

Datives in Spanish

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Datives in Spanish. ¹

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1. Introduction.

In this study, 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*. I will consider as a uniform set that which is constituted by 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 "sympatheticus"/datives (generally corresponding to a Source argument) like the one in (1c). ² I will refer to all these datives as "affected" second objects: ³

- (1) a. Le entregué las llaves al conserje.
 C13S ⁴ I+gave the keys to-the janitor
 'I gave the keys to the janitor'.

1. Preliminary versions of this paper have been presented in seminars held during the first semester of 1993 at the universities of USC, Georgetown (Washington D.C.), UCLA and Texas (Austin) as well as at the *First Workshop on Spanish Grammar* at the Università di Venezia. I wish to thank the participants in all these events for useful comments. Special thanks are due to M. Luisa Zubizarreta and Olga Fernández Soriano. Errors or misunderstandings are all my own. The research behind this work has been partly supported through the DGICYT Project PB90-0181 as well as by the grant from the same institution to partly support my stay as a visiting scholar at the Department of Linguistics at USC (93-010 Programa de Movilidad Temporal de personal funcionario Docente e Investigador).

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', *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 do', *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. Sympatheticus/datives show up in sentences with removal or contact verbs as *quitar* 'take away', *limpiar* 'clean up', *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 consider as such only French non-lexical datives, namely those usually corresponding to the cases in (1b) and (1c).

4. Through this specification I refer to the regular third person Spanish dative clitic which, differing in this sense from accusative forms, is unmarked for gender. My discussion deals with third person indirect object pronouns but it can be extended to dative pronouns of other persons.

- b. Le cociné el pollo a Mario.
 Cl3S I+cooked the chicken to Mario
 'I cooked the chicken for Mario'.
 c. Le limpié/fregué las manchas a la camisa.
 Cl3S I+wiped-off the stains from the shirt
 'I wiped the stains off of the shirt'.

Central to my analysis of these constructions will be the assertion that Spanish has the dative alternation or, more strictly, that Spanish sentences with dative clitic doubling share the syntactic and semantic properties of English or German double object sentences. I will first show the main lines along which this syntactic similarity runs, and asymmetries between accusative and dative objects in given syntactic contexts will be shown. Secondly, I will illustrate the lexical-semantic features that distinguish the sentences with affected readings in (1) from the corresponding sentences without dative clitics, such as those in (2):

- (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 / fregué las manchas de la camisa.
 'I wiped the stains from the shirt'.

Also suggested in this section is that in the Spanish grammar the dative alternation is satisfied in the lexicon, where two partly similar LCSs are derivationally related.

In the third part of this paper I will provide an analysis for the affected dative constructions. I would like to prove that, in constructions like those in (1), the clitic is the head of a BP⁵ 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 either in the Specifier of this BP or as an adjunct to V' (as is the dethematized object of the Larsonian derived layered VP). Order constraints between direct objects and indirect objects, binding and WCO effects, scope facts or impossibility of passivization would follow from the existence of this configuration, independently needed, moreover, to account for asymmetries between direct objects and indirect objects. Looking more tentatively to this material, I will suggest that this BP is a functional category that expresses the final point of the event described by the verb sentence.

Exploring this field of affected datives may lead us to a better understanding of certain hypothesis about the nature and status of VP. In fact, what our analysis ultimately might show is the crosslinguistic pervasiveness of the "single complement hypothesis" (Larson (1988)) just as those differences among languages are always due to the specific content and way of articulation of functional categories.

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

Verbal predicates appearing at S-structure with a set of two complements give rise

5. With this Beta Phrase I am naming a constituent similar to that of Marantz's (1990) "Benefactive phrase", Koizumi's (1993) Ω Phrase or Brugger and Poletto's (1993) AGRIO.

in many languages to an alternation in the projection of their argument structure. Well known cases are those of English and the Germanic languages where a verb like *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 bears Dative Case. In English, this NP has 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. Dutch: Jan gaf Marie/haar_{dat} het boek.
 'Jan gave Marie/her the book'.
 b. German: Hans gab Marie/Ihr_{dat} das buch.
 (4) a. John gave a book to Mary/him.
 b. John gave Mary/him_{acc} 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 other in which a complex verb adds an applicative suffix. Baker (1988) analyzes this structure as a case of preposition incorporation:

- (5) a. Mbidzi zi-na perek-a msampha kwa nkhandwe.
 zebras P-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. Since Kayne (1984) this gap has been attributed to the fact that the preposition *a/to* would assign oblique Case in the Romance languages, while it would assign structural Case in English and similar languages. These languages would not have either applicative morphology due to the fact that they do not have affix-like prepositions but just Ps which behave as full roots. (cf. Baker, *op. cit.*: 231).

Actually, what we have in the Romance area 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)). In a non-clitic doubling language like 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 Cl3S gave the book to María
 (7) a. Je lui donne le livre / Je donne le livre á Marie.
 I Cl3S 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 á Théophile.
 I Cl3S have found a job / I-have found a job for Théophile
 'I have found Théophile a job'.

After the comprehensive revision of the topic by Larson (1988) and its subsequent extension by many other authors (mainly Jackendoff (1990), Aoun and Li (1989)

and Speas (1990)) the dative alternation has to be understood, in my opinion, as the possibility of having access to two syntactic configurations (two partially similar VP shells) derivationally related either in the syntax or in the lexicon. This derivational relation is crucial in order to safeguard the UTAH. In this sense, it is reasonable to think 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, since the mere existence of such a duplex of configurations predicts a series of syntactic and semantic properties from which different behaviors of the VP constituents would follow.

What I would like to show now is precisely that Spanish sentences exhibit a cluster of syntactic and semantic contrasting properties which also define the dative alternation structures. I also want to suggest that these contrasts are strictly related to the presence or absence of the dative clitic. I will go briefly through these contrasts now since I will be qualifying them in a precise way in the following sections of this article.

2.1. Asymmetries in sentences with dative complements.

C/command asymmetries. A cornerstone of the discussion about English double object construction lies in the observation (due to 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 [NP1Mary] to [NP2herself].
* I showed / presented **herself** to Mary.
- b. I showed Mary **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.

I want to point out that in Spanish there are also asymmetries similar to the ones just mentioned although their existence does seem to be related --at least at first glance-- not only to the different syntactic position of each of the lexical arguments, but also to the presence or absence of the dative clitic.⁶ The contrasting pairs in (9)-(10), where the (a) and (b) cases show the sentences without clitics and the (a') and (b') those with the dative clitic, will be extensively qualified in the third part of this work. At this point the important thing is to notice that the following contrasts are very clear and neatly parallel the English facts:

6. As far as I know, Uriagereka (1988) was the first author to point out similar asymmetries for clitic structures in Galician.

(9) Reflexivization

- a. El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró a María[DO] a **sí misma**[IO].
the psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary to herself
- b. * El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró / devolvió (a) **sí misma**[DO] a María[IO].
the psychoanalytic therapy gave back herself to María
- a'. * El tratamiento psicoanalítico **le** devolvió a María[DO] a la estima de **sí misma**.
the psychoanalytic therapy CL3S gave back (to) Mary to her selfesteem
- b'. El tratamiento psicoanalítico **le** devolvió la estima de **sí misma**[DO] a María[IO].
the psychoanalytic therapy CL3S gave back her selfesteem to María

(10) Bound pronouns

- a. * La profesora entregó **su_i** dibujo a **cada niño_i**.⁷
'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'.
- a'. La profesora **le** pasó a limpio **su_i** dibujo a **cada niño_i**.
the teacher-F CL3S gave back his drawing to each child
'The teacher gave back corrected the drawing to each child'.
- b'. ? La profesora **le** pasó a limpio **cada dibujo_i** a **su_i** autor.
the teacher-F CL3S gave back each drawing to its author

(9) shows that IO anaphors are possible in sentences without the dative clitic, but not in the other context; similarly, DO anaphors appear in ditransitive sentences with dative clitics, but not in those without. (10a) indicates that the distributive reading and the binding of the pronoun are not possible when such a pronoun is in the DO, 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 DO, (10a'), although the contrast with the other distribution of the pronoun and the quantifier is not as straightforward as in the preceding case. We will clarify this last fact at greater length after introducing our analysis.

Passivization. A regular observation in the literature about double object constructions is that there are constraints on the passivization of the double object. The generalization concerning 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.

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

- (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 (also common is the observation that the sentence improves when the Goal is a pronominal: *The book was given him*). Judgments are uniform, though, with respect to the cases in (12) and this observation holds cross-linguistically since we find a similar lexical distribution of the passive construction in German and Dutch. Let us observe now that Spanish is like 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 sympathetic datives:

- (13) a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.
'The Nobel prize (Cl3S) was awarded to Cela last year'.
b. * La casa le fue pintada a Juan anteayer.
'The house (Cl3S) was painted for Juan the day before yesterday'.
c. * La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa.
'The stain (Cl3S) was wiped off of the shirt'.

It is important to recall that passives corresponding to similar 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'. Then, the generalization that we will have to account for is that the presence of the affected clitic blocks raising of the internal argument.

Verb-particle constructions and the Spanish counterpart in prepositional verbs.

A descriptive fact assumed by the analysts of verb-particle construction is that a verb like *hand out* gives rise to two possible configurations in double object construction (see (14) --with (14b) ranging from slight marginality to grammaticality--), while a verb like *pour out* (cf. Emonds (1970), among others) only admits the sequence V Prt NP (see (15)):

- (14) a. I handed Mary out the book.
b. ? I handed out Mary the book.
(15) a. I poured Mary out the juice.
b. * I poured out Mary the juice.

If we assume (as in Koopman (1991)), that the particle phrase is a sister PP of the main verb, and we accept also a layered VP structure (Larson (1988)) as a correct configuration for the double object structures, we can phrase the contrast descriptively saying that in (14a) and (15a) the verb has moved alone from the inner part of the VP shell leaving the particle and the demoted Theme in situ. In (14b) the verb could have had the possibility of reanalyzing with the governed particle, moving then up together over a higher goal. Now, this leaves unexplained the fact that the sequence V+Prt in double object constructions is generally considered marginal. Moreover, this last fact leads one to think that the particle is more related to the licensing of the Goal than to the root verb.

Identical structures do not exist in Spanish, although there are transitive structures apt to accept an augmented Benefactive which can be compared with (14) and (15). I want to refer to a small subclass of Spanish verbs with an (apparently) optional

governed preposition: *pensar / pensar en* 'think/think of' or *soñar / soñar con* 'dream/lit; dream with'. Actually, in these alternances the preposition acts as a "type shifting" element (Pustejovsky (1992)) that turns a process predicate in an accomplishment one.⁸ Observe now that the presence of the dative clitic is only possible in the VPs of this series lacking the preposition (see (16)). In contrast, the presence of the clitic makes ungrammatical the prepositional structures, as in (17):

- (16) a. Juan le soñó un viaje a su hija. (cf. Juan soñó un viaje para su hija).
Juan Cl3S dreamed a trip to her daughter (Juan dreamed a trip for his daughter)
'Juan dreamed of a trip for his daughter'.
b. Su asesor le pensó una buena réplica al presidente.
his advisor Cl3S thought a good answer to the president
(cf. Su asesor pensó una buena réplica para el presidente.)
(17) a. Juan (*le) soñó con un viaje a su hija.
Juan Cl3S dreamed with a trip to his daughter
b. Su asesor (*le) pensó en una buena réplica al presidente.
his advisor Cl3S thought in a good answer to the president

Conjecturally at this moment, I would also like to relate the facts in (17) to the constraints on clitic augmentation or clitic doubling found in sentences with the locative alternation:

- (18) a. Luis cargó margaritas en el camión.
'Luis loaded daisies in the truck'.
a'. Luis cargó el camión con margaritas.
'Luis loaded the truck with daisies'.
b. Luis le cargó (a María) margaritas en el camión.
Luis Cl3S loaded (for María) daisies in the truck
b'. *Luis le cargó (a María) el camión con margaritas.
Luis Cl3S loaded (for María) the truck with daisies

If we assume (as in current analyses, cf. Rappaport and Levin (1988)), that sentences with the *locatum* argument (18a') and (18b') encode an added change of state (aside from the change of location encoded in (18a) and (18b)), we can then think that the structural position for an affected argument is already structurally occupied and there is no room for the dative. A similar generalization to the one suggested for the (17) cases.

Before proceeding to give a syntactic account of these parallelisms I want to go briefly into the lexical-conceptual characteristics of the Spanish sentences with affected datives.

2.2. A lexical-conceptual alternation.

The proposal I want to argue for in this subsection is that the presence of the affected datives makes explicit a change in the status of the event described by the verb. This proposal is summarized in (19):

8. Cf. Demonte (1992) on this regard.

- (19) In 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 either as the possessor or as an intrinsic part of the Theme argument. This affected interpretation follows from the fact that sentences with dative clitics (different from those without them) express the highest degree of **culmination** or **completeness** of the event described by the predicate.

(20) illustrates straightforwardly the first statement of (19). In (20) the structures with clitics range from marginality to ungrammaticality when the goal cannot be understood as possessor either for general knowledge reasons (the tablecloth appears to be a part of the table not the dishes) or because the possible possessor lacks reference or is an abstract possessor:

- (20) a. Le puse el mantel a la mesa.
Cl3S I+put the tablecloth to the table
'I put the tablecloth on the table.'
a' *Le puse los platos a la mesa.
Cl3S 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.
Cl3S I+gave-away a book to each one of the attendants
b' (??)Le regalé un libro al auditorio / a la biblioteca.
Cl3S I+gave-away a book to+the audience / to+the library

Oehrle (1975) points out some similar interpretations in English for the alternation between the IO constructions with *to* and the double object variant. This linguist says that only (21b), the construction with *dative shift*, implies that Mary learned Russian:

- (21) a. John taught Russian to Mary.
b. John taught Mary Russian.

Note the similar contrast in (22), which makes one realize 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 participate more in the transference of what is created or obtained:

- (22) a. Mi madre le hizo un vestido a María, ?? que le
my mother Cl3S made a dress to María, which Cl3s
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 Cl3S
dio a mi hermana Pepa.
(my mother)-gave to my sister Pepa

With similar reasoning, Jayasselan (1988) points out that the continuation of the English sentence (23a) --similar, in my consideration, to (22a)-- is a contradiction, as that structure actually implies that John's wife kept the kimono, as (22a) implies that the final destination of the dress was *María*:

- (23) 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, (22a) and (23a) convey a presupposition of the existence of the beneficiary, which is not necessarily the case in the corresponding (b) sentences (cf. Speas (1990): 84). This is the reason why the above mentioned possible continuations sound strange. Similar reasons could explain why not all transitive sentences of creation and preparation that accept a Benefactive with *para* have the corresponding form with a dative clitic:

- (24) a. Barenboim ejecutó las "Variaciones Diabelli" para los madrileños.
Barenboim played the "Variations Diabelli" for the people-of-Madrid
a' *Barenboim les ejecutó las "Variaciones Diabelli" a los madrileños.
Barenboim Cl3Pl played the Variations Diabelli" to the people-of-Madrid
'Barenboim played the "Diabelli Variations" for the people of Madrid.'
b. Espert representó a Genet para el público del Festival.
Espert performed to Genet for the public of+the Festival
'Espert performed Genet for the public at the Festival.'
b' *Espert (le) representó a Genet al público del Festival.
Espert Cl3S performed to Genet to+the public of+the Festival

Parallel to (24) is the fact, illustrated in (25), that not all sentences with Benefactive Datives accept the counterpart with *para*:

- (25) a. Le coloqué cortinas al salón.
Cl3S I+put curtains to+the living room
a' *Coloqué cortinas para el salón.
I+put curtains for the living room
'I put curtains in the living room.'

As I have anticipated in (19), a natural conjecture following from the preceding data is that the structures with dative clitics, contrary to those without them, express the highest degree of **culmination** or **completeness** of the process described by the predicate and, therefore, of the relation between the Theme (the object of the movement or the change of state) and the Goal, Beneficiary or Source. It is not a question of the action not being finished in the constructions without the clitic, but what is being asserted here is that the interpretation of these facts in the context of a theory of subevents allows us to understand the pronominal construction as another way of conceiving the organization of the internal temporal subevents of the predicate given an identical argument structure.

Two additional pieces of evidence can be adduced in favour of the eventive interpretation just sketched. Let us look first at the fact that adverbs of duration are less natural in structures with a pronominal:

- (26) a. Juan le escribió una carta a su novia (?? durante cinco horas).
Juan Cl3S wrote a letter to his fiancée (for five hours)
b. Juan escribió una carta a su novia (durante cinco horas).
'Juan wrote a letter to his fiancée (for five hours).'

Some other interesting evidence comes from data concerning the scope of the adverb *casi* / *almost*. In sentences with accomplishment verbs, this element can refer

to the process as such or the end of the event. Thus, the ambiguity of *John almost opened the door*, which may mean either that the agent did not even touch the door or that he left it ajar, that he almost did not reach the end of the opening action. In structures such as (27) one finds the same ambiguity (Juan did not even start the letter or he left it half-written) but what is happening here is that those readings correspond, respectively, to the structure with and without the clitic. (27a) --the structure without the pronominal clitic-- seems to refer only to the core of the process, or, in any case, not to the end of it. (27b), on the other hand, does allow a continuation towards the culmination of the act of writing the letter, which is a very anomalous form in the other construction:

- (27) a. Juan casi escribió la carta a María, ??pero cuando iba a empezarla
 Juan almost wrote the letter to María, but when he-was to start-it
se puso a hacer otra cosa / la dejó en el tercer párrafo /
 he began to do another thing/ it (Cl_{acc}) he-left in the third paragraph/
** está a punto de acabarla.*
 he-is about to-finish-it (Cl_{acc})
 'Juan almost wrote the letter to Mary but when he was going to start,
 he began to do something else / he left it in the third paragraph/ he is
 about to finish it'.
 b. Juan casi le escribió la carta a María, pero cuando iba a empezarla *se*
puso a hacer otra cosa / la dejó en el tercer párrafo / ? está a punto de
acabarla.
 'Juan almost wrote the letter to María but when he was going to start
 he set about doing something else / he left it in the third paragraph / he
 is about to finish it'.

Let us also notice that in similar structures, in the present tense, the structure without the clitic strongly implies --as opposed to the other option-- that the action has not even started:

- (28) a. Juan casi escribe[PrT] la carta a María, * la dejó en el tercer párrafo.
 b. Juan casi le escribe la carta a María, ? la dejó en el tercer párrafo.

As to (27)-(28) in general, it can be noted that in ascribing the explanation of these variants of the ditransitive sentences to the eventive nature of the predicates we gain additional insights regarding the syntax of the construction. It can be thought, for instance, that in the (a) cases *casi* modifies the Tense of the clause, while in the (b) ones it modifies the aktionsart. If *Casi* is an adjunct to VP, there has to be something in the structure which avoids the adverb to establish the correct relation with the Tense and which forces it to remain anchored in the inner part of the structure.

Final support for the thesis that the presence of the clitic conveys the composition of a meaning of completion comes from contrasts like those in (29) and (30). (29) and (30) show the impossibility of the clitic when an **activity** (or a **non-constructive accomplishment**) verb co-occurs with indefinite plurals. The presence of this kind of NPs voids the completion reading; in those cases the change of state of an object associated with an inherent endpoint of the event cannot be construed⁹ (observe also that this result is independent of the tense of the main verb):

9. I owe this observation to Anna di Stefano.

- (29) a. Juan comía / comió manzanas.
 'Juan was eating/ate apples'.
 b. * Juan le comía / comió manzanas a María.
 Juan CL3S was eating/eat apples to María
 'Juan was eating/ate María's apples'.
 (cf. *Juan le comía / comió las[the] manzanas a María.*)
 (30) a. Juan rompía / rompió carteles (por la noche).
 'Juan was tearing up / tore up posters during the night'.
 b. * Juan les rompía / rompió carteles a sus enemigos.
 Juan CL3S was tearing up/tore posters to his enemies
 'Juan was tearing up/tore up his enemies' posters'.
 (cf. *Juan les rompía / rompió los[the] carteles a sus enemigos*).¹⁰

This is not the place to develop a thorough account of this lexical-semantic alternation since our main goal here is to explain the syntax of affected dative sentences. However, I will sketch the main lines of the set of principles which would lead the mapping from lexical-semantics to the syntax of these constructions.¹¹ I will assume (as in Speas (1990), among others) that the LCSs of the dative alternation structures are similar to those linking the members of the locative alternation. More strictly, I claim that both, change of location and change of state verbs, have a similar LCS (with a CAUSE predicate) in which a Theme Y is seen as being in other state or location. These lexical-conceptual structures are given in (31):

- (31) a. **Change of location verbs** (*dar, entregar, enseñar*, etc.)
 LCS: X CAUSE [Y to be at Z]
 b. **Change of state verbs** (*comer, cocinar, representar*, etc.)
 LCS: X CAUSE [Y to be at STATE]

In addition, the above statements about two types of changes can function as the 'means clause' (cf. Rappaport and Levin (1988)) of the parallel LCSs encoding the meaning components of ditransitive sentences with affected reading:

- (32) a. LCS: X CAUSE [Z to be AFFECTED]
 by means of [X CAUSE [Y to be at Z]]
 b. LCS: X CAUSE [Z to be AFFECTED]
 by means of [X CAUSE [Y to be at STATE]] (for Z)

(31) will project onto the syntactic structures without clitics, as those in (2); (32) will link the sentences with dative clitics similar to those in (1). In a more articulated theory of projection, it would be necessary to specify precisely how the initial statement of the pairs (32) projects onto the D-structure configurations. One possibility is to think that the initial statements of (32a and b) give rise to a maximal projection with a head bearing a [+final] feature. This feature would license the **culmination** reading of the sentence, once a given 'licensee' lands in the specifier

10. With constructive accomplishments the data appear to be different. *La maestra les dibujó casitas a los niños* sounds quite acceptable in my opinion.

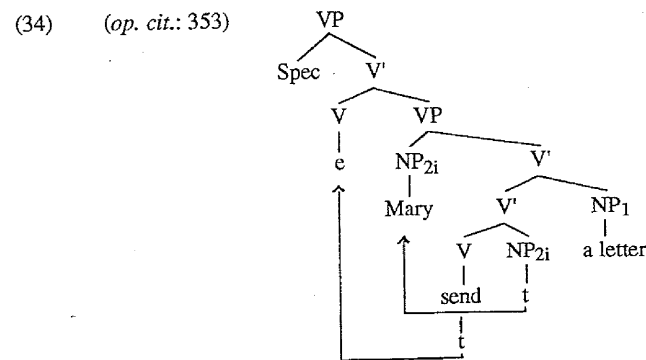
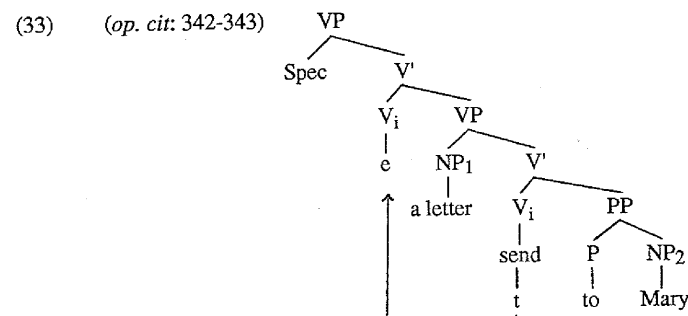
11. Cf. Demonte (1993b) for more details on this matter.

position of the constituent headed by the affected object.

3. The syntax of transitive sentences with affected datives.

3.1. The background.

Up to this point it appears that we have enough empirical justification to think that Spanish does have an alternation similar to the one exhibited by English in the well known structures of (4). As I have already noted, Larson (1988) has articulated a well known analysis for the English Dative alternation supported by the idea that in a sentence like that of (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"... "in this structure", Larson says, "the indirect object is in the structural domain of the direct object NP, but not conversely" (Larson, *op.cit.*:339). In his account, structures like those in (4b), the double object construction 'strictu sensu', derive from (4a) through a process akin to passivization. (33) and (34) illustrate the two cases of the derivation on the dative alternation:



Larson's explanation is based on two well-designed 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. There is an empty verb in (33), then, because this element has to Case-mark twice and besides must do it in two ways: the PP constituent will receive first inherent case from the preposition *to*, under government by *send* (or by the verb *send* through the Case-marking preposition *to*)¹²; once the verb has moved (through head to head movement), it will mark the 'subject' of the complex verbal phrase with structural case.

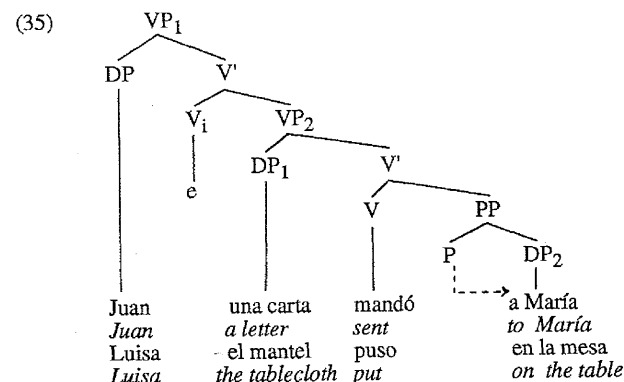
The second pillar --indispensable to preserve the hypothesis that "the same thematic roles must be assigned to the same syntactic positions" (Baker's UTAH, (1988))-- is that any variant with this same basic form can only be a derivational result of the one just described. Thus, for this linguist, the 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 agent in passive constructions are adjuncts of V'. This is the structural representation in (34).

The analysis is both persuasive and refined: the **Uniformity of Theta-assignment Hypothesis** [UTAH] is left intact and it gives due account of c-command asymmetries in both kinds of ditransitive structures. It has some problems, though, and one of them, pointed out by Aoun and Li (1989) and Speas (1990), is that it does not seem to take into account the 'restriction on possession'. However, there are ways to solve this problem. One of them is that adopted by Aoun and Li, which postulates a derivational relation in which the double object construction is the basic structure; such a structure has an empty verb of possession and is the base for the construction with *to*. Nevertheless, this proposal sacrifices the previously safeguarded uniformity hypothesis as far as it eliminates the possession verb in the derivational process. Another proposal is that of Speas (also held by Jackendoff (1990)), which emphasizes the role of the lexicon: (4a) and (4b) would have two partly similar and lexically related Lexical Conceptual Structures, to each of which would correspond one of the two basic syntactic structures already seen. As I have anticipated in § 2.2 I will take here this last approach regarding the Spanish data.

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 (35), where the direct object asymmetrically c-commands the indirect object. As in all standard analyses, I also assume that DP₂ receives inherent case from the preposition (under government by the main verb). Once the verb moves up to the empty verb position it will assign structural objective Case to DP₁, the "subject" of the complex verbal phrase.

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



From this configuration, then, the way reflexive anaphors are found in Spanish constructions without dative clitic (36= 9a,b):

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

passives like (37):

- (37) El premio Nobel fue concedido a Cela. (=13a)
'The Nobel Prize was awarded to Cela'.

as well as the binding of pronouns in (38), similar to (10a,b):

- (38) 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.'

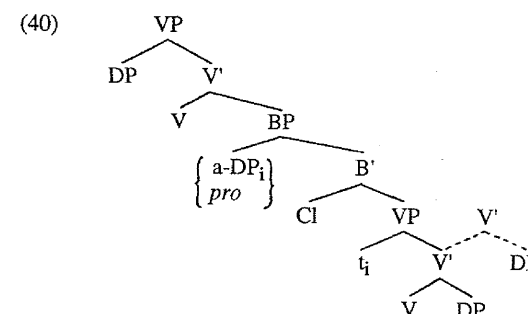
or WCE like those in (39) are easily derived:

- (39) 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 configuration it follows also that only in (38b) and (39b) can we obtain the distributive reading.

3.3. The BPhrase and the structure of VP.

The second and central assumption of this work is that all the structures with affected dative clitic are base generated in a configuration akin to that in (40) where the clitic is the head of a BP [see note 5] 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 adjunct position in V' can be now occupied by the the PP double of the clitic. To be more precise, I would like to suggest that in a representation such as that in (40) the Goal / Benefactive / Source indirect object can choose first to appear in the SPEC of the BP, a position to which it might have moved from its base position higher than the Theme in the VP (I will come back to this question in 3.3.4). As a second option, this indirect object can be an adjunct to V' forming a chain with a *pro* indirect object in the Spec of BP:



I want to remark in advance that the analysis I am proposing does not appear to be compatible with the VP-internal subject hypothesis. The reason is simply that given a structure like (40) with the possible addition of an AGROp it would not be possible for the subject to move out of the VP. Generally, movement is not allowed to skip two specifier positions of successive heads. However, I will not enter here into the alternatives to the standard internal subject hypothesis. I refer the reader to Koizumi (1993) and his hypothesis on the "Split VP" which allows subjects to be generated lower than AGRsP but not within the VP as in the standard proposal.

Given (40), now, there are many questions which need to be answered. Here is a subset of those possible: (i) What independent empirical evidence do we have that the Goal or Benefactive lexical dative can appear in both positions ?; (ii) Is it base generated in the [Spec, BP] or does it get there by movement ?; (iii) What implications does this analysis have for the matters of case assignment ?; (iv) How does this representation explain the constraints on passivization ?

Order constraints, WCO effects and scope of adverbs data will be brought out to answer these questions.

3.3.1. Some constituent-order effects.

Even if it is accepted that Spanish is a free word order language, the existence of constraints on the arrangement of the constituents of the sentences has to be acknowledged. In Goal structures, where the clitic can be absent, the unmarked order is V DO IO. The order V DO IO ranges from being felt as stylistically marked to having an ungrammatical flavor. What the speakers said is that in this second case the structure "asks for the clitic": 13

13. I refer to Demonte (1993a) for an explanation of the facts of scrambling of the IO over the DO

- (41) 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.

Both of the pair of structures in (41) are perfectly normal when the clitic is present:

- (42) a. Le di el libro a María.
 a'. Le di a María el libro.
 b. Le entregué las llaves al dueño.
 b'. Le entregué al dueño las llaves.
 c. Luisa les cocinó un pavo relleno a los invitados.
 Luisa CL3P cooked a turkey stuffed to the visitors
 'Luisa cooked the visitors a stuffed turkey'.
 c'. Luisa les cocinó a los invitados un pavo relleno.
 Luisa CL3P cooked to the visitors a turkey stuffed

We can think, then, that in the (a) (b) and (c) cases of (42) the IO is an adjunct to V', in (a'), (b') and (c') it would be placed in the Spec of BP, the two possibilities shown in (40).

3.3.2. Bound pronouns and CLLD structures.

If we test sentences with dative clitics in which the quantified NP is in the IO and the bound pronoun in the DO we find, in sentences with Goal and Benefactive datives, fragile judgements and not strong differences in grammatical judgements independently of the relative order of both constituents:

- (43) a. (?)? La secretaria le mandó su cheque a cada empleado.
 the secretary CL3S sent his check to each worker
 b. La secretaria le mandó a cada empleado su cheque.
 the secretary CL3S sent to each worker his check
 (44) a. (?)? Le arreglé su coche a cada corredor.
 CL3S fixed his car to each racer
 b. Le arreglé a cada corredor su coche.
 CL3S fixed to each racer his car

My interpretation of the preceding facts is that the pronoun can be bound in any of the two orders since the quantified NP can c-command the direct object NP both from the adjoined to V' position and from the Spec of the BP. It is interesting to note that the sentences in which the distributive reading is more difficult to get are those with Goal Indirect object in which the bound pronoun is in the DO. Does it mean that sentences like (43a) can be processed as having a structure like (35)? This would have an uninteresting consequence for a uniform approach to the nature of dative clitics.

There is, though, another analytical possibility¹⁴ which would take on the

in structures like (41).

14. I owe this observation to M. Suñer (p.c.).

responsibility for the differences in grammaticality judgements to the nature of the adjunct constituent. In fact, it may be thought that the adjunct IO (at least in the structures in which we find the "augmented" benefactive) is a nominal element, akin to a secondary predication. In that case the binding from the adjoined position will be straightforward. In other words, if the IO is a PP in (43) and an NP in (44) the contrast between the two structures will follow without any further stipulation.

Now when the quantified NP is the direct object the contrasts are stronger and the judgements about the two classes of verbs are to a certain extent reversed (recall also the observation about the paradigm in (10)):

- (45) a. ? La secretaria le mandó cada recibo a su solicitante.
 the secretary CL3S sent each bill to its applicant
 b. ?? La secretaria le mandó a su solicitante cada recibo.
 the secretary CL3S sent to its applicant each bill
 (46) a. (?)? La fotógrafa le retrató cada niño a su madre.
 the photographer CL3S photographed each kid to his mother
 b. * La fotógrafa le retrató a su madre cada niño.
 the photographer CL3S photograph each kid to his mother
 (47) a. Le arreglé cada coche a su dueño.
 CL3S I-fixed each car to its owner
 b. * Le arreglé a su dueño cada coche.
 CL3S I-fixed to each owner his car

A qualification is in order, namely, that the (a) cases of (45), (46) and (47) are problematic facts for the analysis (40) since it would be difficult to assert that the DO can c-command the adjoined IO. Now, if you test in other structures the appearance of bound pronouns with other quantifiers the preceding pattern changes in a significant way. Observe the facts in (48):

- (48) 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 (one single message) transmitted, (ii) that there was not map at all drawn. *Ningún*, then, does not bind the pronoun in the final constituent, otherwise we would have a distributed reading as in the *cada* cases. The implication of these judgments is that the problematic sentences (45a), (46a) y (47a) show the intervention of another factor, very possibly the fact that *each* is a quantifier which tends to get wide scope.

In addition, the b cases of the paradigm (45) to (47) also show that the IO in the Spec of BP cannot be bound by the quantifier in the direct object. Both, the a and b facts are consistent with the hypothesis that QPs adjoin to VP (cf. May (1985)). Now, if this is the case and the distributed reading is not possible in (45b), (46b) and (47b), it implies that the IO is necessarily higher in the configuration. A fine-grained analysis of this data, then, appears to provide positive evidence for our proposal.

At this point, I would like to present additional data which might help to make the question of the role of the adjunct IO in c-command relations more precise. Observe that when we left-dislocate the IO with a bound pronoun the results are bad,

independently of the judgments regarding the source sentences, look at (49) and (50):

- (49) a. * A *su_i* solicitante, la secretaria le mandó *cada recibo_i*.
 b. * A *su_i* dueño, Juan le dio *cada cheque_i*.
- (50) a. * A *su_i* madre, la fotografía le retrató *cada niño_i*.
 b. * A *su_i* dueño, le arreglé *cada coche_i*.

Since the judgements regarding the sources are not uniform, one could expect differences in CLLD structures. In other words, given our previous analysis (49) is unexpected (since binding of the pronoun was possible in the source sentence) while (50) is expected, since binding was not allowed. Now, a general explanation for the preceding facts could consist in relating them to the LD of other adjuncts. Observe that in the following pair of passive sentences we do not get the bound reading when the *by*-phrase is fronted. The whole set of facts could imply then that we cannot reconstruct a relation between an adjunct to V' and the inner VP complement when this element is LD:

- (51) a. ? Fue diseñado *cada vestido_i* por *su_i* modelo.¹⁵
 was designed each dress by its model
 'Each dress was designed by its model'.
 b. *Cada vestido_i* fue diseñado por *su_i* modelo.
 each dress was designed by its model
 'Each dress was designed by its model'.
 c. * Por *su_i* modelo fue diseñado *cada vestido_i*.
 by its model was designed each dress

The way CLLD proceeds when we LDislocate the quantified IO over the DO with the bound pronoun appears to add partial positive evidence for the conjecture regarding reconstruction of adjuncts. Observe that we cannot void WCO when we extract the IO of goal sentences, as in (52), similarly to the impossibility of fronting a quantified *by*-phrase, (53)

- (52) a. * A *cada empleado_i* la secretaria le dio *su_i* cheque.
 to each worker the secretary CL3S gave his check
 'Each worker, the secretary gave him his check'.
 b. * A *cada alumno_i* la maestra le dio *su_i* mapa.
 to each student the teacher CL3S gave his map
 'Each student, the teacher gave him his map'.
- (53) a. ?/* Fue diseñada *su_i* casa por *cada arquitecto_i*.
 was designed his house by each architect
 'His house was designed by each architect'.
 b. *Cada arquitecto_i* se diseñó *su_i* casa.
 each architect CLREF3 designed his house
 'Each architect designed his house for himself'.

15. Notice that this sentence cannot be considered totally equivalent to (46b) since *cada vestido* is a subject and can appear higher than the *by*-phrase.

- c. * Por *cada arquitecto_i* fue diseñada *su_i* casa.
 by each architect was designed his house

It appears to me, though, that in structures with Benefactives indirect objects ((52) illustrates cases of goal IOs) it is easier CLLD a quantified IO:

- (54) a. A *cada alumno_i* la maestra le dibujó *su_i* mapa.
 to each student the teacher CL3S drew his map
 b. A *cada niño_i* la madre le lavó *su_i* camisa.
 to each child the mother CL3S washed his shirt.

The voiding of WCO in (54) would be easy to explain if we assume that those IOs are extracted out of the Spec of the BP. The problem is why in the corresponding goal structures extraction (or reconstruction) out of the adjoined position appears to be the only available strategy.

3.3.3. Co-reference effects in inverted subject structures.

A problematic evidence for my proposal¹⁶ comes from the binding of the pronoun in structures with inverted subject. If the inverted subject is adjoined to VP we will not expect co-reference in affected dative structures with inverted subjects since the clitic, according to the analysis in (40), will c-command the subject (and there will be, then, a Principle C violation). (55) shows the typical pattern of goal sentences with inverted subjects: disjoint reference is forceful in (55b) implying that the clitic c-commands the inverted subject:

- (55) a. La madre de *Luisa_i* le_j regaló la chaqueta.
 the mother of Luisa CL3S gave the jacket
 'Luisa's mother gave her the jacket (as a present)'.
 b. * *Le_j* regaló la chaqueta la madre de *Luisa_i*.

In the set of Benefactive affected dative structures the (co/disjoint) reference judgements are not as strict as in the previous case. The generalization could be the following:

- (56) In benefactive/source dative constructions with inverted subjects the stronger the inalienable possession reading, the stronger the disjoint reference effect.
- (57) a. *Le* preparó la merienda la madre de *Juan*.
 CL3S prepared the afternoon snack the mother of Juan
 b. % *Le* arregló el coche el mecánico de *Juan*.
 CL3S fixed the car the mechanic of Juan
 c. * *Le* operó la nariz el marido de *Luisa*.
 CL3S operated the nose the husband of Luisa
 d. * *Le* lavó la cara la maestra de *José*.
 CL3S washed the face the teacher of José

In (57a) most speakers accept a co-reference reading. In (57b) judgments range

16. This observation was pointed out to me again by M. Luisa Zubizarreta.

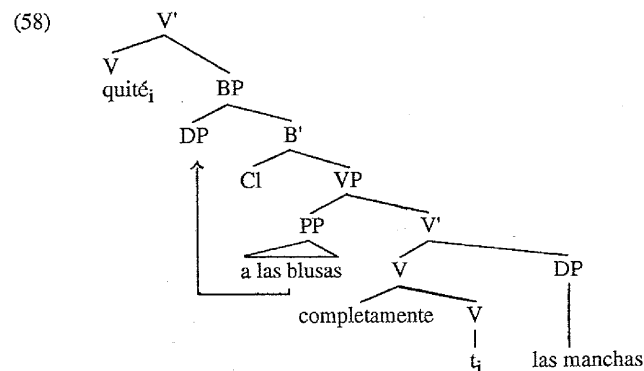
from considerable doubt to unacceptability of co-reference. In (57c) and (57d) disjoint reference is reported as forceful.¹⁷ Let us pay attention to the fact that (57a) and (57b) show an alienable possession relation between the dative and the DO, while in (57c) and (57d) the direct object is unalienable possessed.

It has been extensively argued (cf. Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992) as well as Brugger (1993)) that the definite DO determiner in unalienable possession constructions is an expletive determiner --without denotational content-- concatenated (via Predicational binding) with the possessor dative phrase. If this consideration is correct, the co-reference effect found in (57a) and (57b) might be a side effect due to the fact that the inverted subject can be adjoined upper in the tree since it does not need to satisfy a Predication relation with the clitic.

3.3.4. Adverbial Scope and the structure of VP.

In the preceding subsections of § 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 Beta Phrase whose specifier can be occupied by a dative lexical NP/PP. I want to present now additional evidence showing that this BP is higher than the VP shell type hierarchical structure and that the dative lexical NP raises to the [Spec, BP]. Incidentally, this evidence might have some bearing on the question of the role of an AGRoP and its relative position regarding this BP.

There are two adverbial paradigms which can be relevant for the proposal I am trying to test. The first is that coming out from V adverbs like *completamente* 'completely'. Since *completamente* is a verbal adverb it is reasonable to think that it is generated left-adjoined to the V, as shown in (58):



Observe now the sentences in (59):

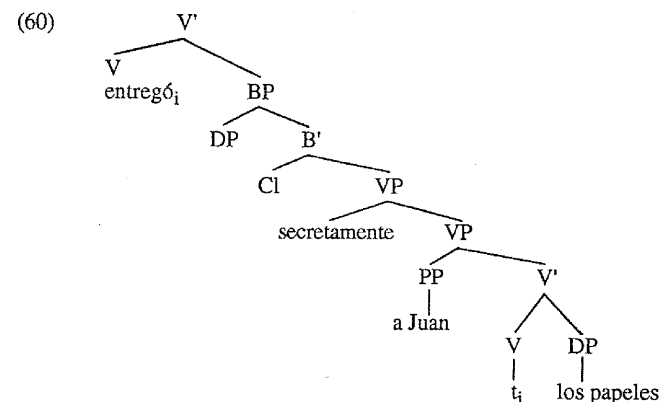
17. (57c) and (57d) are inalienable possession expressions with a type-interpretation, where the DO-NP can be construed as referring to a plurality of things which happen to be of the same type and where a distributive interpretation is found if the possessor is plural (cf. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) on this regard):

- (i) La maestra de José y de Luis *Les* lavó la cara.
'José's and Luisa's teacher washed their faces'.

- (59) a. Les quité a las blusas completamente las manchas.
b. ?(?) Les quité las manchas completamente a las blusas.
c. ?? Les quité completamente a las blusas las manchas.
d. Les quité completamente las manchas a las blusas.

The grammatical (59a) and (59d) as well as the ungrammatical (59c) would be straightforward realizations of the base sentences, given our analysis. The dubious (59b) could indicate that there is no AGRoP which the DO can rise up to.

Our second paradigm is the one formed by ditransitive sentences with a VP adverb. Assuming that an adverb is licensed by adjoining to the maximal projection of its licenser, VP adverbs would adjoin to VP, as in (60):



The crucial data on this regard are the following:

- (61) a. * Le entregó secretamente a Juan los papeles.
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 agrammatical order is that in which the adverb precedes an IO preceding itself a DO. (61a) indicates, then, that a "preposed" IO is always higher than the Verb Phrase. It has also to be noted that (61c) (which should be compared to (51b)) leads to the conclusion that the DO also moves out of the VP, perhaps to a phrase located between the BP and the lexical VP.

3.4. Passives in ditransitive sentences.

From the analysis that I have proposed for the structures with affected dative goals and augmented benefactives I want also deduce the constraints on passivization in structures with two internal arguments. Now, before going into the implementation of the analysis I would like to organize the data in a comparative perspective.

Regarding passives of the two alternative projections of the dative alternation, Czepluch (1980) gave the following summary of the English data, where the four tested dialects come from a set of six linguists and where it is a common judgement (Oehrle (1976); Larson (1988)) that the (c) sentence of (62) can be considered well

formed only if the IO is a pronominal:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| (62) | a. | The book was given Mary. | ok | ok | ok | ok |
| | b. | Mary was given the book. | ok | ok | ok | ok |
| | c. | The book was given Mary/her. | ok | ok | ok | * |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| (63) | a. | The book was bought for Mary. | ok | ok | ok | ok |
| | b. | Mary was bought the book. | * | ? | ok | ok |
| | c. | The book was bought Mary/her. | * | * | ok | * |

The generalization appears to be that English passivizes both the Theme and the Goal in Goal dative structures and has strong constraints for the passivization of any of the arguments in the augmented Benefactive structure (recall also (11) and (12) above).

In Dutch and German, even if these languages allow two VP-internal NPs, only passivization of the Theme DO is possible. It has to be noted that in those languages the IOs are assigned dative Case (the data come from Haegeman (1985)):

- (64) **Dutch**
- * Marie/zij werd het boek gegeven.
Marie/she was the book given
 - Het boek werd Marie/haar gegeven.
the book was Marie/her given
- (65) **German**
- * Maria/Sie wurde das Buch gegeben.
Maria/she was the book given
 - Das Buch wurde Maria/Ihr gegeben.
the book was Maria/her given

Spanish is like German and Dutch in allowing only passivization of the Theme, similar to them it shows overtly Dative Case on the IO. Moreover, a rule for Spanish appears to be that only Goal ditransitive structures admit passivization, Benefactive dative sentences precludes passives (this is illustrated in (66)):

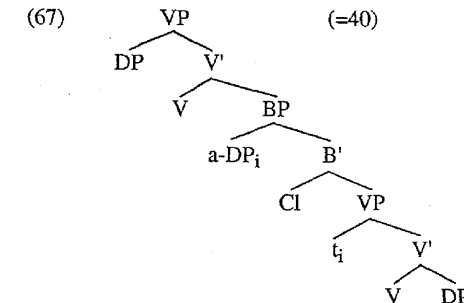
- (66) a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.
The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year'.
b. * El coche le fue arreglado a Juan anteayer.
The car was fixed (for) Juan the day before yesterday'.

What is also true for Spanish is that speakers show a considerable idiosyncratic variation. *Preparar*, for instance, a creation verb with an augmented benefactive, is not totally out in passives: *La cena le fue preparada al presidente* 'Dinner was prepared (for) the president', while *enseñar*, that has a Goal IO, is quite unacceptable in a similar construction: **El ruso le fue enseñado a María por un profesor muy bueno* 'Russian was taught to Mary by a very good teacher'.

To account for this complex set of data, my first assumption will be (as usual) that passive absorbs structural accusative (with no qualification up to this point regarding whether this is assigned through Spec-head agreement or through government by the verb). Accusative is by default the structural verbal Case. From this presupposition, it follows that in Spanish passive sentences (as well as in German and Dutch) the

only NPs needing to move in order to be case marked will be the Theme ones. It also follows the possibility of (62b), the English sentence where the Goal passivizes, since in English both objects receive Accusative case.

My second assumption is that (40) (repeated below as (67)) is the only structure available for sentences with an affected IO, either Spanish sentences with dative clitic or Germanic double object structures:



I also want to consider the generalization regarding English, namely, that sentences like *A book was given John/him* are much better when the IO is a pronominal, as the unmarked case for the passivization of a Theme in a double object configuration akin to (67). The intuition underlying this fact is that if the upper DP in the VP shell can be felt as much closer to the verb (and perhaps as reanalyzed with it being a clitic like element), then the movement of the inner DP becomes possible.

With these assumptions in mind, the following analysis could be taken into consideration. The whole lack of passivization in sentences with the structure in (67) (English (63) and Spanish (66b)) results as a violation of relativized minimality. Recall that we have assumed that in such structures the Spec of the BP phrase is occupied by the IO. If this assumption is correct, the inner DP will not have an escape hatch through which to go up to the AgrSP to acquire Nominative Case. This would be an explanation in terms of shortest movement: the Theme has skipped a position it could have reached by a shorter movement had this position not been filled. Phrasing this explanation in other terms, we can say that NP-movement of the inner DP will give rise to an ECP violation since an A constituent will cross over an A specifier.

An important additional question is how in certain cases do we obtain passives of the Theme in double object structures (impossible in Spanish (66b), possible in German/Dutch (64b, 65b) and possible in English (62b) with qualifications). To handle this issue we could suggest two possibilities, maybe inextricably related: (a) perhaps certain languages do not have the functional BP projection, (b) perhaps the impossibility of the movement is due to the fact that the Spec of the functional part is not occupied by a constituent, the opposite situation to the one entertained for the Spanish Case. If the first possibility is tenable, we can think that this kind of representation allows incorporation of the head of the higher BP into the V. As a consequence the domain of the verb will be extended and the object Theme will have its way opened to go up to obtain nominative Case: the object can now rise because it had become the object of the complex V+N after incorporation. In other words, when the higher DP (or its head) incorporates into the verb there is no barrier impeding the government of the trace of the inner DP since Goal incorporation enlarges the domain of the chain.

A non-interesting consequence is that this analysis says that this incorporation is forceful in German, Dutch and Spanish Goal ditransitive structures, while it appears to be optional in English. A tentative line of account can be conceived, though. In English, incorporation appears to be possible only when the IO is an element of the argument structure of the verb, benefactives are not incorporated.¹⁸ We might suppose that the same happens in Spanish. However, German and Dutch are still problematic. It may be important to keep in mind, regarding Dutch and German, an observation due to Haegeman as to the passives of double objects in the former language. As she observes, the nominativized Theme can appear in Dutch not only at the beginning of the sentence but also after the verb. The relevant example is in (68) which is a variation of (65a) above:

- (68) Marie / haar_{dat} werd het boek_{nom} gegeven.

Haegeman (1985) claims that in this sentence nominative case is assigned by transmission: "...nominative assignment to the direct object can be achieved either through NP movement...or else the nominative may be assigned VP internally, possibly by a form of chain-government, as argued by den Besten (1981)" (*op.cit.*: 282). Dutch being a verb second language, we can still think that the Dative is now located in a Topic position. Perhaps the movement of the Dative to the Topic position opens the way for the movement of the Theme, which can now move up to be assigned Nominative Case. This way, (64b) would not be problematic anymore since it might be derived from (68). We will not be forced to assume, then, that Dutch has obligatory incorporation.

4. Conclusions.

In this paper I have presented some evidence arguing in favour of the two following claims: (a) There exists in Spanish a lexical-conceptual alternation in sentences with two internal arguments founded on a distinction between affected and non-affected indirect arguments which can be related to the completeness of the event; (b) this lexical difference leads to a syntactic distinction between ditransitive sentences with and without a dative clitic.

I have argued that the universal configuration of VP requires, therefore, a BP functional projection where affected second objects are linked. I have presented internal details of this functional projection and I have displayed the various facts of order, scope, binding and chain formation which are better accounted for if this configuration is assumed.

18. Perhaps in English there is an abstract affected clitic (cf. Keyser & Roeper, 1992) and the lexical Benefactive is in the Spec of BP. The configuration is then closed for movement.

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