

Abstract

In Spanish ditransitive sentences in which a dative and an accusative complement co-occur, the dative can or cannot be doubled by a pronominal clitic. This paper shows that this double realization is not a case of free variation but instead correlates with systematic syntactic and semantic properties very similar to those exhibited by the two members of the English Dative Alternation. The basic form of the two ditransitive sentences is discussed. It is argued that Spanish sentences with dative clitic doubling have a uniform basic syntactic configuration in which the indirect object is higher than the direct object and the clitic projects a Dative Clitic Phrase. This analysis makes it possible to illuminate order and binding effects in ditransitive structures. Properties of possessor datives are also derived.

1. Preliminary versions of this paper have been presented in seminars held during the first semester of 1993 at USC, Georgetown University (Washington D.C.), UCLA and the University of Texas (Austin), as well as at the *First Workshop on Spanish Grammar* at the Università di Venezia. I wish to thank the participants of these events for their useful comments. I would like to give special thanks to María-Luisa Zubizarreta. Without her invaluable help this paper could not have reached its final form. Olga Fernández Soriano also made very useful observations. The subtle and intelligent questions of an anonymous *Probus*' reviewer undoubtedly contributed to making the paper more explicit. Any errors or misunderstandings are my own. I am deeply indebted to Jean Grugel and Thomas Ferguson for revising the English.

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1. Introduction

In this article I will deal with the Spanish transitive sentences in which a dative pronominal clitic co-occurs with a full dative noun phrase introduced by *a* 'to'. I will provide a unified account for sentences with the familiar Goal Indirect Object datives, as in (1a), sentences with Benefactive "augmented" datives (cf. Jackendoff 1990), as in (1b), and those with "Interest" datives such as the ones in (1c) and (1d).² I will refer to all these datives as "affected" second objects:³

- (1) a. *Le entregué las llaves al conserje.*
CL.3SG⁴ I+gave the keys to-the janitor
'I gave the keys to the janitor.'
- b. *Le cociné el pollo a Mario.*
CL.3SG I+cooked the chicken to Mario
'I cooked the chicken for Mario.'
- c. *Le limpié las manchas a la camisa.*
CL.3SG I+cleaned-off the stains to the shirt
'I cleaned the stains off (of) the shirt.'
- d. *Le fregué las manchas al tablero.*
CL.3SG wiped-off the stains to-the table-top
'I wiped the stains out of the table-top.'

2. Sentences with Goal datives are usually headed by TRANSFERENCE PREDICATES similar to *vender* 'to sell', *regalar* 'to give away', *enviar* 'to send', *mandar* 'to send', *entregar* 'to hand in/over', *devolver* 'to return', *traer* 'to bring', *llevar* 'to take', *donar* 'to donate', *confiar* 'to trust', *aportar* 'to contribute', *enseñar* 'to teach', *mostrar* 'to show', *recomendar* 'to recommend', etc. Benefactive datives appear with CREATION AND CHANGE OF STATE VERBS like *preparar* 'to prepare', *guisar* 'to cook', *cocinar* 'to cook', *comer* 'to eat', *hacer* 'to make', *pintar* 'to paint', *dibujar* 'to draw', *copiar* 'to copy', *adornar* 'to decorate', *coser* 'to sew', *lavar* 'to wash', *afeitar* 'to shave', *arreglar* 'to fix', *reparar* 'to mend', etc. Interest datives show up in sentences with REMOVAL OR CONTACT VERBS as *quitar* 'take away', *limpiar* 'clean off', *fregar* 'wipe off/scrub off', *añadir* 'to add', *pegar* 'to stick', *poner* 'to put', etc.
3. I am using the notion of "affected" dative in a larger sense than Authier and Reed (1992) who deal only with the non-lexical datives in French, namely those usually corresponding to the cases in (1b), (1c) and (1d). For the sake of the argument, I am leaving out here "possessor raising" or "sympathetic" dative constructions such as *Le ensucié el delantal a María* 'I stained María's apron' or *Le duele la cabeza a Juan* 'Juan has a headache'. I will come back to these constructions in section 3.4. See Masullo (1992) for another uniform treatment of dative constructions.
4. Through this specification I refer to the regular third person Spanish dative clitic which, unlike accusative forms, is unmarked for gender. My discussion deals only with third person indirect object pronouns since only in this case does the alternance presence versus absence of clitics hold. In first and second person dative constructions the clitic is unavoidable given that clitics are obligatory when the "double" is a pronominal: *Te entregaron (a ti) a tus enemigos* versus **(Te) entregaron a ti a tus enemigos* 'They hand you over to your enemies'.

Central to my analysis of these constructions is the assertion that there is Dative Alternation in Spanish. More accurately, it will be shown that Spanish sentences with dative clitic doubling, as those in (1), share the syntactic properties of double object constructions in languages such as English. The corresponding sentences without the clitic, the ones in (2), show the properties of regular V+NP+PP ditransitive sentences:

- (2) a. *Entregué las llaves al conserje.*
'I gave the keys to the janitor.'
- b. *Cociné el pollo para Mario.*
'I cooked the chicken for Mario.'
- c. *Limpié las manchas de la camisa.*
'I cleaned the stains from the shirt.'
- d. *Fregué las manchas del tablero.*
'I wiped the stains out of the table-top'.⁵

In section 2 I will illustrate the main lines along which this syntactic similarity runs. Asymmetries between accusative and dative objects in given syntactic contexts will be exhibited. In section 3 I will provide an analysis for the affected dative constructions. I will contend that, in sentences such as those in (1), the clitic is the head of a DCIP⁶ [Dative Clitic Phrase] at the top of a Chomskian-Larsonian VP-shell type structure. The associated "double" of this clitic (the Goal/Benefactive/Source [*a* NP]) is licensed in the Specifier of this DCIP. Order constraints between direct objects and indirect objects, binding and weak cross-over effects, scope facts and properties of inalienable constructions will follow from the existence of this configuration, independently motivated, moreover, in accounting for asymmetries between direct objects and indirect objects.

Exploring this field of affected datives may lead to a better understanding of certain hypotheses about the nature and status of VP. In fact, what my analysis may ultimately show is the crosslinguistic pervasiveness of the "single complement hypothesis" (Larson 1988), as well as the fact that differences between languages are mostly due to the specific content and articulation of functional categories.

5. The fact that *a* 'to' is the Goal preposition in Spanish could lead us to the misleading conclusion that the dative clitic is optional in Goal structures (see [1a], which alternates with [2a]) while obligatory in Benefactive and Interest structures (in [1b], [1c] and [1d] the clitic is forceful). My supposition will be that the clitic *le* is obligatory in all structures with a given "affected" interpretation, co-occurring in these cases with an *a* which is a mark of dative Case (cf. section 3.3.3 below). Under this premise the *a* of all examples in (1) is simply homophonous with the Goal preposition in (2a).
6. By DCIP I refer to a constituent similar to that of Marantz's (1990) "Benefactive phrase", Koizumi's (1993) Ω Phrase or Brugger and Poletto's (1993) AgIO .

2. On certain parallelisms between Spanish and English and the dative alternation

In many languages, verbal predicates appearing at S-structure with a set of two complements give rise to an alternation in the projection of their argument structure. Well known cases include those of English and the Germanic languages where a verb such as *give* can project its arguments either in a [V NP₁ P + NP₂] structure or in a [V NP₂ NP₁] sequence. In certain languages (German and Dutch, for instance, see the examples in [3]), NP₂ takes the dative Case. In English, this NP has the accusative Case, and this is also the Case of the second object (the direct object of the corresponding [V NP P + NP] structure, (see [4]):

- (3) a. *Jan gaf Marie/haar het boek.* Dutch
 b. *Hans gab Marie/ihr das Buch.* German
 Jan gave Marie/her(DAT) the book
- (4) a. *John gave* [NP₁ *a book*] [NP₂ *to Mary/her*].
 b. *John gave* [NP₂ *Mary/her(ACC)*] [NP₁ *a book*].

It has also been observed that in certain languages this alternation appears in the morphology. In Chichewa, for instance, a structure of the type [V NP P + NP] correlates thematically with others in which a complex verb adds an applicative suffix. Baker (1988) describes this structure as a case of preposition incorporation:

- (5) a. *Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a msampha kwa nkhandwe.*
 zebras SP-PAST-hand-ASP trap to fox
 'The zebras handed the trap to the fox.'
 b. *Mbidzi zi-na-perek-er-a nkhandwe msampha.*
 zebras SP-PAST-hand-to-ASP the-fox the-trap

It is a common observation that Romance languages differ from Germanic ones in that they lack the double object construction. Beginning with Kayne (1984), this gap has been attributed to the fact that the preposition *a* 'to' assigns the oblique Case in the Romance languages, while in English and similar languages it assigns the structural Case. These languages would not have an applicative morphology either. Rather than having affix-like prepositions, they would instead have Ps which behave as full roots (Baker 1988: 231).

In fact, what is found in Romance languages is only the [V NP P + NP] structure. In the subset of these languages which admits clitic doubling, a dative clitic can co-occur with the full lexical *a* + NP constituent (as shown in [6]) (recall also note 5). In a non-clitic doubling language, such as French, a distribution of transitive verbs between lexical-dative taking verbs and non-lexical-dative taking verbs is found (as in [7a] and [7b], respectively):

- (6) *Juan (le) dio el libro a María.*
 Juan CL.3SG gave the book to María
- (7) a. *Je lui donne le livre / Je donne le livre à Marie*
 I CL.3SG give the book I gave the book to Marie
 'I gave Marie the book.'
 b. *Je lui ai trouvé un emploi / ??J'ai trouvé un emploi à*
 I CL.3SG have found a job I-have found a job to
Théophile.
 Théophile
 'I have found Théophile a job.'

After the comprehensive revision of the topic by Larson (1988) and its subsequent extension by other authors (mainly Jackendoff 1990; Aoun and Li 1989; and Speas 1990), the dative alternation has to be interpreted, in my view, as the possibility of computing two syntactic configurations (two partially similar VP-shells) derivationally related either in the syntax or in the lexicon. This derivational relationship is crucial in order to safeguard the Uniformity of Theta-role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) of Baker (1988). Accepting this to be so, it is reasonable to assume that the dative alternation is something more than an emergence of the Case properties of the preposition associated with the second internal argument of certain subclasses of ditransitive verbs. In fact, the mere existence of such a duplex of configurations in Universal Grammar predicts a series of syntactic and semantic properties which reflect significant aspects of active causative verbal phrases.

What we will see in the following subsection is precisely that Spanish sentences exhibit a cluster of contrastive syntactic properties which also define the dative alternation structures in languages apparently different in this regard. Furthermore, I want to suggest that these contrasts are strictly related to the presence or absence of the dative clitic. I will briefly outline these contrasts.

Asymmetries in sentences with dative complements

C/command asymmetries. A cornerstone of the discussion about English double object constructions lies in the observation (made by Barss and Lasnik 1986) that in the two structures in (4) there are c-command asymmetries between NP₁ and NP₂. In (4a) NP₁ would c-command NP₂; in (4b) NP₂ would c-command NP₁ as can be observed through reflexivization, binding of pronouns, superiority and many other well known effects. Observe the paradigm in (8):

- (8) Reflexivization
 a. *I showed/presented* [NP₁ *Mary*] to [NP₂ *herself*].
 **I showed/presented herself to Mary.*
 b. *I showed* [NP₂ *Mary*] [NP₁ *herself*].
 **I showed herself Mary.*

Bound pronouns

- a. *I gave/sent every check_i to its owner_i.*
 ??*I gave/sent his_i paycheck to every worker_i.*
 b. *I gave every worker_i his_i paycheck_i.*
 **I gave its_i owner every paycheck_i.*

These asymmetries indicate that the position of these NPs is not the same in the two choices of the dative alternation.

It is interesting to note that in Spanish there are also asymmetries similar to the ones mentioned above. In Spanish, these asymmetries are not only related to the different syntactic position of each lexical argument, but also to the presence or absence of the dative clitic.⁷ The contrasting pairs in (9)–(10), where the a- and b-examples show the sentences without clitics and the a'- and b'-examples illustrate those with the dative clitic, will be analyzed more precisely in the third part of this article. At this point the important thing to remark on is that these contrasts are clear and neatly parallel the English data:

(9) Reflexivization

- a. *El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró a María a sí misma.*
 the therapy psychoanalytic gave-back Mary(DO) to herself(IO)
 b. **El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró/devolvió (a) sí misma*
 the therapy psychoanalytic gave-back herself(DO)
a María.
 to María(IO)
 'The psychoanalytic therapy helped Mary to be herself again.'
 a'. **El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió a María*
 the therapy psychoanalytic CL.3SG gave-back (to) María(DO)
a la estima de sí misma.
 to her selfesteem [lit.: the esteem of herself]
 b'. *El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la*
 the therapy psychoanalytic CL.3SG gave-back her
estima de sí misma a María.
 selfesteem(DO) to María(IO)

(10) Bound pronouns

- a. **La profesora entregó su_i dibujo a cada niño_i.*⁸
 'The teacher gave his/her drawing to each child.'
 b. *La profesora entregó cada dibujo_i a su_i autor.*
 'The teacher gave each drawing to its author.'

7. To my knowledge, Uriagereka (1988) was the first author to point out similar asymmetries in the clitic constructions of Galician.

8. * means only that the bound reading of the pronoun is not obtained.

- a'. *La profesora le pasó a limpio su_i dibujo a cada niño_i.*
 the teacher-F CL.3SG gave back-cleared his drawing to each child
 'The teacher gave each child back his/her cleared drawing.'
 b'. ?*La profesora le pasó a limpio cada dibujo_i a su_i autor.*
 the teacher-F CL.3SG gave back-cleared each drawing to its author

(9) shows that indirect object anaphors are possible in sentences without the dative clitic, but not in the alternative context; similarly, direct object anaphors appear in ditransitive sentences with dative clitics, but not in those without them. (10a) indicates that the distributive reading and the binding of the pronoun are not possible when such a pronoun is in the direct object, though this reading is found when the pronoun is in the PP, (10b). When the clitic is present, the bound pronoun can be in the direct object, (10a'). However, the contrast with the other pronoun-quantifier distribution is not as straightforward as in the preceding case. I will clarify this at greater length after introducing my analysis.

Passivization. A common observation made in the literature about double object constructions is that there are constraints on the passivization of the double object. The generalization for English is that in structures such as (4b) it is possible to passivize both NP₁ and NP₂ depending on the lexical nature of the verb. More strictly, verbs of the *give* type belong to the passivization class, while verbs of the *fix* class do not passivize:

- (11) a. *Mary was given the book.*
 b. (?)*The book was given Mary.*
 (12) a. **Mary was fixed the sandwich.*
 b. **The sandwich was fixed Mary.*

There is a considerable dialectal variation regarding (11b) — namely, the structure where the Theme object passivizes (it has also been observed that the sentence improves when the Goal is a pronominal: *The book was given him*). Judgments are quite uniform, though, with respect to the cases in (12),⁹ and this observation holds cross-linguistically; in fact, we find a similar lexical distribution of the passive construction in German and Dutch. Spanish is similar to German and Dutch in accepting only the passivization of the Theme. It also belongs to the unmarked paradigm in that it does not accept passivization in the class of verbs taking benefactives or interest datives, that is, in sentences in which the clitic is obligatory:

9. As was pointed out to me by the anonymous *Probus* reviewer, ungrammaticality judgements about Benefactive passives are frequent but not *totally* uniform. In fact, Benefactive double object constructions allow for passivization in certain varieties of English (see Czepluch 1982 for a review of kinds of dialects). Moreover, even if (12a) is somewhat deviant, a variant of it with an indefinite direct object is acceptable.

- (13) a. *El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.*
 'The Nobel prize (CL.3SG) was awarded to Cela last year.'
 b. **La casa le fue pintada a Juan anteayer.*
 'The house (CL.3SG) was painted for Juan the day before yesterday.'
 c. **La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa.*
 'The stain (CL.3SG) was scrubbed out of the shirt.'

It is important to notice that passives corresponding to equivalent sentences without the dative phrase are completely grammatical: *La casa fue pintada anteayer* 'the house was painted the day before yesterday', *La mancha fue frotada con cuidado* 'the stain was wiped off carefully'. The generalization that we may have to account for, therefore, is that the presence of the affected clitic blocks raising of the internal argument; however, I will not pursue this matter any further in this paper.

A lexical-semantic difference. In Spanish ditransitive sentences alternating a [NP PP] and a [Cl a + NP NP] structure for the double complement, the dative – when present – is interpreted as *affected*, in the sense that it is taken to be either the possessor or an intrinsic part of the Theme argument. The examples in (14) illustrate this statement. In (14) the structures with clitics range from marginality to ungrammaticality when the Goal or Location cannot be classified as a possessor either for general knowledge reasons (the tablecloth appears to be a part of the table whereas the dishes do not) or because the potential possessor either lacks reference or is abstract:

- (14) a. *Le puse el mantel a la mesa.*
 CL.3SG I+put the tablecloth to the table
 'I put the tablecloth on the table.'
 a'. **Le puse los platos a la mesa.*
 CL.3SG I+put the dishes to the table
 'I put the dishes on the table.'
 b. *Le regalé un libro a cada uno de los asistentes.*
 CL.3SG I+gave-away a book to each one of the attendants
 'I gave a book away to each one of the attendants.'
 b'. *(??Le) regalé/doné un libro al auditorio/a la biblioteca.*
 CL.3SG I+gave-away/donate a book to-the audience/to the library
 library
 'I donated a book to the audience/to the library.'



Oehrle (1975) points out some similar interpretations of the alternation between indirect object constructions with *to* and the double object variants in English.

He says that only (15b), the construction with Dative Shift, implies that Mary learned Russian:

- (15) a. *John taught Russian to Mary.*
 b. *John taught Mary Russian.*

Note the similar contrast in (16), which emphasizes the fact that, even though the notion of beneficiary Goal is implicit in both cases, the construction with the clitic has an interpretation in which the beneficiary seems to play a more important role in the transfer of what is created or obtained; (16a) is strange in the intended reading since its implication is that the dress can only be given by *María*, while (16b) implies straightforwardly that the giver is *my mother* and *my sister* received the dress:

- (16) a. *Mi madre le hizo un vestido a María, ??que le*
 my mother CL.3SG made a dress to María, which CL.3SG
dio a mi hermana Pepa.
 (my mother)-gave to my sister Pepa
 b. *Mi madre hizo un vestido para María, que le*
 my mother made a dress for María, which CL.3SG
dio a mi hermana Pepa.
 (my mother)-gave to my sister Pepa

Using similar reasoning, Jayaseelan (1988) points out that the continuation of the English sentence (17a)  similar lexical-conceptually, in my opinion, to (16a)  is a contradiction, as it actually implies that John's wife kept the kimono (recall that [16a] conveys the idea that the final destination of the dress was *María*):

- (17) a. *John bought his wife a kimono, #but finally got it to his mistress.*
 b. *John bought a kimono for his wife, but finally got it to his mistress.*

In summary, (16a) and (17a) presuppose the existence of the beneficiary, which is not necessarily the case in the corresponding b-sentences (cf. Speas 1990: 84).¹⁰ This is the reason why the above-mentioned possible continuations sound strange. Furthermore, Spanish data parallels the English and a significant contrast between clitic doubling sentences and those without clitics emerges.

3. The syntax of transitive sentences with affected datives

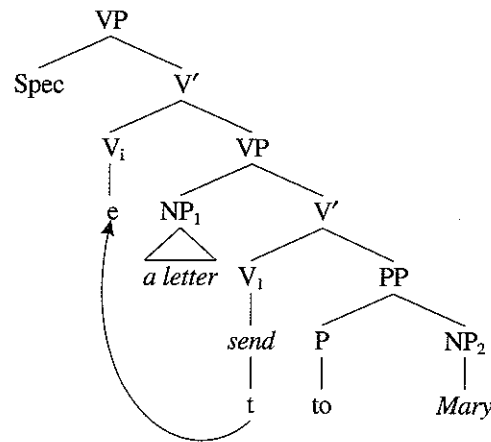
3.1. The background

Thus far, it appears that there is enough empirical justification to assume that Spanish does have an alternation similar to the one exhibited by English in the

10. See Demonte (1994) for a provisional account of this lexical-semantic alternation in Spanish.

well-known structures of (4). As I have already noted, Larson (1988) has articulated an analysis for the English Dative Alternation supported by the idea that in a sentence like that in (4a) the indirect object is in fact “an inner object” “forming a constituent (a small predicate *send to Mary*) with the verb that excludes the surface direct object” ... “[I]n this structure”, Larson says, “the indirect object is in the structural domain of the direct object NP, but not conversely” (Larson 1988: 339). In his account, structures such as those in (4b), that is the double object construction *strictu sensu*, derive from (4a) through a syntactic process. (18) and (19) illustrate the two cases of syntactic derivation of the dative alternation:

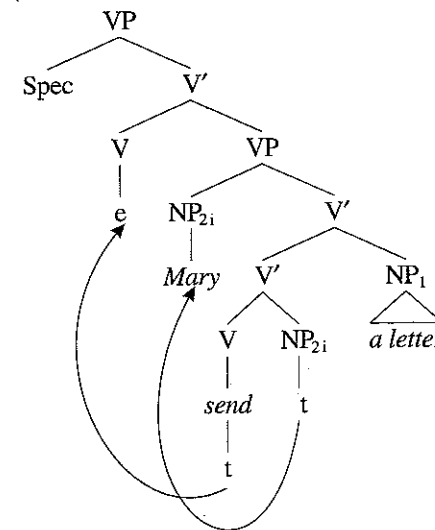
(18) (Larson 1988: 342–343)



Larson's explanation is based on two well-founded theoretical pillars. The first is that Case marking — the visibility condition on NPs — is the key in assigning positions and the subsequent placement of the constituents. The reason there is an empty verb in (18), then, is because this element has to Case-mark twice and must do so in two ways: the PP constituent will first receive the inherent Case from the preposition *to*, under government by *send* (or by the verb *send* through the Case-marking preposition *to*),¹¹ and once the verb has moved (through head-to-head movement), it will mark the “subject” of the complex verbal phrase with the structural Case.

11. To be more precise, according to Larson (1988: 369) “...in a VP like *send a letter to Mary to* represents case marking”. It implies that even though the verb assigns a theta-role (as does the preposition) to the indirect object argument, the verb alone cannot assign a Case to it and does it through an independent Case marker: *to*. Although Larson does not say explicitly that the verb assigns the inherent Case, that is implied in his statement about the preposition being just a “marker” and that “absorption” implies that *to* is absent (Larson 1988: 352, see also p. 362). In any case, absorption is possible because the verb and the preposition “assign thematic role redundantly”.

(19) (Larson 1988: 353)

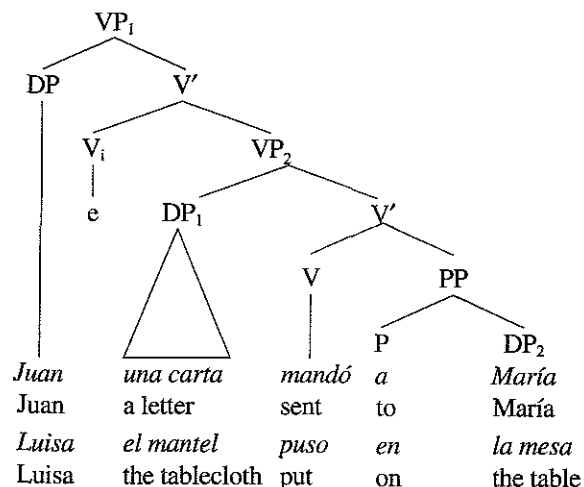


The second pillar — indispensable in preserving the hypothesis that “the same thematic roles must be assigned to the same syntactic positions” (Baker's 1988 UTAH) — is that any variant with this same basic form can only be a derivational result of the one described above. Thus, for Larson, the double object structure (4b) derives from (4a) through a process akin to passivization. The verb, as it occurs in passive constructions, “absorbs” the Case (this time the inherent Case) and *to* disappears as a result; the subject position dethematizes and is now free as a landing site for the movement of *Mary*. On the other hand, the basic subject *a letter* undergoes a lexical process of “demotion”. That is why it appears now as an adjunct to V', in the same way as the agents in passive constructions are adjuncts to V'. This is the structural representation in (19).

3.2. The structure of ditransitive sentences without dative clitics

Taking the previous background as a point of departure, I want to claim, first, that Spanish sentences with two internal arguments without a dative clitic have a basic representation similar to that in (20), where the direct object asymmetrically c-commands the indirect object. As in all standard analyses, I also assume that DP₂ receives the inherent Case from the preposition (governed by the main verb). Once the verb moves up to the empty verb position, it will assign the structural objective Case to DP₁, the “subject” of the complex verbal phrase.

(20)



From this configuration we can easily derive the occurrence and behavior of reflexive anaphors in the Spanish constructions without dative clitics ([21] = [9a, b]):

- (21) a. *El psicoanalítico tratamiento reintegró a María a sí misma.*
the psychoanalytic therapy gave-back Mary(do) to herself(io)
- b. **El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró/devolvió (a)*
the therapy psychoanalytic gave-back
sí misma a María.
herself(DO) to María(IO)

passives such as (22) (= [13a]):

- (22) *El premio Nobel fue concedido a Cela.*
'The Nobel Prize was awarded to Cela.'

the binding of pronouns in (23), similar to (10a, b):

- (23) a. **La directora entregó su_i premio a cada ganador_i.*
'The principal gave his/her prize to each winner.'
- b. *La directora entregó cada premio_i a su_i ganador.*
'The principal gave each prize to its winner.'

or weak cross-over effects such as those in (24):

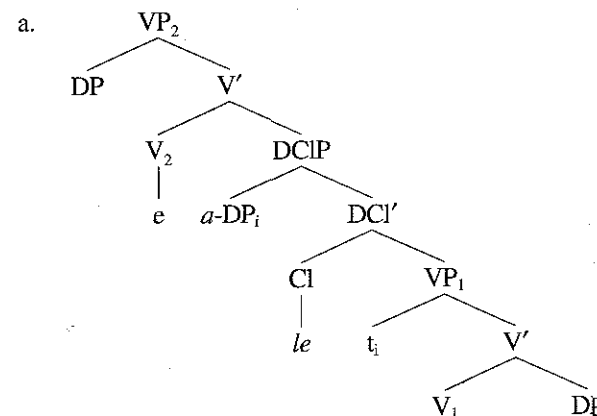
- (24) a. *¿A qué destinatarios_i mandaste sus_i cheques?
to which addressees you+sent their checks
'Which addressees did you send their checks to?'
- b. ¿Qué cheques_i mandaste a sus_i destinatarios?
which checks you+sent to their addressees?
'Which checks did you send their addressees?'

From this representation, it also follows that only in (23b) and (24b) can the distributive reading be obtained.

3.3. The DCI Phrase and the structure of VP

The second assumption of this work is that all the structures with affected dative clitics have a basic representation such as that in (25a) where the clitic is the head of a DCIP [see note 6] occupying the higher position of a VP-shell type structure. This configuration departs slightly from that of Larson in that the Theme argument is the sister of the main verb and the PP-doubling the clitic is the Spec of the DCIP. To be more precise, I want to suggest that in a representation such as that in (25a) the Goal/Benefactive/Source indirect object appears in the Spec of the DCIP, a position to which it might have moved from a base position higher than the Theme in the VP (I will come back to this question in section 3.3.3). As a second option (for now provisional), the one shown in (25b), this indirect object can be the right-branch specifier of DCIP.

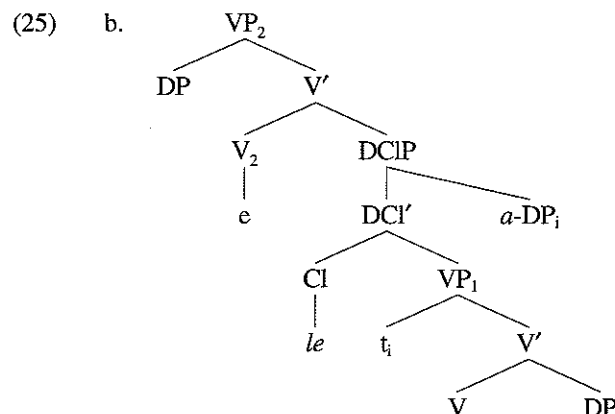
(25)



My hypothesis proposing "free location" of Spec of DCIP is obviously problematic. It encounters difficulties on two fronts. On the one hand, it runs into problems with the usual (and more than reasonable) hypothesis of uniform generation and licensing of specifiers, in which the specifier is either a left-peripheral element of a maximal projection (the null hypothesis) or a right-peripheral one (as has been recently argued for Romance¹²).

12. In fact, recent claims have advocated for the idea that Romance VP subjects are generated in the Spec of VP, to the right of their heads (see, especially, Bonet 1990 for Catalan and Friedemann 1992 for French).

This is not the place to make a case with regard to these proposals. However, I want to point



On the other hand, it appears to be incompatible with Kayne's (1993) "anti-symmetry" hypothesis, according to which all phrase-markers take a rigid basic form, Spec-head-complement, generated in that order. For the sake of gaining a better understanding of the binding data, I will tentatively adopt the representation (25b), the one with a right-branch Spec DCLP. Then, in section 3.3.2, I will re-elaborate my hypothesis within Kayne's framework.

As a side-point, it should also be noted that the analysis I am proposing does not appear to be easily compatible with the standard VP-internal subject hypothesis either. The reason is that, given structures such as (25a, b) plus the potential generation of an AgrObjP, it would not be possible for the subject to move out of the VP, if its original location is lower than DCIP. A constraint such as the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) (Chomsky 1994: 14) does not allow movement to skip two specifier positions of successive heads. However, my intention here is not to enter into a discussion of the alternatives to the internal subject hypothesis. I will instead refer the reader to Koizumi (1993) and his "split VP" hypothesis, which allows subjects to be generated lower than AgrSubjP but not within the lexical VP as in the usual claim. It has to be noted,

out that — differing from Catalan in this sense — Spanish final subjects (VOS, not VO#S) do not have an obligatory contrastive focus reading. This last property is crucial to Bonet's notion of nominative-Case-assignment through government, which correlates with a contrastive focus reading. As observed in Zubizarreta (1994: 197) a VOS sentence such as *Comió la torta Juan* 'Juan ate the cake' can be a regular answer to *Quién comió la torta?* 'Who ate the cake?' suggesting, then, that the final subject is the unmarked focus of the sentence, not a contrastive one.

On the other hand, Friedemann's well-motivated proposal for French is crucially based on the properties of Stylistic Inversion, a process without equivalence in Spanish. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that subjects of causative constructions are right-peripheral (see Guasti 1991, and references therein) in so much as the following order constraint is strict: *Le hizo enseñar la física a José* 'He/she made José to teach physics', **Le hizo enseñar a José la física*.

furthermore, that this DCIP can be considered an N-related position (Chomsky 1992), not a V-related one. In this framework, V_1 would raise to V_2 , a position occupied by a base-generated "light verb" that heads its own projection VP_2 (Chomsky 1994). This raising is necessary for conceptual reasons, since from this position the verb would be able to rise again in order to satisfy morphological properties (Greed).

In the light of (25), there are certain questions which need to be answered. These could include the following: (i) What independent empirical evidence do we have that the Goal or Benefactive lexical dative can be in the two mentioned Spec positions?, (ii) Is it really base generated in the Spec of DCIP or does it get there through movement?, (iii) What implications does this analysis have for matters of Case assignment?, (iv) How does this representation explain c-command asymmetries as well as certain feature-sharing relations within NP? Order constraints, weak cross-over effects and scope of adverbs data will be offered in order to answer these questions.

3.3.1. *Bound pronouns*. If we test sentences with dative clitics in which the quantified NP is in the indirect object and the bound pronoun in the direct object, we find judgments of distributive reading (even if sometimes weak), independent of the relative ordering of the constituents. (26) contains cases of Goal datives, (27) show Benefactive datives:

- (26) a. ^(?)*La secretaria le mandó su cheque a cada empleado_i.*
the secretary CL.3SG sent his check to each worker
b. *La secretaria le mandó a cada empleado_i su cheque.*
the secretary CL.3SG sent to each worker his check
- (27) a. ^(?)*Le arreglé su coche a cada corredor_i.*
CL.3SG fixed his car to each racer
b. *Le arreglé a cada corredor_i su coche.*
CL.3SG fixed to each racer his car

Following my argument, a plausible analysis of the preceding facts is that the pronoun can be bound in either of the two possible orders since the quantified NP can c-command the direct object NP both from the left or the right Spec of the DCIP.

When the quantified NP is the direct object and the bound pronoun appears in the dative phrase the contrasts are stronger, although still unclear (recall the observation about the paradigm in [10]):

- (28) a. ^(?)*La secretaria le mandó cada recibo_i a su solicitante.*
the secretary CL.3SG sent each bill to its applicant
b. ^{??}*La secretaria le mandó a su solicitante cada recibo_i.*
the secretary CL.3SG sent to its applicant each bill

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- (29) a. Le *arreglé* cada coche_i a su_i dueño.
 CL.3SG I-fixed each car to its owner
 b. *Le *arreglé* a su_i dueño cada coche_i.
 CL.3SG I-fixed to each owner his car

A qualification in order is that the data in (28a) and (29a) pose problems for the analysis (25). Given this representation, we would have to make the unreasonable assertion that the direct object c-commands the right Spec of DCIP. However, if we test the appearance of bound pronouns with other quantifiers in parallel structures, the preceding pattern changes in a significant way. Observe the examples in (30):

- (30) a. *Las madres* no les transmitieron ningún mensaje a sus hijos.
 'The mothers did not transmit any message to their sons.'
 b. *Las maestras* no les dibujaron ningún mapa a sus alumnos.
 'The teachers did not draw any map for their pupils.'

These sentences can only mean: (i) that there was no message at all (not one single message) transmitted, (ii) that there was no map drawn at all. *Ningún*, therefore, does not bind the pronoun in the final constituent, or else we would have a distributive reading as in the *cada* cases. The implication of these judgments is that in the problematic sentences (28a) and (29a) another factor is intervening: namely, the fact that *each* is a quantifier which tends to get wide scope.

In addition, the b-cases of paradigm (28)–(29) show straightforwardly that the indirect object in the left Spec of DCIP cannot be bound by the quantifier in the direct object. Both, the a- and b-examples are consistent with the hypothesis that QPs adjoin to VP (cf. May 1985). If this is the case and the distributive reading is not possible in (28b) and (29b), it implies that the indirect object is necessarily higher in the configuration. A fine-grained analysis of this data, then, appears to provide positive evidence for my thesis.

3.3.2. *Some constituent-order effects.* Even if it is accepted that Spanish is a free word-order language, constraints on the arrangement of sentence constituents have to be acknowledged. In Goal structures, where the clitic can be absent, the unmarked order is V DO IO. The order V IO DO ranges from being felt as stylistically marked to having an ungrammatical flavor. What some speakers say is that in this second case the structure "asks for the clitic":

- (31) a. *Di el libro a María / Entregué las llaves al dueño.*
 'I gave the book to María.' / 'I delivered the keys to the landlord.'
 b. %*Di a María el libro / ?Entregué al dueño las llaves.*
 gave to María the book / delivered to-the owner the keys

More precisely, it can be asserted that in the two sentences in (31a) there are only two interpretations for the Focus–Presupposition distribution of the VP constituents: either the indirect object is the Focus, or the Focus is spread over the entire sentence. In fact, pronounced with the nuclear tone on *María*, the first sentence in (31a) (*Di el libro a María*) can answer both the two following questions:

- (32) a. ¿A quién diste el libro?
 'To whom did-you-give the book?'
 b. ¿Qué pasó (esta mañana)?
 'What happened (this morning)?'

Following Zubizarreta (1994), I will take these interpretations as an indication that the indirect object, as shown in (20), is "the most embedded node in S", and therefore also the unmarked focus position¹³ from which the feature [+F] can propagate upward. Unlike (31a), the first sentence in (31b) (*Di a María el libro*) cannot answer the questions in (32) and the indirect object of a phrase such as this usually has a contrastive focus reading. More specifically,¹⁴ I claim that in (31b) the indirect object's have been scrambled out of the VP (over the direct object). The proof that there is scrambling in (31b) lies precisely in the fact that focus spreading is not possible in these sentences. This follows from the assumption that a focus spreads only when the verb and the focused phrase form a minimal complete constituent (Haider 1992).

Moreover, the semantic interpretation of weak (indefinite) determiners in indirect objects of sentences such as (33b) below gives a hint as to the location of those constituents. Herburger notes that "semantic focus is found only inside NPs that are weak [while] contrastive and emphatic focus can appear in weak and strong NPs" (Herburger 1993: 11). Observe that the determiner *pocos* 'few' does not get the same reading in the two sentences of (33). In (33a), with the order DO IO, the quantified phrase is ambiguous between a cardinal (weak) and a quantificational *qua* partitive (strong) reading (respectively, it means either that 'the professors who received the grant were few' — compared to the students for instance — or that 'few of the professors received the grant'), in (33b) only the partitive (strong) reading can be construed:

- (33) a. *El rectorado concedió las becas March a pocos profesores.*
 'The Board gave the March fellowships to few professors.'
 b. *El rectorado concedió a pocos profesores las becas March.*
 the board gave to few professors the fellowships March

13. In line with Cinque (1993), Zubizarreta accepts that the unmarked accent is given by a sentence grammar rule, and this identifies the unmarked focus of the sentence (Zubizarreta 1994: 185).

14. See Demonte (1993) for an analysis of scrambling and focus interpretation in ditransitive VP structures.

It has long been noted that these weak and strong readings appear in well-defined environments. In effect, a relevant generalization is that a weak determiner gets strong force when it is outside the VP; when inside the VP it is weak (Diesing 1990). If a weak determiner gets strong force only when it is outside the VP, we can deduce that in (31b) (similar to [33b]) the "inverted order" between the direct object and the indirect object is the result of scrambling.

By contrast, both orders of the direct and indirect object are considered "normal" by speakers, and are computed as motivating a similar distribution of the informational content, when the clitic is present.

- (34) a. *Le di el libro a María.* (= [31])
 b. *Le di a María el libro.*
- (35) a. *Le entregué las llaves al dueño.* (= [31])
 b. *Le entregué al dueño las llaves.*

More specifically, the two sentences in (34) and (35), as in (31a), receive an interpretation in which the last constituent of each sentence has the unmarked focus reading ([34a] can answer the question *¿A quién le diste el libro?* 'To whom did you give the book' and [34b] *¿Qué le diste a María?* 'What did you give to María?'). However, (34b) and (35b), unlike (31b), do not have a contrastive focus reading of the indirect object preceding the direct object or the direct object preceding the indirect object. In addition, the sentences in (34) and (35) can both answer the question in (32b) (the one leading to a propagated focus answer) regardless of the order between the direct object and indirect object. Proof that there is focal propagation lies in that the focal marker *sólo* 'only' associates with the whole sentence (the two members of [36] correspond, respectively, to [34a] and [34b]):

- (36) a. *Sólo le di el libro a María, es decir, no le presté el coche a su marido.*
 'I only gave the book to María, that is, I did not lend the car to her husband.'
- b. *Sólo le di a María el libro, esto es, no le presté*
 only CL.3SG gave to María the book that is not CL.3SG lent
 a su marido el coche.
 to her husband the car

Coming back to my proposal in (25), we might claim that in the a-cases of (34), (35) and (36) the indirect object is a right-branch Spec of DCIP, and in the b-cases it is a left-branch Spec of DCIP, the two possibilities shown in (25). Data will be correctly described in this way. It will be difficult to explain, though, how focus can propagate upward in the two orders when in both cases

the direct object would be marked [+focus] given (25). Nonetheless, it is this very fact of focus propagation, together with lack of the interpretation associated with the possible scrambling of the direct object, that hints at the genesis of the possible configurations of ditransitive sentences with dative clitics.

To be more precise, I will assume, along the lines of Kayne (1993), that all specifiers are left-peripheral members of projections. I will also conjecture that (25a) is the correct basic representation for all ditransitive sentences with dative clitics. Given (25a), the order IO DO surfaces straightforwardly, but the order DO IO does not. This can either be a consequence of direct object scrambling (a possibility that I discard given the lack of due interpretation and the possibility of focus spreading) or can come up as a result of [V, DO] moving leftward past indirect object as an integral unit.¹⁵ In other words, what follows from the previous assumption is that the order V DO IO is due not to right-branch placement of the dative phrase, but rather to leftward movement of the predicate phrase.

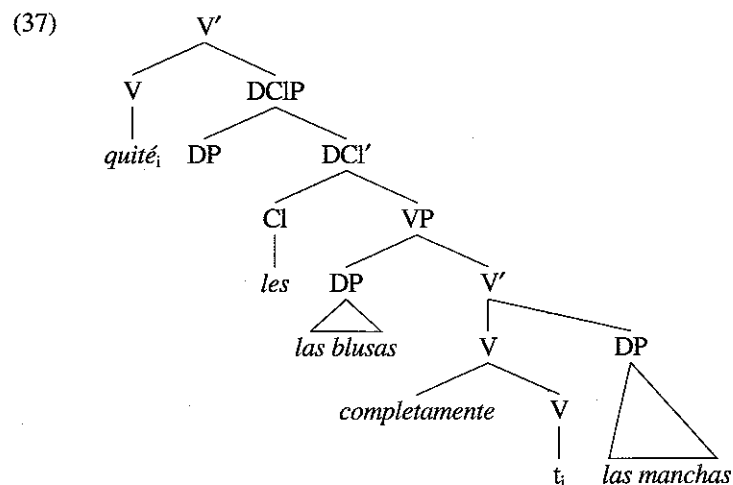
In order to formalize this idea I will make recourse to Larson's (1988) optional rule of V' reanalysis, according to which "a phrase [_{V'} ...] whose theta-grid contains one undischarged internal theta-role ... may be reanalyzed as [_V ...]", where, "[t]his reanalysis rule allows any predicate with (exactly) one unsaturated internal theta-role to be syntactically reconstructed as a complex lexical category — in effect, a complex transitive verb" (Larson 1988: 348–349). If this solution is tenable, focus propagation will be correctly deduced: in (34b) and (35b) as the immediate emergence of the basic configuration, in (34a) and (35a) because the indirect object is available to be marked [+focus] once the direct object reanalyzes with the verb. Finally, given this approach, the binding facts of sentences such as (26a) and (27a) (where the quantified indirect object is final) will follow assuming that binding takes place at LF, where the direct object is reconstructed in its original position lower than the indirect object.

3.3.3. *Adverbial Scope and the structure of VP.* In the preceding subsections of section 3.3 I have tried to give empirical support to the claim that affected dative structures are better accounted for through a representation which includes a D(ative) Cl(itic) P(hrase) whose specifier can be occupied by a dative lexical DP. I now want to present additional evidence showing that this DCIP is higher than the VP-shell type hierarchical structure, that the indirect object DP is higher than the direct object in the VP of dative clitic sentences, and that this dative lexical DP raises to Spec of DCIP]. The reason for this raising is to check its morphological features against the clitic head. With this movement, the Goal/Benefactive DP will take the dative Case by Spec-head agreement with the head of the DCIP. A 'to', the only preposition available for combination with the

15. Kayne (1993: 24) suggests this possibility for the VOS order.

lexical or pronominal indirect object, would be the mark of this agreement Case.

There are two adverbial paradigms relevant to the proposals I am trying to test. The first is that which emerges from V-adverbs such as *completamente* 'completely'. Since *completamente* is a verbal adverb,¹⁶ it is reasonable to suppose that it is generated left-adjoined to the V (Koizumi 1993: 109), as shown in (37):



Observe now the sentences in (38) and (39):

- (38) *Les quité a las blusas completamente las manchas.*
 CL.3SG took to the blouses completely the stains
 'I took the stains off the blouses completely.'

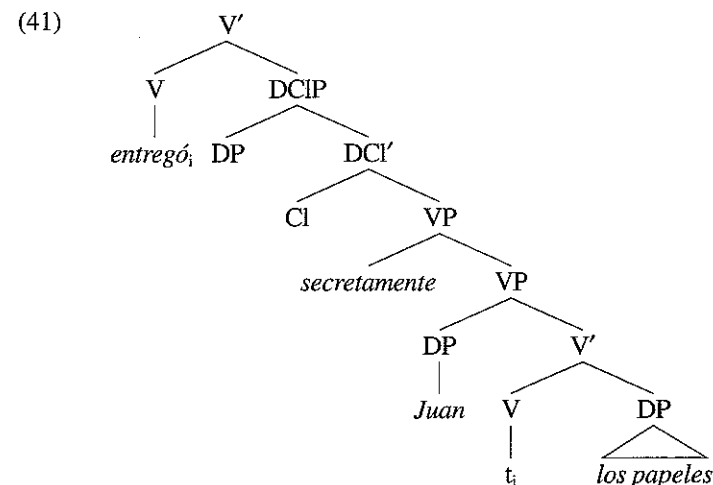
- (39) **Juan entregó a los niños completamente su vida.*
 Juan gave to the children completely his life

The contrast between the two sentences above may be accounted for under the presupposition that in (38) the indirect object is higher than the direct object, while in (39) (a sentence without dative clitic) the canonical order is just the opposite. Moreover, (40a) below will come up after V' reanalysis and (40b) will not be possible because the verb cannot be reanalyzed with the adverb alone.

- (40) a. *?Les quité las manchas a las blusas completamente.*
 b. **Les quité completamente a las blusas las manchas.*

16. Other adverbs in the same class are: *fácilmente* 'easily', *totalmente* 'totally', *parcialmente* 'partially' or *malamente* 'badly'.

My second paradigm is the one formed by ditransitive sentences with a VP-adverb.¹⁷ Assuming that an adverb is licensed through adjunction to the maximal projection of its licenser, VP-adverbs would adjoin to VP, as in (41):



The data crucial to convey my point are the following:

- (42) a. **Le entregó secretamente a Juan los papeles.*
 CL.3SG gave secretly to Juan the papers
 'He gave Juan the papers secretly.'
 b. *Le entregó a Juan secretamente los papeles.*
 c. *Le entregó los papeles secretamente a Juan.*
 d. *Le entregó secretamente los papeles a Juan.*

Interestingly, the only ungrammatical order (in the intended manner reading) of the four preceding orders is that in which the adverb precedes an indirect object which itself precedes a direct object. (42a) indicates, therefore, that a "preposed" indirect object is always higher than the verb phrase.

3.4. A possible analysis of possessor raising constructions

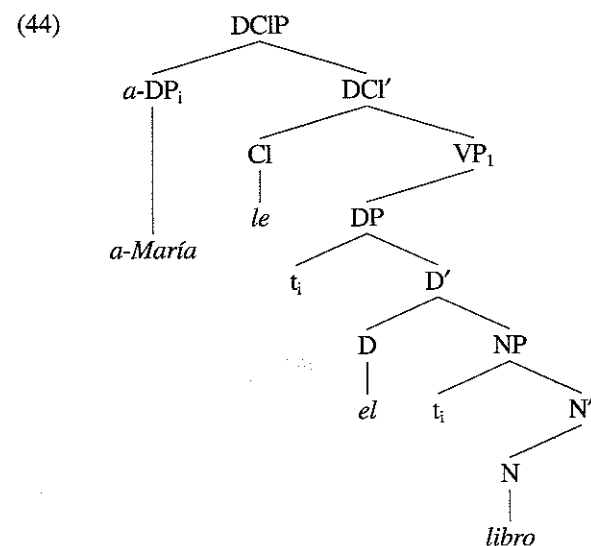
From the conclusion I have reached above regarding the NP movement of the higher argument in the VP-shell to the Spec of DCIP, where it can check the morphological features of the clitic head, interesting consequences follow concerning the syntactic nature of the so-called possessor-raising constructions

17. Adverbs such as *cuidadosamente* 'carefully', *minuciosamente* 'precisely' or *descuidadamente* 'clumsily' belong to this class.

such as those in (43) (see note 3). Remember that in these structures the clitic is interpreted to be the possessor of the direct object-NP head:

- (43) a. *Le robaron el libro a María.*
CL.3SG they-stole the book to María
'They stole María's book.'
b. *Le extirparon el diente a Juan.*
CL.3SG they-took-out the teeth to Juan
'They took out Juan's teeth.'

If we make the usual assumptions about the generation of possessor arguments in DP structures, and we take the possessor to be either in the Spec of NP (Brucart 1994) or in the Spec of a GenderP higher than NP (Picallo 1991), we expect this Spec to be able to rise first to the Spec of DP and then to the Spec of DCIP as shown in the partial representation in (44):



If we also assume (as in Brucart 1994), that the possessive determiner *su* 'his/her' in Spanish (when present) moves to the Spec of its governing DP in order to license the [+definite] feature of D, we can explain why possessor raising is not possible when the possessive determiner is present:

- (45) **Le robaron su libro a María.*
CL.3SG they-stole her book to María

In fact, an explanation for the data in (45) lies in principles such as "shortest movement" (where the Spec of DP is not available as an escape hatch for the

raising possessor) or "relativized minimality" (where an A XP constituent in the Spec of DP blocks A-movement of another maximal projection).

A reasonable further question¹⁸ would ask why the possessor NP (possibly being licensed within the confines of DP) needs to raise out of DP to Spec of DCIP, and what could possibly trigger possessor raising to Spec DCIP. In my view, a tentative answer to this complex matter can capitalize on two things: the Case requirements of possessor arguments and the properties of inalienable constructions. Remember that the (alienable) possessor argument can have a double realization in Spanish: it can appear either following N preceded by *de* 'of' such as in (46a), or it can be in the sequence [_{DCI} ... *a* + NP], as in (46b) (= [43a]).

- (46) a. *Robaron el libro de María.*
stole-3P the book of María
'They stole María's book.'
b. *Le robaron el libro a María.*

In the first case, the possessor *María* receives genitive Case. In the second it is marked with dative. An interesting and well known parallel fact, which could play a crucial role in the explanation we are seeking, is that when the possession is inalienable the second strategy is the only one available or, in other words, in these sentences there are only dative possessors in construction with a clitic:

- (47) a. *(*Le*) *operaron la nariz de Luisa.*
(DAT.CL.3SG) operated3P the nose of Luisa
b. *Le operaron la nariz a Luisa.*
DAT.CL.3SG operated the nose to Luisa
c. **Operaron la nariz a Luisa.*
operated3P the nose to Luisa
'They operated Luisa's nose.'

Under the assumption that syntactic operations apply as a "last resort", we may conjecture that (47a) is ungrammatical because in this structure the Case features of the clitic have not been discharged and, in addition, the possessor NP is no longer available for genitive-Case-assignment. In effect, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) demonstrate that the determiner D of (in)alienable constructions is not a regular definite determiner. It can give rise, for instance, to a distributive effect (and a consequent type interpretation) in sentences in which it is forcefully singular: *Les operaron la nariz (a Juan y a María)* versus **Les operaron las narices (a Juan y a María)* 'They operated Juan and María's noses'. Capitalizing on this and other similar properties, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta claim that the definite determiner of inalienable constructions is an expletive

18. Proposed to me by the anonymous *Probus* reviewer.

determiner — without denotational content — which has to satisfy a predicational binding relation with the possessor dative phrase.¹⁹

If we assume structure (44) above, and we also claim that Predication is a feature-sharing relationship (instantiated through Spec-head agreement) we will deduce the obligatory movement of the possessor NP to the Spec of DP in (43). Once in this position, the possessor NP lacks Case and, as a last resort, it moves to the Spec of DCIP (whose head is carrying Case features) in order to satisfy "its own requirements" (Chomsky 1992: 47).

4. Conclusions

In this paper I have presented arguments in favor of the following claim: Spanish has a Dative Alternation similar to that found in languages such as English, sentences with dative clitic doubling behaving as double object constructions.

I have argued that the universal configuration of VP requires, therefore, a DCIP functional projection where affected second objects are linked. I have presented detailed aspects of this functional projection and demonstrated the various facts of ordering, scope, binding and chain formation which are better accounted for by this configuration.

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19. Since predication is defined as based on m-command, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta conjecture that the possessor dative [*a* + NP] and the DP where the determiner occurs make a SC_{dat} . An argument in favor of a small clause representation (see their footnote 34: 618) is provided by the fixed order between the direct object and the dative complement in French. Observe the following contrast:

- (i) a. **Le médecin a examiné aux enfants la gorge.*
the doctor examined to-the children SDefD throat
- b. *Le médecin a examiné la gorge aux enfants.*
the doctor examined SdefD throat to-the children
'The doctor examined the children's throat.'

It is interesting to notice that the equivalent order is not fixed in the parallel Spanish sentences (remember that there is no clitic doubling in French):

- (ii) a. *El médico les examinó la garganta a los niños.*
the doctor CL.3SG examined the throat to the kids
- b. *El médico les examinó a los niños la garganta.*

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