the girls’

- b. Los niños las están molestando  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL 3.F.ACC.PL be.PRS.3PL disturb.PRESPART

‘The boys are disturbing them’



- (28) (A Marta) le molestan los ruidos  
 DAT Marta 3SG.DAT annoy.PRS.3PL the.M.PL noise.PL

(*lit.*) To Marta her annoy the noises

‘Marta finds the noises annoying’

According to Mendiávil Giró (2002), type 2 verbs -as the one found in (28) would be the default pattern. Since they also have an alternative with an accusative -type 1 and examples in (26)-, it would be this alternative that should be specified by a particular operator.

He believes this ergative marking system is a grammaticalisation derived from dative dislocated constructions. However, if the dative NP is not present, the dative pronoun appears in the same position as in any construction where we have a weak pronoun, such as ditransitives. It is not clear how we can argue that a dative pronoun is an ergative subject in the case of a psychological predicate, but an objective

function with any other predicates, when there is no apparent structural difference between them. Furthermore, we seem to have no markers for either the absolutive or ergative case. This is not the biggest issue as accusative and dative markers are syncretic in many cases, so we could argue the ergative and dative cases are too. Nevertheless, his proposal also fails to explain how or why the absolutive object with no case marking agrees with the verb in exactly the same way a nominative subject does in the nominative-accusative system version of Spanish. In our opinion, Mendívil Giró (2002)'s proposal is saying this new system shows complete syncretism with dative and nominative elements but based on an unexpected order, a whole new case-marking system is proposed.

It is obvious that the issues that made Mendívil Giró (2002) propose an ergative system for Spanish are found in the language, and need addressing. However, if we wanted to keep the spirit of a dative subject we could discard Mendívil Giró (2002)'s approach in favour of something less drastic, such as treatment of the dative as displaying *quirky case*.

#### 4.3.1.3 Quirky case accounts

For the Icelandic passive, Zaenen et al. (1985) argue that it is best to look at such issues with an approach based on grammatical functions. They argue passive constructions in Icelandic such as (29) below have a non-nominative subject:

- (29) Honum var hjálpað  
       him (DAT) was helped  
       ‘He was helped’ (Zaenen et al., 1985, p. 96)

They apply tests such as the ones seen earlier in this chapter, and the results seem to indicate that Icelandic does show indeed a case of passive with a subject that takes dative case. Sigurdsson (2004) builds on that idea and contrasts Icelandic non-nominative subjects with elements in other languages that look similar but are instead subject-like non-nominatives. These are found in Latin, Russian or German and, as we are discussing, in Spanish.

However, Fernández Soriano (1999) or Masullo (1992) take this idea of non-

nominative subjects and also argue for a quirky dative case in Spanish. Masullo (1992) admits some differences with Icelandic and proposes an approach based on Belletti and Rizzi (1988) and points out these predicates are very similar to unaccusatives. He claims that these constituents raise to Spec (IP) and the nominative case is assigned to the postverbal NP via government rather than by specifier-head agreement. Fernández Soriano (1999) claims that this quirky case is morphological and inherent and it allows the phrase bearing it to move to case-marked positions. This is why it can move and merge as external argument where it can satisfy the EPP condition<sup>13</sup>. She, however, provides examples from very particular types of verbs like meteorological or impersonal constructions and not specifically from psychological predicates.

- (30) En Madrid llueve  
       in Madrid rain.PRS.3SG  
       ‘It rains in Madrid’

She claims impersonal sentences have a locative phrase as external argument which is marked with quirky case. She also compares cases where this can be extrapolated to datives as below:

- (31) Aquí falta                café  
       Here miss.PRS.3SG coffee  
       ‘Coffee is missing here’
- (32) Me            falta            café  
       1SG.DAT miss.PRS.3SG coffee  
       ‘I am missing some coffee’

A more idiomatic reading of the sentences above would be the implication that we are in need of more coffee. Fernández Soriano (1999) claims therefore that the locative or dative are the subjects. In a similar fashion, Pesetsky (1995) introduces a zero (i.e. null) causative morpheme, with a behaviour similar to that of a preposition. Landau (2010) claims that these verbs denote locative relations, the dative is actually an oblique with a null preposition and can be analysed through an extended version of

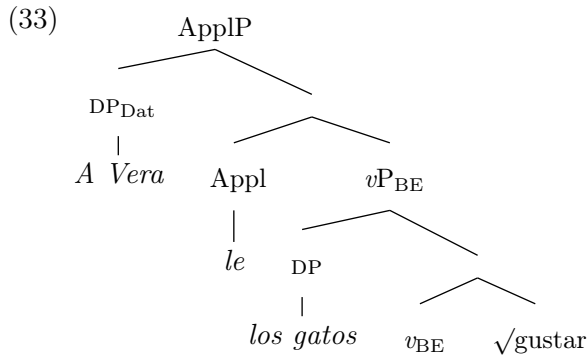
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<sup>13</sup>EPP: Extended Projection Principle as proposed by Chomsky (1982): clauses must contain a NP or DP in subject position.

locative inversion. All the analyses mentioned above are quite similar in nature, but we will end up arguing against them and we will prove that the dative in constructions with psychological predicates in Spanish cannot be the subject.

#### 4.3.1.4 Applicative

Cuervo (2010) proposes a specific analysis for psychological verbs which involves a specialised applicative head: “The verbal root combines with a stative *v* and takes the DP as its specifier. The experiencer is added to the structure not as an argument of the verb, but as an extra, external argument, licensed by a specialised head, the applicative Appl. The applicative head licenses the experiencer as its specifier and relates it to the *vP* it takes as a complement.” (Cuervo, 2010, p. 29).



In the following section, we will test the possibility of the dative as a subject and will provide results that show this is not the case. We will analyse it as an objective function in later sections.

#### 4.3.2 Subjecthood tests

Clitics aside, Spanish is an SVO language. Based on the order, we could assume that the first element, i.e. *A Marta* in (34), is the subject:

- (34) A    Marta le            gustan            los        niños  
       DAT Marta 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3PL the.F.PL child.M.PL  
       ‘*Children please Marta*’  
       =‘Marta likes children’

However, the verb, which typically agrees with the subject, is agreeing with *los niños*

in person and number. We therefore need to come up with a working definition for SUBJECT that we can apply to these elements. Keenan (1976) proposed a set of properties that can be generally applied to a nominal element acting as SUBJECT. However, there is no clear-cut definition that will undeniably classify an element as the subject. Vogel and Villada (1999, 2) propose a basic definition of a subject NP that would satisfy the following very general conditions:

- (a) It requires NOM upon pronominal substitution.
- (b) It appears as the first NP in an unmarked finite clause.
- (c) It is semantically coindexed with the *logical subject*.
- (d) It exhibits AGR coindexing with the finite verb.

According to these criteria, *A Marta* in (34) is not the subject, because it does not fulfil criteria (a) and (d). On the other hand, *los niños* fails as a subject by not fulfilling criteria (b) and (c) (Vogel and Villada, 1999)<sup>14</sup>. These factors seem to be insufficient in determining what phrase is the subject. We will test these phrases further following tests proposed by Vogel and Villada (1999) and introducing some others. We start with the base sentence (34) repeated below as (35) and then will apply the different tests:

- [illegible]

#### 4.3.2.1 Control

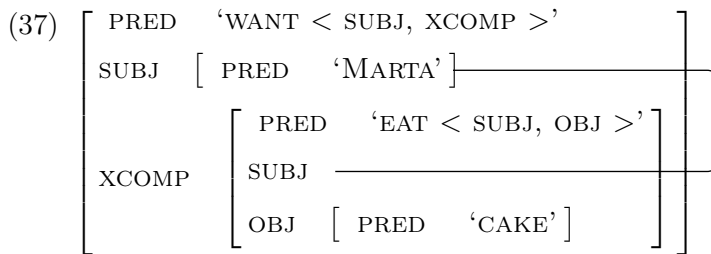
We test the ability for the NPs involved in this construction to be controlled or controlling arguments. “In LFG, the term “control” is used to refer to any construction in which there is a (in most languages) nonfinite verb form with no overt subject, with particular grammatical constraints on the reference of the missing subject”

<sup>14</sup>This follows only if we assume, following Vogel and Villada (1999), that the experimenter indeed maps as *logical subject*.

(Falk, 2001, p. 121). We try to use first, a typical control predicate like ‘want’. In control constructions with ‘want’ and any other non-psychological predicate, we find that the subject of the control predicate is the **controller** of the unexpressed subject:

- (36) Marta quiere comer tarta  
 Marta want.PRS.3SG eat.INF cake  
 ‘Marta wants to eat cake’

This can be illustrated with the basic f-structure in (37):



With psychological predicates we would therefore expect that the subject of ‘want’ controls also the unexpressed subject of the non-finite clause that contains *gustar* - ‘like’:

- (38) Los niños<sub>i</sub> quieren<sub>i</sub> gustarle a Marta  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL want.PRS.3PL please.INF=3.DAT.SG DAT Marta  
*stimulus experienter*  
 ‘The children want to please Marta’  
 =‘The children want Marta to like them’

We see in (38) that the *stimulus* NP can be the subject of the control verb. Note that it is also this NP that controls agreement when the sentence is finite.

We can also introduce a weak pronoun in the various positions it can occupy:

- (39) Los niños quieren gustar<sub>i</sub> (a Marta<sub>i</sub>)  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL want.PRS.3PL please.INF=3.DAT.SG DAT Marta  
  
 Los niños **le<sub>i</sub>** quieren gustar (a Marta<sub>i</sub>)  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL 3.DAT.SG want.PRS.3PL please.INF DAT Marta

There are a few preliminary conclusions we can draw from the sentences above: if



we are assuming that the subject in the embedded clause is unexpressed, as per the general characteristics of control constructions, but the dative experiencer is overtly expressed, then this dative is most likely not a subject. Conversely, if the subject of the main clause controls the subject embedded, that should indicate the stimulus could be the subject in a simple *gustar* construction. If we test the DAT Experiencer NP and try to somehow turn it into the controlled NP, we obtain an ungrammatical sentence:

- (40) \*A Marta<sub>i</sub> (?le) quiere<sub>i</sub> gustar los niños  
 DAT Marta 3SG.DAT want.PRS.3SG please.INF the.M.PL child.M.PL  
*experiencer stimulus*  
 (intended) ‘Marta wants children to please her’  
 =(intended) ‘Marta wants to like children’<sup>15</sup>

In order to get the experiencer also as the SUBJ of ‘want’ -the intended meaning in (40)- we would need to introduce a finite clause:

- (41) Marta quiere que le gusten los niños  
 Marta want.PRS.3SG that 3.DAT.SG please.PRS.SBJV.3PL the.M.PL child.M.PL  
 ‘Marta wants that children please her’  
 =‘Marta wants to like children’

Note that in this instance, the clitic cannot get doubled with a full NP but can with a strong pronoun:

- (42) Marta<sub>i</sub> quiere que le<sub>i/e</sub> gusten los niños (a Marta<sub>\*i/e</sub>)  
 Marta want.PRS.3SG that 3.DAT.SG please.PRS.SBJV.3PL the.M.PL child.M.PL DAT Marta  
 ‘Marta wants children to please her’  
 =‘Marta wants to like children’

- (43) Marta<sub>i</sub> quiere que le<sub>i</sub> gusten los niños (?a ella<sub>i</sub>)  
 Marta want.PRS.3SG that 3.DAT.SG please.PRS.SBJV.3PL the.M.PL child.M.PL DAT 3SG.F

<sup>15</sup>These tests can be especially problematic because dative subjects are not generally found in Spanish. Even if we will argue against it, we are now testing and considering the possibility of a dative subject with psychological predicates, but placing it in the subject position as in (40) would mean accepting dative subjects even with more sets of predicates, which is not the case in Spanish.

*‘Marta wants children please her’*  
 =‘Marta wants to like children’

We have previously mentioned that we have different orderings available with psychological predicates:

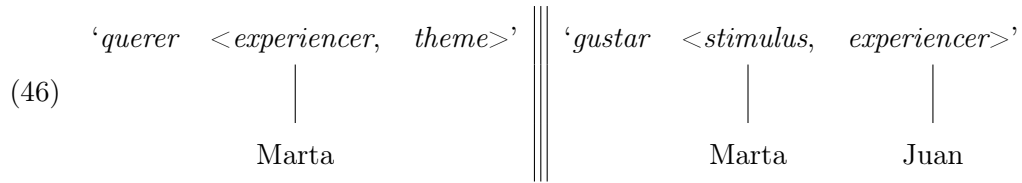
- (44) a. A     $\text{Juan}_i$   $\text{le}_i$             gusta            Marta  
           DAT Juan   3SG.DAT please.PRS.3SG   Marta
- b. Marta  $\text{le}_i$             gusta            a     $\text{Juan}_i$   
               Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG   DAT Juan
- ‘Marta pleases Juan’*  
 =‘Juan likes Marta’

We see in (44) that the dative NP can appear either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence and the semantics of the whole remains unaltered. It is interesting to note, as pointed out by Moore (1989) following Martínez González (1988), that the intuitions become less clear in a control construction when both participants are in the same number:

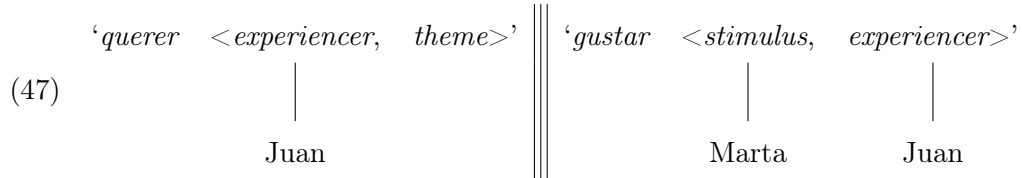
- (45) a. Marta  $\text{le}_i$             quiere            gustar            a     $\text{Juan}_i$   
           Marta .3SG.DAT wantPRS.3SG please.INF   DAT Juan
- ‘Marta wants to please Juan’*  
 =‘Marta wants Juan to like her’
- b. A    Juan le            quiere            gustar            Marta  
               DAT Juan 3SG.DAT want.PRS.3SG please.INF   Marta
- ‘?Juan wants Marta to please him’*  
 =‘?Juan wants to like Marta’

According to Moore (1989) and Martínez González (1988), the sentences in (45) are not equivalent as we had in (44). They claim the roles assigned by *gustar* remain constant but the difference in meaning stems from different participants experiencing the “wanting”. Very schematically, we could represent this mismatch as follows:

- For (45a):



- For (45b):



In principle, we believe (45a) and (45b) should be analysed with the same f-structure since we have exactly the same elements but appearing in a different order. This would go on the one hand against the semantic intuitions of the speakers but, on the other, to analyse it following the speakers’ intuitions would imply arguing for a dative as subject of *querer* - ‘want’. There are no arguments we could think of to support such attempt of an analysis since dative subjects are not found in Spanish, and it is also difficult to find motivation for the different intuitions for (44) and (45). If we compare other control sentences with the same verb in the main clause and a different one in the embedded clause, we can see that a dative is not possible:

- (48) a. Juan quiere            llamar a            Marta  
           Juan want.PRS.3SG call.INF [+ANIM] Marta  
           ‘Juan wants to call Marta’
- b. \*A Juan le            quiere            llamar a            Marta  
           DAT Juan 3SG.DAT want.PRS.3SG call.INF [+ANIM] Marta  
           *intended* ‘Juan wants to call Marta’

Our conclusion is that, even if the speakers may understand (45a) and (45b) to be different, they have exactly the same structure. It is also interesting to mention the following contrast:

- (49) A los            niños            les            quiere            gustar Marta  
           DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL 3.PL.DAT want.PRS.3SG like.INF Marta  
           *expected*: ‘Marta wants children to like her’  
           *probably in use*: ‘Children want to like Marta’

Based on agreement, we opt for the *expected* meaning in (49). However, speakers

will firstly say it means what we have labelled “*probably in use*”, despite the lack of appropriate agreement with ‘want’. Which is why the first instinct for them is to also rule out the following sentence as ungrammatical, even though it is not:

- (50) A    los           niños           quiere           gustarles           Marta  
          DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL want.PRS.3SG like.INF=.3SG.DAT Marta  
*syntactically expected*: ‘Marta wants children to like her’  
*expected by speakers*: ‘Children want to like Marta’

Speakers reject that (50) could mean what they expect, which is why they rule it out. However, after some reconsideration they seem to accept it can work with the expected “syntactic” meaning. Interestingly, there is no good alternative where both the dative and the verb are in the plural:

- (51) a. \*A    los           niños           les           quieren           gustar    Marta  
          DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL 3.PL.DAT want.PRS.3PL like.INF Marta  
       b. \*A    los           niños           quieren           gustarles           Marta  
          DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL want.PRS.3PL like.INF=.3SG.DAT Marta  
*intended*: ‘The children want to like Marta’

The only way to convey the intended meaning would be to introduce a finite subordinate clause:

- (52) Los           niños<sub>i</sub>    quieren           que les<sub>i/e</sub>           guste           Marta  
          the.M.PL child.PL want.PRS.3.PL that DAT.3.PL like.PRS.SBJV.3SG Marta  
          ‘*The children want Marta to please them*’  
          = ‘The children want to like Marta’

We can conclude that even if this mismatch between the syntax and the semantics could be posited as an argument in favour of considering the dative as the possible subject, it is difficult to account for such readings in a formal way. We believe the speakers experience some type of *garden-path* effect based on the fact that a subject is expected to be the first element in a sentence and in these examples it is found at the end<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>16</sup>This explanation only works if speakers realise that they are interpreting the sentence incorrectly. We are not sure if this is the case, as this would need proper experimental work that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

#### 4.3.2.1.1 ‘Gustar’ as control predicate

Alternatively, if we make *gustar* the control predicate -as opposed to examples (38), (39), (40) and (41) where we have ‘want’ as the control predicate- we get interesting results:

- (53) A    *Marta<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub>           gusta           caminar*  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF  
           *‘Walking pleases Marta’*  
           =‘Marta likes walking’

The subject of the infinitive *caminar* - ‘walk’ in (53) is controlled by the dative in the main clause. See (54) below for illustration with a plural experiencer:

- (54) A    *los           niños<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub>           gusta           caminar*  
           DAT the.M.PL child.PL 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF  
           *‘Walking pleases the children’*  
           =‘The children like walking’

Consider the following example:

- (55) A    *Marta le           gusta           caminar, correr y saltar*  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF run.INF and jump.INF  
           *‘Walking, running and jumping pleases Marta’*  
           =‘Marta likes walking, running and jumping’

We see in (55) that the subject consists of a set of activities expressed through infinitives, even though all three infinitives share the same subject. However, even if we could consider this to be a semantically plural subject, we do not have a plural verb. Compare:

- (56) a. *Juan camina*  
           Juan walk.PRS.3SG  
           ‘Juan walks’.
- b. *Juan, Marta y    Nuria caminan*  
           Juan, Marta and Nuria walk.PRS.3PL  
           ‘Juan, Marta and Nuria walk’.

In (56) we see the contrast between a sentence with a simple singular subject and

a sentence with a coordinated subject, which triggers plural agreement on the verb. This is not the case with (55), which might lead us to believe that the dative could be the subject<sup>17</sup>. However, it is worth mentioning that the grammar shows the following agreement pattern in sentences with a coordinated substantive finite embedded clause as subject: the verb ‘be’ is singular despite its subject being two coordinated finite clauses. (R.A.E, 2009b, p. 2572).<sup>18</sup>

- (57) Es                    preferible que uno                    salga                    y                    (que) el  
       Be.PRS.3SG preferable that one.M.SG go-out.PRS.3SG and that the.M.SG  
       otro                    se                    quede  
       other.M.SG 3.REFL stay.PRS.3SG

‘It is desirable for one to go out and the other to stay’.

We should also note that if we were to take the dative as subject, we could expect the verb to show plural agreement if we make the dative plural too. This is not the case however as seen with a plural dative in (54) or a coordinated dative below:

- (58) A    Marta y    (?a)    Juan les                    gusta                    caminar  
       DAT Marta and (DAT) Juan 3.PL.DAT please.PRS.3SG walk.INF

‘*Walking pleases Marta and Juan*’

=‘Marta and Juan like walking’

We believe we have a case of anaphoric control of the subject of the infinitive by the dative, which in this case is obligatory. We will sketch this analysis later in the chapter in § 4.6 after we have decided how to best treat the dative.

As previously seen when we had ‘want’ as the control predicate, if we wanted to introduce the experiencer as the SUBJ of ‘want’, we would need to introduce a finite clause as in (41) repeated below as (59):

- (59) Marta quiere                    que le                    gusten                    los                    niños  
       Marta want.PRS.3SG that 3.DAT.SG please.PRS.SBJV.3PL the.M.PL child.M.PL

<sup>17</sup>Considering the dative as subject only based on this contrast would be a simplistic view. We would have to disregard the fact that sentential subjects show agreement with the verb in 3SG. This will be further explored in § 4.6 where we will also show that coordinated clauses do not generally trigger plural agreement.

<sup>18</sup>“Las oraciones subordinadas sustantivas coordinadas que desempeñan la función de sujeto, concuerdan con el verbo en singular” (R.A.E, 2009b, p. 2572).

*‘Marta wants that children please her’*

=‘Marta wants to like children’

With *gustar* as our control predicate now, we would also need to introduce another finite clause in order to express the subject of that clause:

- (60) A    Marta le           gusta           que la           gente camine  
           DAT Marta .3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG that the.F.SG people walk.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
           ‘Marta likes that people walk’

If we keep the embedded infinitive but introduce a full pronoun referring back to the same participant as the dative, we alter the semantics of the sentence:

- (61) a. A    Marta le           gusta           caminar  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT please.PRS.3SG walk.INF  
           *‘Walking pleases Marta’*  
           =‘Marta likes walking’
- b. ?A    Marta<sub>i</sub> le           gusta           caminar ella<sub>i/\*e</sub>  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF she  
           ‘Marta likes to walk herself’

(61a) and (61b) are not semantically equivalent. (61b) implies that Marta likes to do the walking herself rather than someone doing it on her behalf. This could work in a context where Marta is maybe a baby or just recovering from some injury, meaning she would rather do it herself than getting help from crutches, for instance. We can introduce a different predicate to make the context a bit more plausible:

- (62) a. A    Marta le           gusta           cocinar  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG cook.INF  
           *‘Cooking pleases Marta’*  
           =‘Marta likes cooking’
- b. ?A    Marta<sub>i</sub> le           gusta           cocinar ella<sub>i/\*e</sub>  
           DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG cook.INF she  
           ‘Marta likes to cook herself’

In(62b), we get a contrastive reading, which entails that Marta likes to cook herself as opposed to someone else doing it for her.





(63). The XCOMPS in (63a) and (63b) are of a different nature: an adjective *vs.* an infinitive. This stems from the choice of ‘be’ as the predicate in (63). With a different predicate we have a similar pattern, even though a structure with an adjective is not available:

- (65) a. Me            parece            que Juan canta            bien  
           1SG.DAT seem.PRS.3SG that Juan sing.PRS.3SG well  
           ‘It seems to me that Juan sings well’
- b. Juan (\*me)    parece            cantar    bien  
           Juan 1SG.DAT seem.PRS.3SG sing.INF well  
           ‘Juan seems to sing well (\*to me)’

Firstly, we try to raise the *cause/stimulus* NP by introducing a prototypical raising verb such as *parecer* - ‘seem’ with a psychological verb such as *gustar*:

- (66) Los            niños            parecen            gustarle                            a    Marta  
           The.M.PL child.M.PL seem.PRS.3PL please.INF=(3.DAT.SG) DAT Marta  
           ‘Children seem to please Marta’

It seems to work fine. However, that is not a too natural sounding sentence. The preferred alternative would be (67):

- (67) A    Marta parecen            gustarle                            los            niños<sup>19</sup>  
           DAT Marta seem.PRS.3PL please.INF=(3.DAT.SG) the.M.PL child.M.PL

(67) raises some issues regarding the analysis of the sentence. It is difficult to assess what is raising here: is the subject raising and hence we could consider the dative as subject? If the DATIVE NP is not the SUBJECT, why is the DATIVE experiencer in the top clause? We could consider the dative as FOC or some other DF, but this does not explain why this is the most natural ordering of elements in such sentences, as opposed to left-dislocated constituents.

In any case, it is worth mentioning that the raising predicate is in the plural, agreeing with the children rather than with Marta.

The distribution seen in (64) seems to hold too if the predicate embedded is

<sup>19</sup>Note we can also have clitic climbing and both the NP and clitic would appear in the top clause:

- (iv) A    Marta le            parecen            gustar            los            niños  
           DAT Marta 3.DAT.SG seem.PRS.3PL please.INF= the.M.PL child.M.PL

*gustar*- ‘like’. However, the intuitions seem to mirror again what we saw in § 4.3.2.1 with control predicates that had the two participants in the same number:

- (68) a. (A Juan) me parece que (a Juan) le gusta  
 DAT Juan 1SG.DAT seem.PRS.3SG that DAT Juan 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG  
 cantar (a Juan)  
 sing.INF DAT Juan  
*‘It seems to me that singing pleases Juan’*  
 =‘It seems to me that Juan likes singing’
- b. A Juan (\*me) parece gustarle cantar  
 DAT Juan 1SG.DAT seem.PRS.3SG like.INF=3SG.DAT sing.INF  
*in use:* ‘Juan seems to like singing’  
*expected syntactically:* ‘Singing seems to please Juan’<sup>20</sup>

If we compare (68b) with (63c) repeated below as (69), we see that they are equivalent, the only difference being that the first NP in (68b) is dative whereas in (69) is not, due to the fact that in (68b) the subject of the raising verb is *cantar* - ‘sing’ even though it does not appear at the beginning of the sentence<sup>21</sup>.

- (69) Juan (\*me) parece ser amable  
 Juan 1SG.DAT seem.PRS.3SG be.INF kind  
 ‘Juan seems to be kind (\*to me)’

Note, however, that the translation is completely comparable. It seems again, that the translation ‘*in use*’ does not match the syntactic expectations. Besides, as happened with control predicates, it is not so clear when we have a plural dative, since the raising predicate remains singular:

- (70) a. A los niños parece gustarles cantar  
 DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL seem.PRS.3SG please.INF=3.PL.DAT sing.INF  
 ‘Singing seems to please the children’

<sup>20</sup>Even though semantically these meanings are equivalent, the difference in the elements that “raise” would have implications for an analysis, which is why we are providing two translations that are not syntactically equivalent.

<sup>21</sup>*cantar* could occupy the first position of the sentence as well, but this order does not sound very idiomatic:

- (v) Cantar parece gustarle a Juan  
 sing.INF seem.PRS.3SG like.INF=3SG.DAT DAT Juan  
 ‘Singing seems to please Juan’

- b. \*A los niños parecen gustarles cantar  
 DAT the.M.PL child.M.PL seem.PRS.3PL like.INF=3.PL.DAT sing.INF

‘The children seem to like singing’

It is clear from the sentences above that the dative is not controlling agreement on the raising predicate. We again will treat this as a *garden-path* effect that has no implications in the syntactic treatment of the sentence.

#### 4.3.2.3 Causatives

Neither Cause NPs or Experiencer NPs can be the agent of causation and the only way to convey the desired readings would be by introducing another clause:

- (71) \*Los niños hicieron a Marta gustarle  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL make.PST.3PL DAT Marta like.INF=(DAT.SG)

‘The children made Marta like them<sup>22</sup>’

- (72) ?Los niños hicieron a Marta que le  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL make.PST.3PL DAT Marta that DAT.3SG  
 gustaran (ellos / los niños)  
 like.PST.SBJV.3PL (NOM.3.PL / the.M.PL child.M.PL)

‘The children made Marta like them’

- (73) ?Los niños hicieron que a Marta le  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL make.PST.3PL that DAT Marta DAT.3SG  
 gustaran (ellos / los niños)  
 like.PST.SBJV.3PL (NOM.3.PL / the.M.PL child.M.PL)

‘The children made Marta like them’

- (74) \*A los niños hizo/hicieron gustar Marta

It could be argued that the ungrammaticality of the sentences above might be related to a semantic incompatibility. It seems reasonable to think that making someone like something is not a very felicitous context. Much more so with people, so we will try to see what options we have with different participants:

<sup>22</sup>This reading could only be derived as subject control: ‘*The children<sub>i</sub> made [PRO<sub>i</sub> please Marta]<sub>j</sub>*’, which is an indication that the stimulus is indeed the subject in a ‘*gustar*’ construction.

- (75) Los niños hicieron que a Marta le  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL make.PST.3PL that DAT Marta DAT.3SG  
 gustasen las fresas  
 like.PST.SBJV.3PL the.F.PL strawberry.PL

‘The children made Marta like strawberries’

- (76) Los niños hicieron que a Marta le  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL make.PST.3PL that DAT Marta DAT.3SG  
 gustase leer  
 like.PST.SBJV.3PL read.INF

‘The children made Marta like reading’

(75) and (76) might be a bit more felicitous than the other sentences above if we can find the appropriate context and if we get a reading that entails more an idea of managing to convince Marta to like something rather than a stronger causative meaning of force. In any case, nevertheless, we need an extra clause so the subject in the embedded clause where *gustar* is no longer linked to any other participant in the matrix clause. Even if it is difficult to apply a causative test, there seems to be a bit of indication that the *stimulus* NP is the SUBJECT, at least based on the reasons why this test fails to work.

#### 4.3.2.4 Binding

If we want to make the *stimulus* NP reflexive, we also need to make it nominative since reflexive clitics only refer back to subjects. We would therefore have one single NOM NP as argument which is both the experiencer and the stimulus:

- (77) Los niños se gustan (a sí mismos / uno a otro)  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL REFL like.PRS.3PL to self.M.PL / one to other

‘The children like themselves/ each other’

We could not have a similar sentence with the dative binding to the reflexive:

- (78) a. \*A Marta se gusta (a sí misma)  
 (DAT) Marta REFL like.PRS.3SG (to self.F.SG)

‘Marta likes herself’

- b. Marta se gusta (a sí misma)  
 Marta REFL like.PRS.3SG (to self.F.SG)

‘Marta likes herself’

The fact that we cannot bind the reflexive to a dative phrase in (78a) indicates that this phrase is not the subject since a reflexive should be able to refer back to it if it were, as indeed happens in (78b) where we do not have a dative phrase. This shows that the *stimulus* NP is the subject, or at least that the dative experiencer is not.

#### 4.3.2.5 Passivisation

Psychological verbs of the type we are examining do not present the ability to passivise, which favours the view that the *stimulus* showing NOM case could be the SUBJECT. If it were an OBJECT it would be able to become SUBJECT of a passive.<sup>23</sup>

- (79) \*Los niños son gustados por Marta  
 The.M.PL child.M.PL be.PRS.3PL like.M.PL.PART by Marta  
*stimulus* *experiencer*  
 ‘Children are liked by Marta’

If we claimed the dative is an object, its inability to become subject of a passive would not be a problem as that is a characteristic of dative objects in Spanish, e.g. in ditransitive sentences.

- (80) Juan le da un libro a Marta  
 Juan DAT.3SG give.PRS.3SG a.M.SG book DAT Marta  
 ‘Juan gives a book to Marta’
- (81) a. Un libro fue dado a Marta por Juan  
 A.M.SG book be.PST.3SG give.PST.PTCP.M.SG DAT Marta by Juan  
 ‘A book was given to Marta by Juan’
- b. \*(A?) Marta fue dada un libro por Juan  
 DAT Marta be.PST.3SG give.PST.PTCP.F.SG DAT by Juan  
 ‘Marta was given a book by Juan’

We would not expect the second object of a verb to become the subject in a passive construction. But dative objects cannot passivise even when they are part of the

<sup>23</sup>See discussion in Chapter 3.

subcategorisation pattern of two-place predicates:

- (82) A Juan le esperaba un porvenir radiante en  
 DAT Juan wait.PST.IPFV.3SG a.M.SG future bright in the.F.SG  
 la administración pública  
 administration public.F.SG  
 ‘A bright future was awaiting Juan in the public administration’

- (83) \*Juan era esperado por un porvenir radiante en  
 Juan be.PST.3SG wait.PST.PTCP.M.SG by a.M.SG future bright in  
 la administración pública  
 the.F.SG administration public.F.SG  
 ‘Juan was awaited by a bright future in the administration’

This test will be ruled out as not applicable as it cannot even be properly applied. If anything, it shows that these constructions do not contain a *theme* object that can become the subject of a passive construction, but it does not shed much light on the matter of whether the dative could be a subject in constructions with psychological verbs.

#### 4.3.2.6 Ability to ‘pro-drop’

It is a well-known feature of Spanish that the subject element can be dropped as the verb provides sufficient grammatical information:

- (84) a. Marta llora  
 Marta cry.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Marta cries’  
 b. Ella llora  
 She cry.PRS.3SG  
 ‘She cries’  
 c. Lloro  
 cry.PRS.3SG  
 ‘He/she cries’

It would be sensible to assume that the element that we can drop in these constructions would be the subject of the sentence. In this section, we will try to drop the different elements from our base sentence (34) repeated below:



dropped, which is a typical characteristic of subjects in Spanish.

### 4.3.3 Results and Remaining Issues

The results from the tests quite clearly indicate that the dative is not the subject in constructions with psychological predicates. We will therefore favour the option of the *stimulus* NP as SUBJECT.

		CONTROL	RAISING	CAUSATIVE	BINDING	PASSIVE	PRO-DROP
(89)	CAUSE/ STIMULUS NP	✓	✓	✓?	✓	N/A	✓
	EXPERIENCER NP	?/X	X	X	X	N/A	X

These results seem to go against the idea proposed by some (Fernández Soriano (1999), Cuervo (2010), Masullo (1992) or Mendívil Giró (2002)) who give the dative a special treatment to accomodate it into the subject position. Vogel and Villada (1999) account for the extra issues this would raise by implementing more principles in HPSG but still treat the dative as subject<sup>24</sup>. Vanhoe (2002) and Alsina (1996) claim that the experiencer would be mapped as OBJ. However, the issue remains as to how to characterise the fact that the DATIVE argument seems to get some prominence and appears at the beginning of the sentence. Since we have argued the dative is not the subject, we will now explore the possibility of the dative as an objective function and how to best characterise it.

## 4.4 Dative as an objective function

Alsina (1996) argues that the dative is an object. He gets rid of the traditional

<sup>23</sup>The result from the causative test is marked with ? indicating it is not a completely applicable test since it does not give us a definitive result, but merely indications that support the *stimulus* as subject. The passive test is deemed not applicable as discussed in § 4.3.2.5.

<sup>24</sup>A summary of their approaches was presented in § 4.3.1.



distinction between direct and indirect objects. Vanhoe (2002) follows Alsina (1996) and adapts some ideas adopted in Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) to account for these predicates. He makes the experiencer a secondary agent by modifying Dowty (1991)'s proto-properties and maps it onto OBJ. Vanhoe (2002) agrees with Alsina (1996) in saying that they can be analysed as OBJ and not OBJ<sub>θ</sub> because contrary to secondary objects, they do not need to appear together with another object and they are always realised with a preposition<sup>25</sup>. Vanhoe (2002) reformulates Dowty (1991)'s inventory of proto-properties in a similar fashion to Ackerman and Moore (2001), based on telicity. More specifically, he introduces an extra property for the set of properties of the proto-agent and another for the proto-patient properties list. Following Alsina (1996), he orders the properties hierarchically and makes some primary and some secondary.

Because the results from our tests seem to indicate the dative is not the subject, we will be following the ideas expressed in the proposals by Alsina (1996) and Vanhoe (2002) in the sense that we consider the dative to be an objective function, but we will propose to analyse it as OBJ<sub>θ</sub> rather than OBJ for the reasons that will be discussed in the next section.

## 4.5 Analysis

As discussed in Chapter 3, a given predicate has a list of argument roles that are ordered by the thematic hierarchy derived by Bresnan and Zaenen (1990) repeated below as follows:

(90) *agent*  $\langle$  *beneficiary*  $\langle$  *experiencer/goal*  $\langle$  *instrument*  $\langle$  *patient/theme*  $\langle$  *locative*

but reformulated by Dowty (1991) as:

(91) *agent*  $\langle$  *instr./exp.*  $\langle$  *patient*  $\langle$  *source/goal*

The thematic hierarchies in (90) and (91) pose some issues. Firstly, we have mentioned two different orderings but how do we know which one should be followed and on what basis? Then, as Dowty (1991) points out -and as discussed in

<sup>25</sup>Note as a reminder that we do not consider 'a' a preposition but a dative marker.

Chapter 1- the traditional roles are not discrete categories<sup>26</sup>. He claims there are actually clusters of entailments and a given participant will have only a certain set of those entailments. He concludes that only two types are sufficient, what he labels PROTO-AGENT and PROTO-PATIENT. These proto-types or proto-roles display the following preliminary properties:

(92) “Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role:

- (a) volitional involvement in the event or state
- (b) sentience (and/or perception)
- (c) causing an event or change of state in another participant
- (d) movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e) (exists independently of the event named by the verb)

(93) Contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role:

- (a) undergoes change of state
- (b) incremental theme
- (c) causally affected by another participant
- (d) stationary relative to movement of another participant
- (e) (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)”

(Dowty, 1991, p. 572)

Dowty (1991, p. 579) mentions psychological predicates in particular as an example of verbs which do not distinguish their arguments by means of entailments or proto-properties, yet they display different mapping patterns. He distinguishes an Experiencer-subject type group - ‘*x likes y*’- and a Stimulus-subject group - ‘*y pleases x*’. He notes that the verbs in the Stimulus-subject group, which are the closest to the Spanish psychological predicates that display the dative as experiencer, are especially interesting. In both groups we find that both participants have only one proto-agent

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<sup>26</sup>There are many more versions of these hierarchies which is why they pose so many problems (cf. Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005)).

entailment which would mean that both could be mapped as SUBJ: the experiencer has to have some perception of the stimulus and can therefore be classified as sentient, and the stimulus causes some emotional reaction or cognitive judgement in the experiencer. These are both proto-agent entailments and there does not seem to be any more entailments in any of the participants. However, the verbs in the stimulus-subject group have an inchoative interpretation that implies a change of state in the Experiencer - this participant comes to experience an emotion or new mental state whereas the stimulus remains unaffected. This would imply that the experiencer could have an extra entailment which is a proto-patient property. In a case where one participant has only one proto-agent property and the other has one proto-agent property and one proto-patient one, the former would have to be mapped as SUBJ and the latter as OBJ. This follows in Spanish:

- (94) Me        gustan        las        fresas  
       1SG.DAT like.PRS.3PL the.F.PL strawberry.PL  
       ‘I like strawberries’

In (94), the participant denoted by the dative *me* could be said to show a proto-patient property by coming to experience the emotion of liking strawberries and hence can be mapped as an objective function.

This is, nonetheless, a bit loose so we could still have doubts that the dative experiencer could be mapped as SUBJ because it is higher in the thematic scale. We could therefore include some constraints to prevent the dative from being mapped as SUBJ.

Alsina (1996, p. 170) discusses the assignment of Dative Case and agrees it could be achieved by two possible principles:

- (95) *Dative Case Assignment*

- (a) “*Semantically Based Principle*:

A direct function mapped onto an argument (other than the external argument) that is semantically a goal (or recipient) must bear the case feature [DAT +].

(b) *A-Structure Based Principle:*

A direct function mapped onto the more prominent of two arguments (other than the external argument) must bear the case feature [DAT +].”

Alsina (1996) argues that it is not a matter of choice between the two principles, but rather he collapses them into one single principle:

(96) “*Case Assignment Convention:*

- (a) A direct function (one that has the feature [obl -]) must take the marked feature value [DAT +] if it is mapped onto an argument that is either thematically a goal or more prominent than another argument expressed as a nondative function and if it is not the expression of the external argument.

- (b) All other direct functions take the default feature value [DAT -].”

(Alsina, 1996, p. 175)

This convention would allow any direct function to be in the dative case. If we want to disallow subjects from being dative, as we have seen is the case with psychological predicates, we could introduce a constraint preventing [DAT +] elements from becoming subjects.

(97) “*Nondative Subject Constraint:*

\*[ [SUBJ +] [DAT +] ]” (Alsina, 1996, p. 179)

This implies that a syntactic function that is assigned dative case could only be mapped as an objective function even if it has a more prominent thematic role.

This far we have only argued that the dative is not SUBJ and that it would be mapped onto an objective function. However, it remains to be seen what specific function will be assigned to the dative.

#### 4.5.1 Dative as OBJ<sub>θ</sub>

Following mapping principles as described in Kibort (2007), Kibort (2008) and Kibort (2013), when we have our argument slots available as follows,

- (98)  $\langle \text{arg}_1 \quad \text{arg}_2 \quad \text{arg}_3 \quad \text{arg}_4 \quad \dots \quad \text{arg}_n \rangle$   
 $[-o/-r] \quad [-r] \quad [+o] \quad [-o] \quad \dots \quad [-o]$

the participant mapped onto the  $\text{arg}_1$  slot is the subject. We have already argued that slot will be occupied by the *stimulus* NP. It is clearly stated in the mapping rules that “if the predicator has any dependents, the most prominent semantic complement maps on  $\text{arg}_2$ ” (Kibort, 2013). This will presumably make this participant an object. If we have mapped the *stimulus* as subject, it seems to follow that the only other argument left, i.e., the *experiencer* NP has to be  $\text{arg}_2$  and presumably the object as postulated by Vanhoe (2002) or Alsina (1996).

However, with the flexibility shown by Kibort (2007)’s version of Lexical Mapping Theory, we do not necessarily need to map to all the argument slots in order, first  $\text{arg}_1$ , then  $\text{arg}_2$  followed by  $\text{arg}_3$  and so on. Participants can be mapped onto any of the slots, provided it has the features associated with that slot. If we claim the *experiencer* NP maps onto  $\text{arg}_2$ , then we are also entailing it has a  $[-r]$  feature, which will make it available to become the subject of a passive construction. This is never a possibility in Spanish with dative arguments as we have seen in Chapter 3 and in our tests above in § 4.3.2.5.

The fact that we have a participant with distinctive morphology (dative case)<sup>27</sup> and its unavailability to become subject of a passive prove that we should map this argument onto the  $\text{arg}_3$  slot with a  $[+o]$  feature. Languages such as Spanish which show a canonical dative are used as a definitive argument for the need of an  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$  grammatical function.

Therefore, we can describe our psychological predicates with a dative experiencer as follows:

<sup>27</sup>See Primus (1999) for discussion of dative as a structural case encoding *proto-beneficiary* entailments.

		$x$	$b$
(99)	<i>gustar</i>	$\langle \text{arg}_1$	$\mathbf{arg}_3 \rangle$
		$[-o]$	$([+o])$
<hr/>			
		SUBJ	$\mathbf{OBJ}_\theta$
		( <i>stimulus</i> )	( <i>experiencer</i> )

Our f-structure now should be quite straightforward:

- (100) Le          gustan          las          fresas  
 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3PL the.F.PL strawberry.PL

‘He/she likes strawberries’

- (101) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘LIKE< (SUBJ) (OBJ}_\theta\text{)>’} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘STRAWBERRY’} \\ \text{INDEX} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘PRO’} \\ \text{INDEX} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} & \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

### 4.5.2 Doubling and psychological predicates

The issue when we have the optional doubling of the dative pronoun can be resolved by the same means used for ditransitives as seen in Chapter 3 by making the dative NP a FOCUS:

- (102) A    Marta le          gustan          las          fresas  
 DAT Marta 3SG.DAT like.PRS.3PL the.F.PL strawberry.PL

‘Marta likes strawberries’

$$(103) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LIKE< (SUBJ) (OBJ}_{\theta}\text{)>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'STRAWBERRY'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_{\theta} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{FOC} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'MARTA'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

As discussed in Chapter 3, when we have doubling as in (102), we see in the f-structure in (103) that we are treating the weak pronoun as the  $\text{OBJ}_{\theta}$  and we consider the doubled NP a FOCUS, which will be semantically and syntactically bound by the weak pronoun as per the following equation:

$$(104) \begin{aligned} (\uparrow \text{FOC CASE}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_{\theta} \text{ CASE}) \\ (\uparrow \text{FOC NUM}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_{\theta} \text{ NUM}) \\ (\uparrow \text{FOC PERS}) &=_c (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_{\theta} \text{ PERS}) \end{aligned}$$

### 4.5.3 Unexpected ordering

The issue remains, nonetheless, as to why these constructions show the ordering in (102) as neutral and not discourse marked with any special intonation or pause. We believe the ordering stems from the fact that in the thematic hierarchy repeated below the experiencer ranks high up in the scale and that is reflected in the ordering of the elements in the sentence.

$$(105) \text{ agent} \langle \text{beneficiary} \langle \text{experiencer/goal} \langle \text{instrument} \langle \text{patient/theme} \langle \text{locative}$$

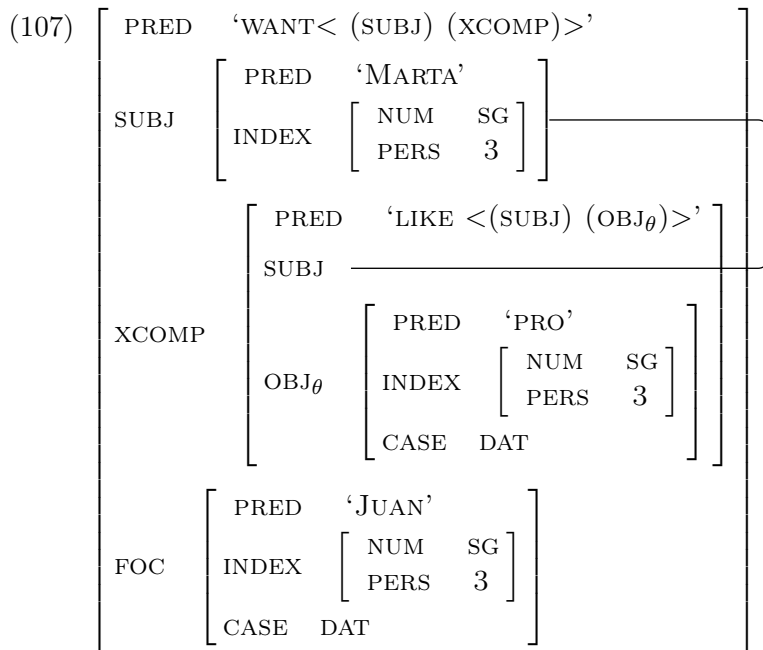
We are therefore using the template by Kibort (2007) to align our arguments into grammatical functions and argument slots and are using the more traditional thematic hierarchy to explain the order of the arguments within the sentence.

## 4.6 Issues regarding control

When discussing tests for subjecthood, we noticed some interesting facts about the behaviour of psychological predicates when they are in a control environment. Now that we have decided we are labelling the dative as  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$ , with a regular subject control verb such as *querer* -‘want’, an f-structure should be quite straight-forward as below:

- (106) a. Marta quiere                    gustarle                    a    Juan  
           Marta want.PRS.3SG like.INF=3SG.DAT DAT Juan
- b. A    Juan quiere                    gustarle                    Marta  
           DAT Juan want.PRS.3SG like.INF=3SG.DAT Marta
- ‘Marta wants Juan to like her’

Note that we are providing two different orderings possible. As discussed in § 4.3.2.1, some speakers seem to feel the two orderings in (106) yield two different readings. We, however, argued this was a result of a *garden-path* effect when processing the sentence. For this reason, we consider the f-structure in (107) is valid for both orderings:



We will again need the equations we have been using for any instances of doubling:



- (108)  $(\uparrow \text{FOC CASE}) =_c (\uparrow \text{XCOMP OBJ}_\theta \text{ CASE})$   
 $(\uparrow \text{FOC NUM}) =_c (\uparrow \text{XCOMP OBJ}_\theta \text{ NUM})$   
 $(\uparrow \text{FOC PERS}) =_c (\uparrow \text{XCOMP OBJ}_\theta \text{ PERS})$

Matters are arguably more interesting when we have the psychological predicate as the controlling predicate:

- (109) Me            gusta            caminar  
           1SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF  
           ‘I like walking’

To start with, since we have argued the dative is not the subject, we are left only with the infinitive as the possible subject. This is not an issue as Spanish has non-nominal infinitive (i.e. clausal) subjects:

- (110) Leer            cultiva            la            mente  
           Read.INF cultivatePRS.3SG the.F.SG mind  
           ‘Reading cultivates the mind’

The infinitives playing the role of subject can be preceded by the definite article:

- (111) El            leer            cultiva            la            mente  
           the.M.SG read.INF cultivatePRS.3SG the.F.SG mind  
           ‘The reading cultivates the mind’

Alarcos Llorach (1994) notes that when we have infinitives in the subject group, given their underspecification in gender and number, they impose singular number on the verb.<sup>28</sup> That is why we can get a string of infinitives but the verb remains singular:

- (112) Beber    y    fumar    puede    provocar    enfermedades  
           drink.INF and smoke.INF can.PRS.3SG provoke.INF illness.PL  
           ‘Drinking and smoking can cause illnesses’

This is a well known phenomenon: because they lack these features, infinitives are

<sup>28</sup>“Cuando aparecen infinitivos en el grupo de sujeto, dada su indiferencia al género y al número, también imponen el singular en el verbo.”(Alarcos Llorach, 1994, p. 270).

not appropriate controllers of agreement (*cf.* Corbett (2006)). Nevertheless, if the infinitives are modified by an article, the verb can also appear in a plural form - especially in copulative constructions:

- (113) El            madrugar,       el            hacer ejercicio y   el            comer  
           the.M.SG getupearly.INF the.M.SG do.INF exercise and the.M.SG eat.INF  
           moderadamente son            provechosísimos  
           moderately       be.PRS.3PL beneficial.SUPER  
           ‘Getting up early, doing exercise and eating moderately are really beneficial’

(Alarcos Llorach, 1994, p.271)

All the examples above show that having an infinitive as subject is not problematic. Let us return now to our construction with a psychological predicate, repeated below:

- (114) Me           gusta            caminar  
           1SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG walk.INF  
           ‘I like walking’

The subject of ‘walk’ is understood to refer to the same entity as the dative. We believe we have an unexpressed pronoun that works as subject of ‘walk’ that is anaphorically bound by the dative. Following Falk (2001), we will treat this type of control as anaphoric:

- (115) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{‘LIKE} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}_\theta) > \text{’} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{‘WALK } < (\text{SUBJ}) > \text{’} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{‘PRO’} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{‘PRO’} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

We believe this is a case of *obligatory* anaphoric control<sup>29</sup> (Dalrymple, 2001) by which there is always a semantic relation between the controller and the pronominal element, in this case the  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$  controls the SUBJ SUBJ. This semantic relation can be expressed by the following binding equation, similar to Asudeh (2012)’s approach as

<sup>29</sup>See Bresnan (1982a), Mohanan (1983) or Falk (2001) for specific conditions on anaphoric control.

seen in Chapter 3:

$$(116) (\sigma(\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta) = \sigma(\uparrow \text{SUBJ SUBJ}))$$

Falk (2001) does not use the equation in (116) but uses indices to make it visually clear that the two PROs are linked by binding:

$$(117) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LIKE} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}_\theta) > \text{' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'WALK} < (\text{SUBJ}) > \text{' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'}_i \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_\theta \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'}_i \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 1 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The relation in anaphoric control identifies only the referential index, while f-structure attributes are not shared. Therefore anaphoric control can have split antecedents (Bresnan et al., 2016). This can be seen in (118) below:

$$(118) \begin{array}{l} \text{Marta}_i \text{ no } \text{para} \quad \quad \quad \text{de hablar} \text{ con } \text{Juan}_e \text{ de cuánto } \text{les}_{i,e} \\ \text{Marta} \text{ NEG stop.PRS.3SG of talk.INF with Juan } \text{ of how.much 3.PL.DAT} \\ \text{gusta} \quad \quad \quad \text{caminar}_{i,e} \\ \text{like.PRS.3SG walk.INF} \end{array}$$

‘Marta can’t stop talking to Juan about how much they like walking’

The dative pronoun might be intervening and might actually be the referent for the subject of *gustar* in the f-structure, but it is clear that semantically the referent is *Marta* and *Juan*.

## 4.7 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined psychological predicates in Spanish and paid close attention to those that display a pattern with a dative experiencer.

Firstly, we tried to determine whether said experiencer dative could be a SUBJECT but based on results from various tests, we established that it was not the case.

Then, our task was to decide what its function could be instead. Following

principles from Lexical Mapping Theory, we discarded that idea that it could be an OBJ and concluded that the dative is best analysed as OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.

We have also demonstrated such analysis can be compatible with instances of control predicates, arguing that these psychological predicates themselves trigger obligatory anaphoric control when they are the controlling predicate.

Building from discussion in the previous chapter, we were able to account for doubling for psychological predicates in the same fashion we did for ditransitive constructions.

We also briefly postulated that the reason why the ordering of elements in constructions with psychological predicates seems to be unexpected may be consequence of the hierarchy of thematic roles.

# Non-argument/non-selected datives

## 5.1 Introduction

It has been attested in numerous languages that in many cases, an NP that does not seem to be required by the argument structure of a verb might appear in a clause<sup>1</sup>. What is puzzling about these phrases is that they do not seem to behave as adjuncts either - they, for instance, usually show a form with case that is not typically associated to adjuncts (Bosse et al., 2012). This case in Spanish is the dative case. We will be using the general term *non-selected* to refer to these items, but we will end up arguing for a finer grained terminology. We will discuss firstly the general dichotomy “argument *vs.* adjunct” and how in-between cases have been dealt with in the past and will then narrow it down to the issue in Spanish specifically. Following Bosse et al. (2012), Borer (1986) and Arsenijević (2012), we will adopt the classification of non-selected datives into various types: external possessors, benefactive, attitude holder, affected experiencer and (evaluative?) reflexive<sup>2</sup>. We will examine whether Spanish shows instances of all five types -or any other- and what features and behaviour they show. We will end up modifying slightly the five groups

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<sup>1</sup>See Bosse et al. (2012) for a list of examples of unrelated languages that show this.

<sup>2</sup>Referred to as *personal dative* by Horn (2008).

classification and we will organise them by making a distinction based non only on their semantic contribution but also on their syntactic behaviour.

## 5.2 Arguments *vs.* adjuncts

The distinction between arguments and adjuncts seems to be a basic one and is quite central to most linguistic theories. It appears, however, that in many cases this distinction is not always clear. We will summarise a few tests for argumenthood proposed by many (Bresnan (1982a), Koenig et al. (2003), Wechsler (1991) and others) as compiled by Needham and Toivonen (2011) and will then discuss how to deal with the in-between cases.

### 5.2.1 Argumenthood tests

The following tests have been proposed for English and some might apply to other languages:

1. The first test relies on a basic semantic intuition. Labelled by Needham and Toivonen (2011) as the *Core Participants Test*, it checks how many participants are semantically required by the predicate. Thus, a transitive verb would usually require two participants, whereas an intransitive verb only requires one. For example, in a reading event, we expect a reader and what is read, but in a sneezing event we only have the one participant that sneezes. Note this test involves semantic intuitions but it does not necessarily imply the need for a participant to actually be expressed overtly in the sentence. So even if the abovementioned reading event is expected to have two participants, a sentence such as ‘*I read*’ is not ungrammatical. This test is therefore unhelpful because the semantic intuition might suggest that in a cooking event the instrument used to cook with is quite central. This verb takes however only two arguments. This issue might be solved by taking more tests into consideration.
2. The *Verb Specificity Test* indicates that arguments are *specific* to certain types of verbs, whereas adjuncts can be expressed for any event. As Needham and Toivonen (2011) explain, agent arguments can only appear with verbs that

express volition. Expressions that indicate the time or place an event takes place are frequently adjuncts because they do not usually select any specific types of verbs.

3. The *Prepositional Content Test* refers to the semantic content of the preposition. A preposition with more semantic content is more likely to introduce an adjunct, whereas if the meaning of the preposition does not seem to add any content to the construction, it is more likely introducing an argument. Compare the examples below from Needham and Toivonen (2011, p. 4):

(1) Louise rested in the forest / beside the big tree / on the lawn

(2) a. Kim trusted in her own abilities.

b. \*Kim trusted on her own abilities.

(3) a. Kim relied on her own abilities.

b. \*Kim relied in her own abilities.

In (1) the prepositions *in*, *beside* and *on* retain their full meaning denoting location and that meaning is constant in different examples. The meanings of *in* and *on* in (2) and (3) do not contribute to the meaning of the sentence and so cannot be used interchangeably in any context. According to the *Prepositional Content Test* this would indicate that the PPs in (1) are adjuncts and the ones in (2) and (3) are arguments. Needham and Toivonen (2011) note that this test can still raise issues because there are PP arguments that retain the meaning of the preposition such as those required by verbs such as *live* or *put*:

(4) I live in London / beside the restaurant.

(5) I put the book on the table / in the drawer / beside the TV

4. Related to the above is the *Fixed Preposition Test*. If a verb requires a specific preposition as seen in (2) and (3) above, then that PP is an argument. In (4) and (5) we have a choice of prepositions but this is restricted to a certain type: it has to be a locative prepositional phrase. The *Prepositional Content Test* refers to the semantic contribution of the preposition and this one is concerned

with the type of preposition required by the predicate. So despite the fact that a preposition is not lexically selected, the PP is an argument in some cases, which again shows these tests are not infallible.

5. The *Optionality Test* is the syntactic version of the *Core Participants Test* mentioned above and the issues described there also apply. Adjuncts are syntactically optional and arguments are not. However, as seen with verbs such as *read*, *eat* or *drink*, even if we understand that two participants are involved in the event denoted by the predicate, and so they are arguments, they are optionally realised syntactically. Conversely, there are also phrases that seem to be adjuncts based on their semantic content if we were to apply the tests above, but are obligatory, as is the case, for instance, with the *way*-construction:

- (6) a. Selma elbowed her way into the crowd  
       b. \*Selma elbowed her way (Needham and Toivonen, 2011, p. 5)

Needham and Toivonen (2011) call these *obligatory adjuncts*, but it is not clear what the difference is between this type of adjuncts and arguments. Note that the treatment by Asudeh et al. (2008) does not seem to make any such claims when analysing this construction. If anything, based on their approach, it looks like an argument.

6. The *Iterativity Test* states that adjuncts -even with the same function- can be repeated but arguments can appear only once. This test is again problematic as Needham and Toivonen (2011, p. 5) point out with the following examples:

- (7) I count on you, on your kindness.  
       (8) He lives in France, in a small village.

In (7), *on you* is an argument which means we would need to treat *on your kindness* as a parenthetical. In contrast, *in France* in (8) is an adjunct and *in a small village* can be treated as a second adjunct. There does not seem to be a clear reason that might motivate this difference in analysis.



7. *Alternation Test*. “Arguments can alternate with subjects and objects, but adjuncts cannot”(Needham and Toivonen, 2011, p. 5). They note that this does not mean that all arguments can alternate, rather that if a phrase can alternate, then it must be an argument.

- (9) a. I gave the book to Mary  
b. I gave Mary the book

However, we seem to encounter cases that are not so clear such as the beneficiary phrases below:

- (10) a. I baked a cake for my mum  
b. I baked my mum a cake

If we apply the tests we have previously described, the *for*-phrase above does not seem to be an argument, which indicates the *Alternation Test* might not be accurate.

8. *Preposition Stranding Test*. It is claimed that arguments allow preposition stranding, as opposed to adjuncts:

- (11) a. I rely on Mario.  
b. Who do you rely on?

- (12) a. I talked about Canada Day.  
b. What day did you talk about?

- (13) a. I saw her on Canada Day.  
b. \*What day did you see her on? (Needham and Toivonen, 2011, p. 6)

However, grammaticality judgements about this last sentence are not clear. It seems that preposition stranding inside adjuncts is permitted:

- (14) What market did you see her in?

Taking into consideration that preposition stranding might be allowed both by arguments and adjuncts, we must conclude that this test is also irrelevant.

9. *VP Anaphora Test*. Adjuncts can be added to ‘do so’ clauses whereas arguments cannot:

(15) Mary went to the cinema with Susan and Joe did so with Megan.

(16) \*Mary went to the cinema and Susan did so to the park.

10. *Pseudo-Cleft Test*. In a VP-fronted pseudo-cleft, an adjunct may appear after *do* but an argument may not:

(17) What Sophie did on Sunday was read.

(18) \*What Sophie did on her mother was rely.

11. *VP-preposing Test*. Related to the above, this test indicates that when we prepose a verb, its arguments must be preposed with it, but the adjuncts do not have to:

(19) a. \*Kylie wanted to draw a picture and draw she did a picture.

b. Kylie wanted to leave on Monday and leave she did on Monday. (Needham and Toivonen, 2011, p. 7)

12. *WH-WORD Conjunction Test*. “Two *wh*-words that refer to arguments with different semantic roles cannot be conjoined” (Needham and Toivonen, 2011, p. 7), as opposed to adjuncts, which can:

(20) a. Mary gave Peter a book.

b. \*What and who did Mary give? / \*Who and what did Mary give?

(21) a. I left the book in the office last week.

b. When and where did you leave the book?

It seems -as noted by Needham and Toivonen (2011)- that it is quite easy to find issues with the above tests, especially with cases that are not so clear, such as beneficiary phrases, instruments, or the *by*-phrase in the passive construction, to mention a few. Needham and Toivonen (2011) will treat these as what they label “*derived arguments*” and Asudeh and Giorgolo (2012) propose to treat these borderline cases not only as

a syntactic issue but rather that the argument / adjunct distinction should be dealt with through semantic composition. We will examine these approaches in some more detail in upcoming sections.

### 5.2.1.1 Argumenthood tests in Spanish

Some of the above tests can be adapted and applied to other languages. In addition, Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999) proposes some tests that are specific for Spanish; but it is worth highlighting the fact that he also notes they are not universal and are only reliable to certain extent in some contexts:

1. *Substitution for “hacerlo” (do so)*. This is a version of the VP-*anaphora* test.

It is useful to determine the argumenthood of some complements such as the direct and indirect objects:

- (22) a. Dedicó                      una              canción a      su              novia  
           dedicate.3.SG.PAST a.FEM.SG song      DAT POSS.3.SG girlfriend  
           ‘He/she dedicated a song to his/her girlfriend’

- b. \*Lo              hizo                      a      su              novia  
           3.NEUT.SG do.3.SG.PAST DAT POSS.3.SG girlfriend  
           ‘He/she did so to his/her girlfriend’

- c. Lo              hizo  
           3.NEUT.SG do.3.SG.PAST  
           ‘He/she did so’

- (23) a. Escribió                      una              canción para su              novia  
           write.3.SG.PAST aFEM.SG song      for      POSS.3.SG girlfriend  
           ‘He/she wrote a song for his/her girlfriend’

- b. Lo              hizo                      para su              novia  
           3.NEUT.SG do.3.SG.PAST for      POSS.3.SG girlfriend  
           ‘He/she did so for his/her girlfriend’

According to Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999), in examples such as (22) this test indicates that all the participants are designated by the pronoun ‘*lo*’, which means they are included in the valency of the verb. Conversely, in (23) we find the *for*-phrase can be left outside, which indicates it is then an adjunct.

2. *The conditional periphrases test*<sup>3</sup>. In the first half of a conditional structure - corresponding to an *if*-clause in English- we find an indefinite that reproduces the features of the focused half:

- (24) a. Voy                    a llamar   a            mi madre  
           go.1.SG.PRES to call/INF [+HUM] my mother  
           ‘I am going to call my mother’
- b. Si llamo                    a            alguien, será            a            mi madre  
           If call.1.SG.PRES [+HUM] anyone be.3.SG.FUT [+HUM] my mother  
           ‘If I call anyone, it’ll be my mother’

If the focused element is an argument in the original sequence, the indefinite pronoun cannot be omitted:

- (25) a. Voy                    a llamar   a            mi madre  
           go.1.SG.PRES to call/INF [+HUM] my mother  
           ‘I am going to call my mother’
- b. Si llamo                    \*(a            alguien), será            a            mi madre  
           If call.1.SG.PRES [+HUM] anyone be.3.SG.FUT [+HUM] my mother  
           ‘If I call \*(anyone), it’ll be my mother’

If the focused element is instead an adjunct, omitting it is grammatical:

- (26) a. Lloré                    de rabia  
           cry.1.SG.PAST of rage  
           ‘I cried out of rage’
- b. Si (de algo)            lloré,                    fue                    de rabia  
           If of something cry.1.SG.PAST be.3.SG.PAST of rage  
           ‘If I cried (out of something), it was out of rage’ (Gutiérrez-Ordóñez,  
           1999, p. 1864)

Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999) does not discuss the different placement of the adjunct in the sentences above. (26b) could have the phrase “*de algo*” placed after the verb to mirror the order in (26a), so we do not consider the ordering difference to have any crucial implications:

<sup>3</sup>Such constructions are one of the resources the language has for focalization - they are called “ecuanditional” structures (*estructuras ecuandicionales*) in Spanish.

- (27) Si lloré (de algo), fue de rabia  
 If cry.1.SG.PAST of something be.3.SG.PAST of rage  
 ‘If I cried (out of something), it was out of rage’

3. *Nominalization test.* A nominalised lexeme retains the valency of the verb, i.e. the same number of arguments associated to the same syntactic functions and semantic restrictions:

- (28) a. Enseña cálculo a los adultos  
 teach.3.SG.PRES calculus DAT the.MASC.PL adult.PL  
 ‘He/she teaches calculus to adults’
- b. La enseñanza del cálculo a los  
 the.FEM.SG teaching of-the.MASC.SG calculus DAT the.MASC.PL  
 adultos  
 adult.PL  
 ‘The teaching of calculus to adults’

(Gutiérrez-Ordóñez, 1999, p. 1865)

Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999) notes that this test cannot be applied universally, as not all verbs have the possibility to be nominalised by deriving them through a common root.

4. *Participle test.* A participle retains the same functional slots as a finite form. The functions associated with those slots get modified as the construction gets a passive-like reading to it - the subject becomes the agent complement and the direct object becomes the subject of the participle. This test will be of no use, therefore, for constructions with no object:

- (29) a. Susana envió una carta a Juan  
 Susana send.3.SG.PAST a.FEM.SG letter DAT Juan  
 ‘Susana sent a letter to Juan’
- b. Una carta enviada a Juan por Susana  
 A.FEM.SG letter send.PASTPART.FEM.SG DAT Juan by Susana  
 ‘A letter sent to Juan by Susana’

It is worth mentioning that some of these tests seem to work quite reliably to determine argumenthood of the -traditionally labelled- indirect objects as seen in examples above.

### 5.2.2 Derived Arguments

From the tests above, we could relatively easily group clear arguments and clear adjuncts, but we can also see it is not always possible to unambiguously classify a participant as an argument or an adjunct. Needham and Toivonen (2011) identify some such cases in English: the passive *by*-phrase, possessive phrases of event nominals, benefactives, displaced themes, instruments, experiencers or directionals. This list is illustrative, there are more in-between cases and they are found in languages other than English. We can therefore assume this is not a marginal issue, and the argument-adjunct distinction needs to be reformulated.

However, since the concept of grammatical functions is quite central to LFG, there have been different attempts to analyse these elements that fall in between arguments and adjuncts. Needham and Toivonen (2011) call these in-between cases ‘*derived arguments*’ and claim they are -in most cases- optionally added to the argument structure of the verbs, following principles from Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT). They base their approach on a notion already suggested by Bresnan (1982b, p. 165) for instrumentals<sup>4</sup>:

- (30) It is possible to define a lexical rule of *Instrumentalization* (analogous to lexical rules of *Causativization*) which converts an  $n$ -adic predicate argument structure  $P$  to an  $n + 1$ -adic predicate argument structure  $P$ -with whose  $n + 1$ st argument is assigned the grammatical function INSTR OBJ [instrumental object].

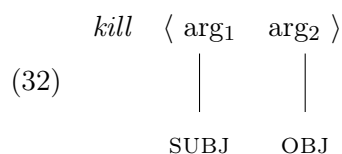
We could apply (30) to the predicate ‘*kill*’ as found in the following sentences in (31):

- (31) a. Peter killed James  
       b. Peter killed James **with a knife**

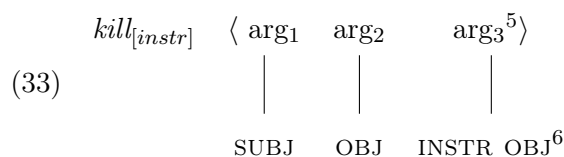
The description of ‘*kill*’ in (31a) would be as follows:

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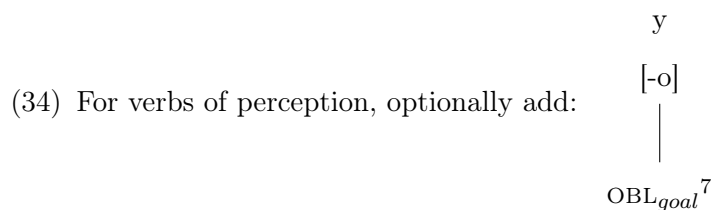
<sup>4</sup>And similarly for locative inversion in English and Chichewa as proposed in Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) and Bresnan (1994).



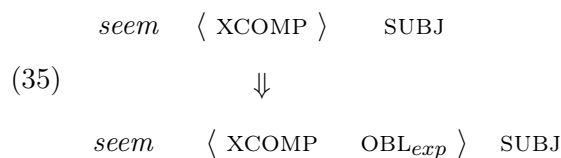
However, if we had *kill* as in (31b), we would need to apply the instrumentalization rule to account for the alteration of the semantic properties of the predicate, which would give us the output below:



This can be easily applied to other instances. As an example of how this device would work for experiencers with verbs of perception, Needham and Toivonen (2011, p. 16) propose the following rule:



This would work for experiencers such as the prepositional phrase *to me* in English in sentences such as ‘*it seems to me...*’, hence why we have an oblique derived argument:



This can easily be adapted to account for different participants and different languages. A similar approach is found in Toivonen (2013) for benefactive NPs.

<sup>5</sup>We have previously used ‘*arg*<sub>3</sub>’ in Chapter 3 to indicate an argument position with a particular feature associated with it. However, in (33), ‘*arg*<sub>3</sub>’ merely denotes the third of the arguments.

<sup>6</sup>We are using the function INSTR OBJ following the definition from Bresnan (1982b) in (30), but we would label it OBL<sub>[instr]</sub> according to more current approaches of Lexical Mapping Theory.

<sup>7</sup>It is not clear why the label used here by Needham and Toivonen (2011) is ‘*goal*’ as opposed to ‘*experiencer*’.

Asudeh and Giorgolo (2012) offer an analysis of optional and derived arguments from the syntax-semantics interface. They see arguments and adjuncts as being two extremes of a scale in which, as in any scale, there are many in-between options. They provide an analysis by which the argument and semantic structures are merged and which depends on flexible composition in Glue Semantics. In their approach, lexical entries can contribute all sorts of meaning constructors at once: obligatory or optional, and that can be easily captured by the usual LFG language.

Without going into specific formal details, the basic idea is that a lexical entry for a transitive verb with an optional object, for example, will contain both the transitive and intransitive options and if the object is not present, the semantic information can still be contributed to the structure. For the analysis of (36), Asudeh and Giorgolo (2012, p. 5) propose the lexical entry in (37) below:

(36) Kim ate at noon

(37) *eat* v    ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘eat’

**F-structure constraints**

**Obligatory Glue meaning constructor;**

encodes general semantic information that is  
common to transitive and intransitive uses

**(Optional Glue meaning constructor;**

encodes semantic information that is  
specific to the intransitive use)

This will be especially economical, as we would only need one lexical entry for *eat* as seen in (37), which is not disjunctive in nature but rather retains the core meaning of the verb. This lexical entry includes an obligatory meaning constructor that encodes the fact that, semantically, the verb takes two arguments and the optional constructor would only apply if the object is not overtly expressed.

Asudeh and Giorgolo (2012) propose a simplified (and alternative) architecture since they do away with the correspondences between f- and c-structures and a-



structure and claim that the argument structure is captured in semantic structure. This gets achieved through semantic composition in Glue Semantics.

This far we have seen that distinguishing between arguments and adjuncts is not a simple task. We have shown that some of the tests that have traditionally been used seem to give inconclusive results in some unclear borderline cases. We have also introduced approaches that can deal with such cases by introducing a lexical rule that could add an extra participant to a predicate description.

In following sections we will present different types of these elements we are calling ‘*non-selected arguments*’ that can be expressed through a dative in different languages. We will then focus on Spanish non-selected datives and will examine whether they can be analysed as derived arguments and what their semantic contribution might be. Based on that, we will group them accordingly.

### 5.3 Classification of non-selected arguments

1. In many languages there is a construction where the possessor of a noun phrase is expressed as an NP that gets some case. In many languages we find a nominal element as a verbal dependent but semantically, it is understood to be the possessor of one of its arguments. In other words, the possessor is outside the NP it modifies.

(38) ha-yeled šavar **li**        ’et ha-xalon  
       the-boy broke to-me acc the-window  
       ‘the boy broke my window’

[External possessor - Hebrew (Borer, 1986, p.179)]

In (38) we find a non-selected dative in Hebrew “*li*” that is in a relationship of possession with one of the NPs, in this case “the window”.

2. In the benefactive construction, a meaning of possession is not required as it is for the external possessor one, but we see that the participant gets some benefit from the event described by the verb. It is quite likely that the participant could also get some detriment, in which case we would get a malefactive reading:

- (39) Dennis malte **seinem Vater** das Bild  
 Dennis painted his.DAT father the picture  
 ‘Dennis painted the picture for his father’

[German benefactive (Bosse et al., 2012)]

3. Attitude holder. In this construction we again do not have possession but we see the attitude of the speaker regarding the whole action expressed by the sentence.

- (40) Du sollst **mir** dem Papa die Schuhe putzen  
 you shall me.DAT the dad the shoes clean  
 ‘You shall clean the shoes for dad and I want this to happen.’

[German (Bosse et al., 2012, ex.22 p.1195)]

4. Affected experiencer. This type is also referred to as an ‘*ethical dative*’ by Borer (2005) and elsewhere in the literature. We see that the participant denoted by the dative is affected by the event. We can distinguish this type from benefactives by the fact that the experiencer has to be sentient and aware.

- (41) Alex zerbrach Chris Bens Vase  
 Alex broke Chris.Dat Ben’s vase  
 ‘Alex broke Ben’s vase on Chris.’  
 = Alex broke Ben’s vase, and this matters to Chris.

[German (Bosse et al., 2012, ex.27a p.1197)]

5. Reflexive. This type of dative has been given different labels such as Coreferential Dative by Berman (1982) or Al-Zahre and Boneh (2010), Reflexive Dative by Borer (2005), Personal Dative by Horn (2008), etc. Arsenijević (2012) builds on these and adds a few more characteristics found in south-eastern Serbo Croatian dialects. He labels this dative the ‘Evaluative Dative Reflexive’. Examples in English of this personal dative are found in Southern and Appalachian dialectal U.S. English:

- (42) He bought him/himself a new-pick up

- (43) We want us a black German police dog cause I had one once

(44) I want me some grits

(Horn, 2008, p.172)

Horn (2008, 11, p.172) lists the following properties for this type of dative:

- (a) They always co-occur with a quantified (patient/theme) direct object.
- (b) They cannot be separated from the verb that precedes and case-marks them.
- (c) They are most frequent / natural with what he calls monosyllabic “down-home”-type verbs (e.g., *buy, get, build, shoot, get, catch, write, hire, cook*).
- (d) They lack any external (PP) pronominal counterpart.
- (e) They have no full NP counterpart.
- (f) They can occur in positions where a true indirect object is ruled out and can co-occur with (rather than substituting for) overt dative/indirect object.
- (g) They are weak pronouns and cannot be stressed or conjoined.
- (h) There’s no consistent thematic role for these elements.
- (i) Most speakers have no absolute restrictions against third-person pronominals, but some exhibit a residual person-based asymmetry: first > second > third.
- (j) They are non-arguments coreferring with the subject.
- (k) They do not combine well with negated verbs.

Even though not all features are shared (e.g. we do not always find a theme as seen in (45) below), we find similar examples in Hebrew:

(45) ha yeladim histalku *la-hem*  
 the children ran-away to-them(selves)  
 ‘The kids (upped and) ran away’

(Berman, 1982, p. 51)

- (46) dan kana lo ofanáyim  
 Dan bought to-him a bike  
 ‘Dan bought (him) a bike’

(Berman, 1982, p. 52)

(46) is ambiguous as noted by Berman (1982) because the pronoun ‘*lo*’ can refer both to the subject or to someone else. This is because a reflexive form is not explicitly required in Hebrew. A similar construction is also found in Syrian Arabic:

- (47) **salma** raʔšet-**l-a** šway  
 Salma dance.PAST.3SG.F-to-3SG.F a little  
 ‘Salma (just) danced a little (it’s a minor issue)’

(Al-Zahre and Boneh, 2010, p. 1)

The specific properties added by Arsenijević (2012, p. 5) for the Serbo Croatian EDR (Evaluative Dative Reflexive) include the following:

- (l) They are always realized by a reflexive.
- (m) The subject they are bound by has to involve some kind of intentionality.
- (n) The eventuality in the respective clause is positively evaluated by the subject. What is crucial about this dative is that it relates to the evaluative mood, specifying that the subject of the clause is also the subject of evaluation.
- (o) They do not combine well with focal elements.
- (p) Information conveyed by the respective sentence is implied to be of low relevance.
- (q) The subject binding the EDR must be topical.
- (r) The subject binding the EDR must be referential.
- (s) They resist distribution over plural subjects.

Some of the examples provided by Arsenijević (2012) from southeastern dialects of Serbo-Croatian:

- (48) Jovan si                sedi i    gleda    si                film  
        J.Nom REfl.Dat sits and watches Refl.Dat movie.Acc

“Jovan’s sitting and watching a movie [+EDR effects].”<sup>8</sup>

- (49) Pera si                zna    odgovor  
        P        Refl.Dat knows answer

“Pera knows the answer [+EDR effects].”

Some of the features proposed by Horn (2008) do not apply to the Serbo-Croatian data and viceversa. Apart from those referring to the pronoun, which are discarded in Serbo-Croatian because we are dealing with a reflexive; Serbo-Croatian accepts sentences with this dative that do not include a theme (as seen in (48) above) and it shows no sensitivity to negation, as in (50) below:

- (50) Ja si                danas ne    odo    na poso  
        I        Refl.Dat today not went on work

“I didn’t go to work today [+EDR effects].”

## 5.4 Non-selected arguments in Spanish

In this section, we will provide an overview of the different types of non-selected datives in Spanish. These participants are always expressed through a dative pronoun in Spanish. We will not specifically apply any of the tests for argumenthood introduced above in § 5.2.1.1 but will comment on whether we can consider them as *derived arguments*. We will come up with a different grouping and will try to analyse them based on this grouping.

### 5.4.1 External possessor

In Spanish, possession can be expressed in a few different ways. Namely, through a phrase containing a possessive determiner or a pronoun as in (51), or through an *of*-construction as in (52) below:

- (51)

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<sup>8</sup>Arsenijević (2012) uses “*EDR (Evaluative Dative Reflexive)* effects” in his translations to indicate the additional meaning contributed by the dative reflexive, which is the positive evaluation on the part of the speaker.

Éste                    es                    su                    libro  
 This.MASC.SG be.3.SG.PRES 3.SG.POSS book

‘This is his/her book’

Es                    suyo  
 be.3.SG.PRES 3.SG.POSS(*pron.*)

‘It is his/hers’

(52) Es                    el                    libro de Marta  
 be.3.SG.PRES the.MASC.SG book of Marta

‘It is Marta’s book’

We also find that possession can be expressed through a dative in various different contexts. Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999) gathers and lists different possibilities and their properties. With transitive constructions, we find the following alternatives as compiled by Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1999, p.1901):

	Type of construction			
	Type of possession	<i>of-construction</i>	<i>possessive</i>	<i>dative</i>
(53) TRANSITIVE VERBS	inalienable	(54) Vendó bandage.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG pierna de Pepe leg of Pepe 'He/she bandaged Pepe's leg'	(55) Vendó bandage.3.SG.PAST .3.SG.POSS leg 'He/she bandaged his/her leg'	(56) Le vendó 3.SG.DAT bandage.3.SG.PAST la pierna the.FEM.SG leg 'He/she bandaged the leg (to him/her)'
	familial	(57) Vendó bandage.3.SG.PAST [+HUM] la hija de Pepe the.FEM.SG daughter of Pepe 'He/she bandaged Pepe's daughter'	(58) Vendó bandage.3.SG.PAST [+HUM] su hija 3.SG.POSS daughter 'He/she bandaged his/her daughter'	(59) ?Le vendó 3.SG.DAT bandage.3.SG.PAST la hija the.FEM.SG daughter 'He/she bandaged the daughter (to him/her)'
	external	(60) Vendió sell.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG car of Pepe Pepe 'He/she sold Pepe's car'	(61) Vendió sell.3.SG.PAST .3.SG.POSS car 'He sold his/her car'	(62) Le vendió el 3.SG.DAT sell.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG coche car 'He/she sold the car (to or for him/her)' <sup>9</sup>

Note the ambiguity of using the dative in the case of external possession: this sentence can mean that the car was sold on behalf of someone or actually sold to them.

We see in (53), that when we use the dative to express possession, it is most felicitous when used with inalienable possession as in (56), it is questionable with familial possession as seen in (59) and it is ambiguous in cases such as (62). This is expected because of the many different meanings that can be expressed through a dative, so unless the context forces a reading as clearly as with inalienable possession, we will only get loose readings with external possession. This also explains the possible combinations of a dative with another ways of expressing possession:

- (63) ?Le            vendó                    su            pierna  
          3.SG.DAT bandage.3.SG.PAST 3.SG.POSS leg  
          ‘He/she bandaged his/her leg’

In (63), we have a sentence that even if not completely ungrammatical, it is unexpected. This is likely to be because it is redundant to express possession twice referring to the same possessor, especially in the case of inalienable possession as above. Because possession it is more loosely expressed through the dative in cases of familial or external possession, it is possible to combine the dative and a possessive:

- (64) Le            vendó                    a            su            hija  
          3.SG.DAT bandage.3.SG.PAST [+HUM] 3.SG.POSS daughter  
          ‘He/she bandaged his/her daughter’
- (65) Le            vendió                    su            coche  
          3.SG.DAT sell.3.SG.PAST 3.SG POSS car  
          ‘He/she sold his/her car (to him/her)’

(64) is grammatical but possession is conveyed solely through the possessive determiner *su*. The dative is contributing a different meaning, some benefactive entailment. Similarly, in (65), we do not necessarily get the possession meaning from the dative weak pronoun, but rather from the possessive determiner *su*. Furthermore, this possessive adjective can be either bound by the subject or by other external participant and the weak pronoun could express either goal or origin. Examples with intransitive verbs can be seen in (66):



	Type of possession	Type of construction		
		<i>of-construction</i>	<i>possessive</i>	<i>dative</i>
(66) INTRANSITIVE VERBS	inalienable	(67) El dolor de Gloria the.MASC.SG pain of Gloria aumenta increase.3.SG.PRES 'Gloria's pain is increasing'	(68) Su dolor aumenta 3.SG.POSS pain increase.3.SG.PRES 'His/her pain is increasing'	(69) Le aumenta 3.SG.DAT increase.3.SG.PRES el dolor the.MASC.SG pain 'The pain is increasing (for her)'
	familial	(70) La hija de Gloria theFEM.SG daughter of Gloria está creciendo be.3.SG.PRES grow.PRESPART 'Gloria's daughter is growing up'	(71) Su hija está 3.SG.POSS daughter be.3.SG.PRES creciendo grow.PRESPART 'His/her daughter is growing up'	(72) ?Le está 3.SG.DAT be.3.SG.PRES creciendo la hija grow.PRESPART the.FEM.SG daughter 'The daughter is growing up (to him/her)'
	external	(73) La riqueza de Gloria the.FEM.SG wealth of Gloria aumenta increase.3.SG.PRES 'Gloria's wealth is increasing'	(74) Su riqueza aumenta 3.SG.POSS wealth increase.3.SG.PRES 'His/her wealth is increasing'	(75) Le aumenta 3.SG.DAT increase.3.SG.PRES la riqueza the.FEM.SG wealth 'The wealth is increasing (for her)'

Contrary to what we had with transitive verbs in (53), we see in (66) that possession expressed with the dative pronoun is more felicitous, being only strange with familial possession. The interaction between dative possession and other type of possessive gives the following results:

- (76) \*Le            aumenta            su            dolor  
          3.SG.DAT increase.3.SG.PRES 3.SG.POSS pain  
          ‘His/her pain is increasing’

There could be a reading for (76) that would make it sound a bit better, something along the lines of ‘he/she makes his/her pain increase’ but it would be expressed differently, with an agentive subject and/or by explicitly including a causative predicate such as ‘make’.

- (77) ?Le            está            creciendo            su            hija  
          3.SG.DAT be.3.SG.PRES grow.PRESPART 3.SG.POSS daughter  
          ‘His/her daughter is growing up (to him/her)’

In (77), similarly to what we have in (72), we get a sentence that sounds a bit odd but is not completely ungrammatical. In any case, in (77), possession is conveyed through the possessive determiner *su*, whereas the dative pronoun could be possibly adding a notion of benefactivity.

- (78) Le            aumenta            su            riqueza  
          3.SG.DAT increase.3.SG.PRES 3.SG.POSS wealth  
          ‘His/her wealth is increasing (to him/her)’

(78) is the most felicitous combination of a possible dative possessor and another type of possessor. It is quite possible, however, as in previous cases, that the dative is not expressing possession at all but, rather, a benefactive reading.

We can see from all the examples above, that determining the actual meaning or reading contributed by the dative is not a trivial task<sup>10</sup>. And from previous sections we know determining its syntactic function can also be challenging. It is for these reasons, that we will base our discussion on a sentence expressing inalienable possession:

<sup>10</sup>See Chapter 3 for a list of possible different meanings expressed through a dative.

- (79) El                peluquero   le                cortó                el                pelo  
          the.MASC.SG hairdresser 3.SG.DAT cut.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG hair  
          ‘The hairdresser cut his/her hair’

It is clear in (79) that the dative indicates the possessor of the hair. It is also a very neutral sentence, so it would be difficult to assume any benefactive / malefactive reading without any extra contextual information even though both readings would be possible in principle. As discussed in Chapter 3, doubling of the weak pronoun by a dative NP can happen precisely because the pronoun is an argument and so a FOCUS function can be bound to it, thus fulfilling the Extended Coherence Condition below:

- (80) The functions TOP and FOC must be linked to predicate argument structure either by being functionally identified with subcategorised functions or by anaphorically binding subcategorised functions.

In instances of external possession such as (79) above, we can have doubling:

- (81) El                peluquero   le<sub>i</sub>                cortó                el                pelo a  
          the.MASC.SG hairdresser 3.SG.DAT cut.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG hair DAT  
          Marta<sub>i</sub>  
          Marta  
          ‘The hairdresser cut Marta’s hair (to her)’

When we have doubling as in (81), we might wonder whether *a Marta* is attached inside the NP for ‘hair’ as we would with an *of*-construction as seen in the sentence below:

- (82) El                peluquero   (\*le<sub>i</sub>)                cortó                [el                pelo de  
          the.MASC.SG hairdresser 3.SG.DAT cut.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG hair de  
          Marta<sub>i</sub>]  
          Marta  
          ‘The hairdresser cut Marta’s hair’

However, it is clear that in (81), *el pelo* and *a Marta* are different constituents as we can see if we front *el pelo*, which triggers the appearance of an accusative weak pronoun, and we can also make questions about them separately:

- (83) a. El                pelo<sub>i</sub>, el                peluquero   se<sub>e</sub>                lo<sub>i</sub>  
          the.MASC.SG hair   the.MASC.SG hairdresser 3.SG.DAT 3.MASC.SG.ACC

cortó                      a      Marta<sub>e</sub>  
cut.3.SG.PAST DAT Marta

‘The hair, the hairdresser cut to Marta’

b. -¿A quién le                      cortaron                      el                      pelo? -A      Marta  
DAT who    3.SG.DAT cut.3.PL.PRES the.MASC.SG hair    -DAT Marta

‘Who did they cut the hair to? -To Marta’

c. -¿Qué le                      cortaron                      a      Marta? -El                      pelo  
what    3.SG.DAT cut.3.PL.PRES DAT Marta    -the.MASC.SG hair

‘What did they cut to Marta? -The hair’

It is also worth noting that the dative pronoun can not refer to ‘Marta’s hair’ as a whole, but only to Marta. We see in (83a) that we have a dative weak pronoun that refers to Marta and an accusative one that refers to the hair. It is not possible, in contrast, to do the same with the regular *‘of’*-construction from the sentence in (82):

(84) a. \*El                      pelo, el                      peluquero lo  
the.MASC.SG hair the.MASC.SG hairdresser 3.MASC.SG.ACC  
cortó                      de Marta  
cut.3.SG.PAST of Marta

‘The hair, the hairdresser cut of Marta’

b. ?-¿De quién cortaron                      el                      pelo? -De Marta  
of      who    cut.3.PL.PRES the.MASC.SG hair    -of Marta

‘of whom did they cut the hair? -Of Marta’

c. -¿Qué cortaron                      de Marta? -El                      pelo  
what    cut.3.PL.PRES of Marta    -the.MASC.SG hair

‘What did they cut from Marta? -The hair<sup>11</sup>’

### 5.4.2 Benefactive

The participant expressed by the dative is understood as obtaining some benefit from the event denoted by the verb. Spanish also shows this construction:

(85) Juan me                      hizo                      la                      compra  
Juan 1.SG.DAT do.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG shopping

<sup>11</sup>The preposition *de* in Spanish can mean ‘of’ and ‘from’. (84)84c is grammatical but it is not clear whether we can have a possessive reading or only an “origin” reading.

‘Juan did the shopping for me’

In the benefactive examples such as (85) we see that one of the participants benefits from the action, but no possession is expressed. In order to clear any doubts regarding a possible possession reading - (85) could be understood as ‘he did my shopping’, which would entail some possession reading- we can introduce an extra possessor so we can see that the dative has to contribute a different meaning:

- (86) Juan me            hizo            la            compra    de Marta  
       Juan 1.SG.DAT do.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG shopping of Marta  
       ‘Juan did Marta’s shopping for me’

(86) entails that I was supposed to do Marta’s shopping, but now Juan is doing it for me, so I am getting the benefit of having that time free to do something else instead. In (86) there is not possible ambiguous reading of the dative as an indicator of possession. In this case we can also get doubling in Spanish:

- (87) Juan le<sub>i</sub>            hizo            la            compra    a    su  
       Juan 1.SG.DAT do.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG shopping DAT 3.SG.POSS  
       abuela<sub>i</sub>  
       grandmother  
       ‘Juan did the shopping for his grandmother’

As happened with the case of possession, Spanish also has other devices to express a benefactive reading. It is quite easy to find a PP alternative, usually introduced by the preposition *para* - ‘for’. The presence of the preposition is systematically incompatible with the dative if they are meant to refer to the same participant:

- (88) Juan (le<sub>\*i</sub>)            hizo            la            compra    para su  
       Juan 3.SG.DAT do.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG shopping for    3.SG.POSS  
       abuela<sub>i</sub>  
       grandmother  
       ‘Juan did the shopping for his grandmother’

### 5.4.3 Affected experiencer

In Spanish, we also have this type of dative. As we have seen with the BENEFACTIVE dative, it is difficult to identify and not confuse it with the EXTERNAL

POSSESSOR, so following Bosse et al. (2012) we will again use a distinct possessor to try to make it clearer:

- (89) Juan le<sub>\*i</sub> rompió la muñeca de la niña<sub>i</sub>  
 Juan 3.SG.DAT break.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG doll of the.FEM.SG girl  
 ‘Juan broke the girl’s doll (to him/her)’

In (89) we can have also a benefactive reading: it could be interpreted as a benefactive, if the participant denoted by the dative obtained a benefit from it. A possible context one could think of would be if someone “ordered” Juan to break the girl’s doll for some reason. If we did not have the explicit possessor in the sentence, we would get ambiguity between possessor, benefactive and affected experiencer. The context in which we could have a benefactive reading could be a fight between siblings when one breaks the other’s toy and is somehow pleased with it:

- (90) Juan le rompió la muñeca  
 Juan 3.SG.DAT break.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG doll  
 ‘Juan broke his/her doll / Juan broke the doll (and that affected someone else)  
 / Juan broke the doll (and he was pleased)’<sup>12</sup>

As in previous cases, this structure accepts doubling:

- (91) Juan le<sub>\*i/e</sub> rompió la muñeca de la niña<sub>i</sub>  
 Juan 3.SG.DAT break.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG doll of the.FEM.SG girl  
 a Javier<sub>e</sub>  
 DAT Javier  
 Juan broke the girl’s doll on Javier

It is, however, still difficult to not see a hint of possession in (91). Even though we have a possessive ‘of’ - construction that makes clear that the doll belongs to the girl, it can be the case that Javier had it in his possession at the time of the breaking event. The affectedness comes through as well, but we could not undeniably rule out a possession entailment too. It seems clear from the above that benefactives and affected experiencers seem to have a lot of common, and that it might be difficult to distinguish between them, not to mention interaction with possession.

<sup>12</sup>Note that it is not clear that this reading could come from the dative as it is not bound by the subject. It might be more of a pragmatic effect.

Bosse and Bruening (2011) note that even though benefactives and affected experiencers seem to share indeed some similarities, there are some features that distinguish them:

- (a) Only the benefactive has a PP alternative. We saw in (88) above that a *'for'*-PP counterpart was easily found for benefactives. This is not the case with affected experiencers:

- (92) \*Juan le                rompió                la                muñeca en    / para /  
       Juan    3.SG.DAT break.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG doll    on/in / for    /  
       hacia    / contra él  
       towards / against 3.SG.NOM  
       'Juan broke the doll on/for/towards/against him'

Even though, some of the PP variants in (92) are not ungrammatical, they do not retain the affected experiencer meaning we are looking for, whereas the dative benefactive and the alternative PP both have the benefactive reading available.

- (b) The affected experiencer has to be sentient and aware, whereas the benefactive does not necessarily have to be:

- (93) Le                llevamos                flores    a    su                padre  
       3.SG.DAT carry.1.PL.PRES flower.PL DAT 3.SG.POSS father  
       'We brought flowers to his/her father'

In (93), the father can be dead, in which case we are dealing with a case of metonymy by which we are describing possibly a grave, or the resting place of the father with the NP 'his father'<sup>13</sup>.

- (94) Me                mataron                y    luego (#me)    mataron  
       1.SG.ACC kill.3.PL.PRES and then 1.SG.DAT kill.3.PL.PRES  
       el                perro  
       the.MASC.SG dog  
       'They killed me and then killed the dog on me'

In (94) if I am dead before the dog, I could not possibly be affected by the dog's death.

<sup>13</sup>Examples such as (93) are given by Bosse and Bruening (2011), but it is not too clear who is getting a benefit in such instances or how this is achieved.

### 5.4.4 Attitude holder

Spanish also shows this construction, by which the dative expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the whole proposition:

- (95) Me            limpias            los            zapatos ahora mismo  
       1.SG.DAT clean.2.SG.PRES the.MASC.PL shoe.PL now    same  
       ‘You clean the shoes right away’

In (95) it is quite clear the speaker wants the cleaning of the shoes to happen right away. It is a rather strong attitude. Besides, there is no reading of possession, the shoes could belong to the speaker or to anyone else. A very plausible context for an utterance such as (95) would be a mother asking a child to clean some shoes. It is more likely she would not be asking for her own shoes to get cleaned by the child but rather the child’s shoes. And in any case, we could add a more explicit possessor:

- (96) Me            limpias            los            zapatos de tu            hermana  
       1.SG.DAT clean.2.SG.PRES the.MASC.PL shoe.PL of 2.SG.POSS sister  
       ahora mismo  
       now    same  
       ‘You clean your sister’s shoes right away’

With the attitude holder construction, however, the doubling of the dative is not as felicitous as with the other types of non-selected datives we have seen so far.

- (97) ??? A    mí me            limpias            los            zapatos de tu  
           DAT me 1.SG.DAT clean.2.SG.PRES the.MASC.SG shoe.PL of 2.SG.POSS  
           padre ahora mismo  
           father now    same  
       ‘You clean (for me) your dad’s shoes right away’

In (97) if doubling is at all possible, it definitely leaves some question marks. It feels that if present, it could only be fronted. This weak ability to double would suit the analysis proposed by Camilleri and Sadler (2012), which analyses the attitude holder separately from the benefactive, possessor and experiencer types.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>This type of dative is a bit different in some other respects as it is always seen from the point of view of the speaker, and we do not usually ask questions for instance about a first person, so that might also be something to bear in mind when dealing with it.



### 5.4.5 Reflexive

We do find a type of non-selected participant in Spanish which is realised through a reflexive. As previously discussed, a similar construction is found in Serbo-Croatian, which adds an entailment of positive evaluation of the event described by the event. This is what makes Arsenijević (2012) call this reflexive an evaluative reflexive, closely related to the personal dative as labelled by Horn (2008).

It is not the case, however, that the Spanish reflexive carries this reading of positive evaluation:

- (98) Me            como            un            filete todos los            días  
       1.SG.REFL eat.1.SG.PRES a.MASC.SG steak all        the. MASC.PL day.PL  
       ‘I eat a steak every day’

- (99) Se<sup>15</sup>            come            un            filete todos los            días  
       3.SG.REFL eat.3.SG.PRES a.MASC.SG steak all        the. MASC.PL day.PL  
       ‘He / she eats a steak every day’

In order to get a clear sense of positive evaluation, we would need to use some other devices available in the language, like an augmented object or an extra idiomatic proposition, or simply an exaggerated intonation. It would be difficult to claim such interpretation could be achieved through the reflexive pronoun with neutral intonation in a sentence such as (98) above.

There are a few very idiomatic expressions that usually go with these constructions when trying to express -probably exaggerating- that the participant will be very pleased with the event denoted by the verb:

<sup>15</sup>For reference and contrast, below is the paradigm of weak dative pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Note they only differ in third person forms:

(100)

Number	Person	Dative	Reflexive
<i>singular</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	me	me
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	te	te
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	le	se
<i>plural</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	nos	nos
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	os	os
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	les	se

For the full paradigm of weak pronouns in Spanish see Chapter 2

- (101) Me<sup>16</sup> voy a comer un filetaco que se  
 1.SG.REFL go.1.SG.PRES to eat.INF a.MASC.SG steak.AUG that 3.SG.REFL  
 va a fundir el misterio  
 go.3.SG.PRES to melt.INF the.MASC.SG mystery  
*(lit.)* ‘I’m going to eat a big steak that the mystery is going to melt itself’  
 ‘I’m going to eat such a big steak that it will be epic’
- (102) Me voy a comer un filetaco que se  
 1.SG.REFL go.1.SG.PRES to eat.INF a.MASC.SG steak.AUG that 3.SG.REFL  
 va a cagar<sup>17</sup> la perra  
 go.3.SG.PRES to poop.INF the.FEM.SG dog  
*(lit.)* ‘I’m going to eat a big steak that the female dog is going to poop itself’  
 ‘I’m going to eat such a big steak that it will be epic’

It is clear, nonetheless, that this reflexive use shares some features with the evaluative reflexive as proposed by Arsenijević (2012) and the personal dative by Horn (2008), but we might need to label it differently and drop the *evaluative* entailment.

Note that with this reflexive construction the pronoun cannot be doubled by a full NP:

- (103) Juan se come un filete (\*a sí mismo)  
 Juan 3.SG.REFL eat.3.SG.PRES a.MASC.SG steak [+HUM?] 3.SG self.MASC.SG  
 ‘Juan eats a steak (to himself)’

Doubling of reflexives is perfectly grammatical when they are in a selected position:

- (104) Juan se afeita (a sí mismo)  
 Juan 3.SG.REFL shave.3.SG.PRES [+HUM?] 3.SG self.MASC.SG  
 ‘Juan shaves himself’

We will follow description by Strozer (1976) and MacDonald and Huidobro

<sup>16</sup>Note the reflexive pronoun could be confused with the syncretic forms of the accusative and dative pronouns. We can be sure it is the reflexive if we make the sentence third person, which is the only distinct form we have. We, however, would not be able to use the third form in the context of (101) because we cannot express a positive evaluation on the part of the speaker in the third form. We can, in contrast, make a sentence with no evaluation entailment third person as shown in examples (98) and (99) above.

<sup>17</sup>Note the expression is very colloquial, and possibly quite vulgar too.

(2010). If we get a neutral sentence, it is not obvious what the weak pronoun is contributing. This is also a very productive structure in Spanish:

- (105) Me            leo                    el                    libro  
           1.SG.REFL read.1.SG.PRES the..MASC.SG book  
           ‘I read the book’

As explained by MacDonald and Huidobro (2010), the pronoun gives the sentence some telic interpretation:

- (106) Me            leo                    el                    libro (\*durante veinte minutos)  
           1.SG.REFL read.1.SG.PRES the.MASC.SG book for            twenty minute.PL  
           ‘I read the book for twenty minutes’

This, however, might have to do with the specificity rather than with the presence of the pronoun:

- (107) Me            leo                    un                    libro durante veinte minutos  
           1.SG.REFL read.1.SG.PRES a.MASC.SG book for            twenty minute.PL  
           ‘I read the book for twenty minutes’

We might have to force some context to make the grammaticality of (107) clearer:

- (108) Cuando estoy            estresada,    me            leo                    un  
           When    be.1.SG.PRES stressed.FEM 1.SG.REFL read.1.SG.PRES a.MASC.SG  
           libro durante veinte minutos    y    me            relajo  
           book for            twenty minute.PL and 1.SG.REFL relax.1.SG.PRES  
           ‘When I’m stressed, I read a book for twenty minutes and I relax’

MacDonald and Huidobro (2010) list some of the features that are displayed by these reflexives and pair them to English goal PPs.

Firstly, as mentioned above, they claim they can induce telecity, which would make the introduction of a ‘for’- time adverbial not compatible:

- (109) Juan se            comió                    la                    paella durante una            hora / en  
           Juan NARC<sup>18</sup> eat.3.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG paella for            a.FEM.SG hour / in  
           una            hora  
           a.FEM.SG hour  
           ‘Juan ate the paella for an hour / in an hour’

(MacDonald and Huidobro, 2010, p. 52)

However, we have also established that this might be triggered by the specificity of the theme rather than by the presence of the reflexive.

They also claim bare noun objects are not allowed in this construction:

- (110) \*Juan se                      comió                      filete  
          Juan .3.SG.REFL eat.3.SG.PAST steak  
          ‘Juan ate steak’

This claim generally holds, even though we can find a construction where we can use bare nominals if we have a repetitive action:

- (111) Juan se                      comió                      filete tras filete sin                      parar  
          Juan .3.SG.REFL eat.3.SG.PAST steak after steak without stop.INF  
          ‘Juan ate steak after steak without stopping’

There is some way the steak is getting quantified by the repetition in (111). It quite possibly works a bit better with bare plural nouns:

- (112) Juan se                      come                      filetes, salchichas, patatas y todo  
          Juan 3.SG.REFL eat.3.SG.PRES steak.PL sausage.PL potato.PL and all  
          lo                      que le                      den  
          NEUT.SG.ACC that .3.SG.DAT give.3.PL.PRES  
          ‘Juan eats steaks, sausages, potatoes and anything they give him’

When we introduce this reflexive into an idiomatic expression, the idiomatic meaning is lost:

- (113) a. Juan corta                      el                      bacalao  
          Juan cut.3.SG.PRES the. MASC.SG cod  
          (*lit.*) ‘Juan cuts the cod’  
          (*idiom.*) ‘Juan is the boss’  
       b. Juan se                      corta                      el                      bacalao  
          Juan 3.SG.REFL cut.3.SG.PRES the. MASC.SG cod  
          (*lit.*) ‘Juan cuts the cod’  
          \*(*idiom.*) ‘Juan is the boss’

- (114) a. Juan escurrió                      el                      bulto  
          Juan drain.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG lump

---

<sup>18</sup>NARC = non-argumental reflexive clitic.

(*lit.*) ‘Juan drained the lump’

(*idiom.*) ‘Juan avoided doing something he was supposed to’

- b. Juan se                escurrió                el                bulto  
 Juan 3.SG.REFL drain.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG lump

(*lit.*) ‘Juan drained the lump’

\*(*idiom.*) ‘Juan avoided doing something he was supposed to’

(114b) would definitely lose its idiomatic meaning, even though the literal meaning would need an incredibly specific context to work.

There might be cases when the reflexive is not possible at all, but this might be a restriction on the verb, unrelated to idioms and reflexivity:

- (115) a. Todos                arrimamos                el                hombro  
 All.MASC.PL put-close.1.PL.PRES the.MASC.SG shoulder

(*lit.*) ‘We all put the shoulders next to each other’

(*idiom.*) ‘We all helped’

- b. \*Todos                nos                arrimamos                el                hombro  
 All.MASC.PL 1.PL.REFL put-close.1.PL.PRES the.MASC.SG shoulder

(*lit.*) ‘We all put the shoulders next to each other’

(*idiom.*) ‘We all helped’

The unacceptability of (115)115b might stem from the fact that *arrimar* can also be constructed as a reflexive verb *arrimarse* so having an object together with a potential reflexive object could clash.

In any case, it is quite safe to claim that, in general, when we introduce a non-argument reflexive in an idiomatic expression, the idiomatic interpretation is lost and only a literal reading is available.

MacDonald and Huidobro (2010) also note that in some cases there exists a particular spatial relation between the reflexive and the object:

- (116) a. Juan abrochó la    camisa  
 Juan closed    the shirt

‘Juan buttoned the shirt’

- b. Juan se      abrochó la    camisa  
     Juan NARC closed    the shirt

“Juan buttoned the shirt”

(MacDonald and Huidobro, 2010, p. 54)

In (116a), the shirt can be anywhere while it was being buttoned up - Juan could be wearing it but it could also be on a hanger or lying somewhere. (116b) can only mean that Juan is wearing it. This is, in our opinion, closely connected with the notion we posited in Chapter 3 that the weak pronoun could also contribute an entailment of affectedness. Without the pronoun, that notion is not conveyed and that is why (116a) is less restricted than (116b). See the sentences below for further contrast<sup>19</sup>:

- (117) a. Le<sub>i</sub>          puso                  el                  vestido a    la                  niña<sub>i</sub>  
           3.SG.DAT put.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG dress    DAT the.FEM.SG girl

‘He/she put the dress on the girl (he/she dressed the girl)’

- b. Puso                  el                  vestido en la                  cama  
     put.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG dress    in the.FEM.SG bed

‘He/she put the dress on the bed’

- c. Le<sub>\*i</sub>          puso                  el                  vestido en la                  cama<sub>i</sub>  
     3.SG.DAT put.3.SG.PAST the.MASC.SG dress    in the.FEM.SG bed

‘He/she put the dress on the bed for him/her’

MacDonald and Huidobro (2010) use the above characteristics as argument that these reflexives behave similarly to *goal* PPs, and so they claim the reflexive is the argument of a null, goal-like preposition. We will not be using their analysis, but use the features detailed above purely descriptively.

We will discuss in the following section the proposed analysis for all the *non-selected datives* in Spanish.

<sup>19</sup>See Conti (2011) for further discussion about affectedness and its connection with non-selected datives, especially possessors.

## 5.5 Analysis

As previously outlined in § 5.2.2, we believe a verb can have its valency increased by adding an argument which has the features of the canonical dative as described by Kibort (2008)’s version of LMT<sup>20</sup>. Kibort (2008) places the dative argument in the slot for  $arg_3$  and claims it contributes the semantic entailments associated with the role of *recipient*, then the arguments are mapped accordingly into syntactic functions:

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 & x & & y & & b \\
 & | & & | & & | \\
 (118) & \langle \text{arg}_1 & & \text{arg}_2 & & \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 & [-o] & & [-r] & & [+o] \\
 \hline
 & \text{SUBJ} & & \text{OBJ} & & \text{OBJ}_{\theta-\text{recip}}
 \end{array}$$

When we have a verb whose valency would traditionally include the first two arguments from (118), we will extend the argument structure of said verb through an operation in the lexicon that will add the desired participant with the appropriate entailments. We will see, however, that not all of the selected datives will be considered derived arguments based on properties such as their ability to double as seen above and their semantic contribution. We will make two big subgroups of non-selected datives: one we will call *non-argument datives* and the other will be labelled *non-selected arguments*. We are basing this distinction in their semantic / argument structure behaviour. The datives in the former group do not double and do not contribute to the *at-issue* semantics, whereas datives in the latter group, can double, contribute to the *at-issue* semantics and can therefore be treated following Needham and Toivonen (2011)’s approach of *derived arguments*. Their entailments will be, of course, different, but their derivation will be comparable, hence our grouping them together.

<sup>20</sup>See Chapter 3 for argument structure discussion of selected dative arguments.

### 5.5.1 At-issue semantics and conventional implicatures

The difference between at-issue meaning and conventionally implicated meaning -or simply not-at-issue- as explained by Potts (2003) is relevant to our grouping of the datives under discussion. Potts (2003) distinguishes two separate tiers of meaning: an at-issue tier of meaning, which in layman terms refers to what is “*said*” and another tier of not-at-issue meaning. Different elements in the language might contribute to the at-issue semantics or to the not-at-issue semantics. Potts (2003, p. 9) claims the two tiers are “logically and compositionally independent” and they cannot apply to each other. Bosse et al. (2012) consider it possible that some elements may contribute to both at-issue and not-at-issue semantics. They specifically refer to the affected experiencer. Similarly, Arnold and Sadler (2012) propose that both types of content can be merged.

The theoretical implications of either analysis is not of major relevance to our purpose. We will use some of the basic insights to distinguish between the meanings, which will in turn help us for our analysis in terms of the argument structure. We are not concerned here with the formalization of how either meaning contributes to the semantic structure so we will not sketch their analyses in any detail.

The basic tests to decide between at-issue or not-at-issue meaning involve question and negation. As summarised by Bosse et al. (2012, p. 1191) only at-issue content can be questioned or negated. In addition, this type of content can affect the semantics of a conditional and quantifiers on different tiers of meaning cannot bind elements on the other tier, i.e. a quantifier on the not-at-issue tier cannot be bound to an element on the at-issue tier.

As often happens when we deal with weak pronominal elements, applying any of these tests might be complicated. We will in any case utilise the differences between these types of meaning to differentiate the different types of datives we are discussing in this chapter.



### 5.5.2 Non-argument datives

We include in this group the ATTITUDE HOLDER and REFLEXIVE. Examples from CREA - Real Academia Española (nd):

- (119) Al                                      mío<sub>i</sub> me                      le<sub>i</sub>                      están  
           DAT=the.MASC.SG mine 1.SG.DAT 3.SG.DAT be.3.PL.PRES  
           saliendo                                      ya                      los                      colmillitos  
           come-out.PRESPART already the.MASC.PL tooth.DIMIN.PL

‘To mine, his teeth are already growing (and I am proud?)’

(119) contains a selected dative *le*, and a non-selected one *me* which is quite likely an attitude holder. This utterance is probably frequent in a context where a parent is talking about their child’s growth and they feel proud. This latter dative cannot be doubled or asked about with a question, which leads us to think that it does not contribute to the *at-issue* semantics.

- (120) (\*A mí<sub>e</sub>) Cuando lleguen                                      a Santo Domingo, a Vicente  
           DAT me when arrive.3.PL.PRES.SUB to Santo Domingo, to Vicente  
           Noble<sub>i</sub> me<sub>e</sub>                      le<sub>i</sub>                      entreguen                      estos dos pares de  
           Noble 1.SG.DAT 3.SG.DAT deliver.3.PL.PRES.SUB these two pair.PL of  
           zapatillas  
           slipper.PL

‘When they arrive to Santo Domingo, to Vicente Noble, give him these two pairs of slippers (for me)’

In (120) we have a recipient dative argument *-le-* and a non-argument attitude holder (*me*). The latter cannot be doubled by a NP and as above it does not seem to contribute any *at-issue* semantics. Both in (119) and (120) we see two dative pronominal elements. Based on our approach this far, this could mean that one of them would fill the slot of *arg*<sub>3</sub> and the other would be outside of the argument structure description of the verb.

Following Potts (2003) and Bosse and Bruening (2011) we claim this type of datives contribute *conventionally implicated* content only. One of the main tests to decide whether we have *at-issue* semantics is the ability of a participant to be asked about in a *wh*-question. In the case of the ATTITUDE HOLDER and REFLEXIVE we cannot ask about them, which together with their inability to double make us treat

them separately. These datives will not be part of the lexical description of the predicates they appear with.

### 5.5.3 Non-selected arguments

This group includes the EXTERNAL POSSESSOR, BENEFACTIVE and AFFECTED EXPERIENCER. We have grouped them all together based on their ability to double and their *at-issue* contribution to semantics: we can ask about all the participants denoted by the datives in these constructions with a *wh*-question:

- (121) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> hiciste la cena? - A mi madre<sub>i</sub>  
 DAT who 3.SG.DAT make.2.SG.PAST the.FEM.SG dinner? - DAT my mother  
 ‘Who did you make dinner for? - My mother’

The analysis follows the idea proposed by Needham and Toivonen (2011) so we will treat these datives as *derived arguments* and will add an extra argument to the subcategorization pattern of the predicate through a lexical rule. This rule will be the same for all the three types of datives in this group, with the only difference being the various entailments provided by the dative.

#### 5.5.3.1 External possessor

We would need to formulate the following rule to add the required argument:

- $$\begin{array}{c} \mathbf{b} \\ (122) \quad \textit{optionally add: +POSS} \quad \langle \textit{arg}_3 \rangle \\ \mathbf{[+o]} \end{array}$$

This operation in (122) could be applied to any verb. For the sentence in (124) above, and the verb ‘*cut*’, we obtain the mapping below in (123):

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 x & y & b \\
 | & | & | \\
 \text{cut}_{\text{poss}} & \langle \text{arg}_1 & \text{arg}_2 & \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 [-o] & [-r] & ([+o]) \\
 \hline
 \text{SUBJ} & \text{OBJ} & \mathbf{OBJ}_{\theta-\text{poss}}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

The external possessor requires not only the operation to extend the argument structure of the verb, but we also have a case of possessor raising, which can be treated as any unbounded dependency<sup>21</sup> in LFG (Lødrup, 2009):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (124) \text{ Le} \quad \text{cortó} \quad \text{el} \quad \text{pelo} \\
 \quad \quad 3.\text{SG.DAT} \text{ cut.3.SG.PAST} \text{ the.MASC.SG} \text{ hair} \\
 \quad \quad \text{'He/she cut his/her hair'}
 \end{array}$$

$$(125) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'CUT} < (\text{SUBJ}) (\text{OBJ}) > (\text{OBJ}_{\theta}) \text{' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PELO} < (\text{POSS}) > \text{' } \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{POSS} \quad \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_{\theta} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{INDEX} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

And the following equation is needed to constrain the relationship between the relevant functions:

$$(126) (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_{\theta}) = (\uparrow \text{OBJ POSS})$$

### 5.5.3.2 Benefactive and affected experiencer

The rules for the benefactive and affected experiencer would be identical to the external possessor rule in (122) and (123), with the appropriate entailments descriptions as seen below:

<sup>21</sup>See Chapter 1 and Chapter 4 for examples of questions or control constructions.

1. Benefactive:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \mathbf{b} \\
 (127) \quad \textit{optionally add: } +\text{BEN} \quad \langle \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 [+o]
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 & x & & y & & \mathbf{b} \\
 & | & & | & & | \\
 (128) \quad \textit{verb}_{ben} & \langle \text{arg}_1 & & \text{arg}_2 & & \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 & [-o] & & [-r] & & ([+o]) \\
 \hline
 & \text{SUBJ} & & \text{OBJ} & & \mathbf{OBJ}_{\theta-\text{ben}}
 \end{array}$$

2. Affected Experiencer:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \mathbf{b} \\
 (129) \quad \textit{optionally add: } +\text{AFFEXP} \quad \langle \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 [+o]
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 & x & & y & & \mathbf{b} \\
 & | & & | & & | \\
 (130) \quad \textit{verb}_{affexp} & \langle \text{arg}_1 & & \text{arg}_2 & & \text{arg}_3 \rangle \\
 & [-o] & & [-r] & & ([+o]) \\
 \hline
 & \text{SUBJ} & & \text{OBJ} & & \mathbf{OBJ}_{\theta-\text{affexp}}
 \end{array}$$

We can conclude that treating these datives as derived arguments and adding them to the argument structure of the predicate is a quite simple but satisfactory and elegant solution to the issue of whether they were arguments or adjuncts. Furthermore, this strategy can be systematically applied to different languages with similar phenomena.

## 5.6 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter we have introduced a set of datives that have not received too much attention in Spanish. These pronouns do not seem to be lexically required by the verb but they do not seem to be adjuncts either. We listed traditional tests of argumenthood/adjuncthood and discussed how they failed to account for cases that seem to be in-between. We briefly outlined possible approaches to the issue that have been proposed in previous literature.

We then introduced the types of non-selected datives as found in different languages before we moved on to these datives in Spanish. We listed the different groups that we find in Spanish and described their behaviour and semantic contribution. Based on that, we decided we can widely classify these datives in two larger types: a group of *non-argument datives* consisting of the ATTITUDE HOLDER and REFLEXIVE dative and a group of *non-selected arguments* that comprises the EXTERNAL POSSESSOR, BENEFACTIVE and AFFECTED EXPERIENCER.

We claimed the latter group of *non-selected arguments* can be successfully treated as *derived arguments* following Needham and Toivonen (2011). In such analysis, we extend the list of arguments of a predicate by a lexical operation that introduces the extra argument with the appropriate semantic entailments. We also claimed that the function of this dative derived argument would be  $\text{OBJ}_\theta$  based on the mapping patterns of the version of Lexical Mapping Theory devised by Kibort (2008).



# Conclusion

## 6.1 Summary

The aim of this study was to explore Spanish weak dative pronominals.

Weak pronouns in Spanish show some features and behaviour that make their classification really difficult such as phonological weakness but syntactic activity. Much research has been devoted to labelling and defining these items and there seems to be agreement on referring to them with the label *clitic*.

This term is quite vague and not easy to characterise, so the first part of Chapter 2 was concerned with the exploration of the term, focusing on different diagnostics that have been traditionally used to decide whether a given linguistic form fits in the group of clitics, as opposed to affixes or free forms. We also tried to establish whether weak dative pronouns could be treated as clitics or as something else. We did not draw any relevant conclusions from such presentation, but argued terminology is independent from the phenomena regarding these items that we were interested in. For that reason, we moved on to a general description of the paradigm of weak pronouns in Spanish. We described these pronouns based on their morpho-syntactic properties, distribution and some other aspects of their behaviour that have posed challenges for previous approaches.

Chapter 3 focuses solely on dative weak pronouns as they are the main focus of the study. In this chapter, we presented dative pronouns and then concentrated on datives that are part of ditransitive constructions. Generally speaking, these are constructions that involve a theme and a recipient that is expressed through the dative. We presented the distribution of the dative in said constructions and noted that we have three different possibilities: a dative marked noun phrase, a dative marked weak pronoun or both occurring together. Our main discussion then revolved around the implications of the difference in distribution and examined how to treat them. We found that constructions that show both the noun phrase and the pronoun (doubling) were the most interesting theoretically and so our efforts were devoted to formalise such distribution in particular.

We moved on in Chapter 4 to another set of predicates that subcategorise for a dative and that shows interesting behaviour: the so-called psychological predicates which involve alternative mappings of similar thematic roles. We focused on a subset of psychological predicates that map a dative weak pronoun as an experiencer. Based on traditional thematic roles hierarchies, it could be sensible to treat such dative as a SUBJECT. We investigated whether that could be successfully achieved by applying subject diagnostics and we concluded this was not the case. We later discussed the results and possible approaches to the issue that arose from such results.

Finally, in Chapter 5 we shifted our focus to a set of datives that do not seem to be part of the lexical subcategorization patterns of the predicate. Contrary to the uses of weak pronouns discussed in previous chapters, this type has not received as much attention in the literature. We label them *non-selected* to reflect the fact that they are not lexically required by the predicate. We introduced definitions and semantic classification of similar elements in different languages and also grouped them according to their syntactic behaviour. We posited the treatment of these items divided into two possible types: a group of *non-selected arguments* that can be easily derived through lexical operations and a group of *non-argument datives* that is not derived into the structure through the lexicon but rather contributes to the semantics of the construction.



## 6.2 Findings and contributions

The theoretical framework utilised to sketch our analysis throughout this study is Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).

Within LFG there are key elements that served to shape our analysis. Most relevant to discussion regarding the morpho-syntactic external form of the pronoun is the Lexical Integrity Principle which allows the weak pronoun to contribute information to the f-structure regardless of how or where the pronoun is formed. For this reason, we did not find it necessary to commit to any particular terminology to address the key aspects of the phenomena we discuss.

Our main findings and contributions proceed from discussion and analysis in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

In Chapter 3, we analyse a well-known phenomenon such as doubling or reduplication with a different proposal that deviates from previous approaches. We argue that in a doubling configuration where we have both a dative weak pronoun and a dative noun phrase that semantically refer to the same entity, we can treat these items independently syntactically and then link them through information structure and constraining equations in the f-structure. We propose, based on description of information structure roles, that the dative noun phrase works as a FOCUS that is anaphorically linked to the weak pronoun, which plays the role of  $OBJ_\theta$  required by the predicate. We believe this solution to be quite satisfactory as it can be easily extended to account for other instances of dative doubling. Doubling in ditransitive constructions seems to be still optional in some cases, which could be considered as an argument to undermine our analysis. However, data from the behaviour of the dative with psychological predicates and non-selected dative configurations seem to reinforce our proposal: psychological predicates require the weak pronoun to always appear whereas the noun phrase is optional, and only cases of non-selected datives that can be considered derived arguments allow doubling. This follows from the Extended Coherence Condition that states a function such as FOCUS must be linked to an argument in the structure. Since there are dative pronouns that cannot be anal-

ysed as derived arguments, they cannot be doubled by an NP as the FOCUS function is not available since there is nothing in the structure it can be linked to.

Furthermore, we also described the status of the weak pronoun itself and showed that it adds an entailment of *affectedness* that is probably getting grammaticalised, especially in oral speech as attested in a basic corpus search. The *affectedness* entailment comes through very clearly also in examples with non-selected datives, which again, shows that this seems to be systematic across different uses of the dative.

Psychological predicates have been the focus of much interest in the literature. Most of the previous accounts, however, treat the dative experiencer found in psychological predicates constructions as some kind of subject. We showed in Chapter 4 that there is no strong evidence supporting this proposal of treating the dative as a subject. It is fair to mention, nonetheless, that previous approaches to Spanish psychological predicates in LFG abstract away from the various treatments of the dative as subject and analyse it as an object. We do agree partially that it is an objective function, but have shown that based on general characteristics of the dative in Spanish (such as inability to become the subject of a passive construction), it is more appropriate to describe it as OBJ<sub>θ</sub> as follows from principles of Lexical Mapping Theory proposed by Kibort (2008).

Discussion on non-selected datives is also quite a research innovation as it has not been the focus of much research in Spanish, or at least not by means of classifying the different possible groups. We have followed previous approaches in different languages to group these items semantically as EXTERNAL POSSESSOR, BENEFACTIVE, AFFECTED EXPERIENCER, ATTITUDE HOLDER and REFLEXIVE. We have however argued to analyse them as two wider groups based not only on semantic contribution but also on syntactic behaviour such as ability to double, be negated or asked about. We therefore label a group as comprising *non-selected arguments* which can be derived through a lexical rule as proposed by Needham and Toivonen (2011) in a way that can be applied systematically to all the datives in this group: EXTERNAL POSSESSOR, BENEFACTIVE, AFFECTED EXPERIENCER. The other group that we call *non-argument datives*, we believe cannot be derived to get added to the ar-

gument structure of a predicate and therefore treat it as contributing the semantic entailments of ATTITUDE HOLDER and REFLEXIVE.

We believe therefore that this study can trigger a fresh line of research for a well known topic that is still challenging to this day. We outline in the next section aspects of this study that can be expanded and separate considerations for aspects that have been mentioned here but not discussed in depth.

### 6.3 Further research

This study was concerned with a few specific uses of the dative weak pronoun. However, our research has quite likely not answered all the questions regarding these uses and has also opened the door to extrapolate some of the analyses to wider uses of the dative or even weak pronouns in a more general way.

Our analysis of doubling as involving a FOCUS dative NP should be further examined to establish whether it can be generalised to account for doubling across the board. Generally speaking, we could consider a broader rule for linking the FOCUS to a grammatical function in cases of doubling as below:

$$(1) (\uparrow \text{FOC CASE}) =_c (\uparrow \text{GF CASE})$$

$$(\uparrow \text{FOC NUM}) =_c (\uparrow \text{GF NUM})$$

$$(\uparrow \text{FOC PERS}) =_c (\uparrow \text{GF PERS})$$

This arguably would need refining but it could be interesting to examine. It would be particularly interesting to see how it can be applied to cases of doubling with accusative objects. It could easily be applied to varieties of Spanish that actually present optional accusative doubling in a way that could be comparable to the dative doubling.

However, as discussed in Chapter 2, doubling of the accusative is much more restricted in most varieties of Spanish. When we have a full noun phrase we cannot have an accusative pronoun, and we can only have doubling with strong pronouns. Compare the sentences below:

- (2) (a) Llamó a Marta  
 call.1.SG.PRES [+anim] Marta  
 ‘I call Marta’
- (b) La llamo (\*a Marta)  
 3.FEM.SG.ACC call.1.SG.PRES [+ANIM] Marta  
 ‘I call her’
- (c) \*(La) llamo a ella  
 3.FEM.SG.ACC call.1.SG.PRES [+ANIM] she  
 ‘I call her’

It is likely that in the case of the accusative we do not have a FOCUS NP at all, and doubling has to be treated differently in this instance.

Also in regards to the FOCUS analysis proposed for dative doubling, it would be interesting to investigate if the FOCUS is “syntacticised” by examining its behaviour in relation to island constraints for example. We do have the intuition that it is becoming grammaticalised, but will need closer examination.

As for the non-selected datives there is probably a huge amount left that can be said. From a semantic point of view, it would be interesting to formalise the semantic contribution of the different entailments, especially by the *non-argument datives* that contribute non at-issue meaning.

A very challenging topic that we have not endeavoured to tackle in this study is the interaction between reflexives and other types of datives. Particularly, it would be interesting to establish the behaviour of ‘*se*’ in particular. In Spanish ‘*se*’ is used in many different constructions such as reflexives, reciprocals, impersonals, middle passives, or the so-called reflex passives. Even though this is not strictly speaking related to the dative, there are cases where both interact with interesting behaviour such as below:

- (3) A los padres se les obedece  
 DAT the.MASC.PL parent.PL se. *impersonal?* 3.PL.DAT obey.3.SG.PRES  
 ‘Parents are obeyed’
- (4) A los padres les obedece  
 DAT the.MASC.PL parent.PL 3.PL.DAT obey.3.SG.PRES

‘He/she obeys his/her parents’

- (5) ?Los                padres        se                obedecen  
The.MASC.PL parent.PL se.*recip*? obey.3.PL.PRES

‘Parents obey each other’

All these topics, even though marginally related, were not sufficiently linked to our main goal in this study. However, we believe that our initial approach to dative pronouns could lead to refinement of the many existing approaches and some general account of weak pronouns for Spanish could be accomplished in the future.



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