

## Dative Alternations in Spanish: Syntax or Semantics?

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### 1. Introduction

- We examine alternations between PPs and clitic doubled dative DPs in Spanish, as in (1).
- (1) a. *Juan envió la carta a Bristol.*  
 Juan sent the letter to Bristol.  
 ‘Juan sent the letter to Bristol’ (caused motion; “Prepositional Dative Construction” (PDC))
- b. *Juan le<sub>i</sub> envió la carta a Bristol<sub>i</sub>.*  
 Juan CL.dat.3SG sent the letter to Bristol.  
 ‘Juan sent Bristol the letter’ (caused possession; “Indirect Object Construction” (IOC))
- It is long noted that (1) shares many properties, mostly semantic, with English dative alternations.
  - Several researchers (Demonte 1995, Blears 2001, Cuervo 2003, De Pedro Munilla 2004, *inter alia*) have thus assumed that the standard analysis for English --- wherein the alternation is between two dyadic heads that reverse asymmetric c-command relationships --- is applicable to Spanish as well.
  - We support the view that relates the alternations. However, we review the shell data and conclude that that analysis is not entirely appropriate since the c-command asymmetries do not align neatly.
  - We suggest that what is common is not the syntactic relationship between the DPs within *each* clause, but the contrast in how the goal/recipient is realized *across* clauses: PP vs. indirect object.
  - In particular, conceiving of thematic roles as lexical entailments (Dowty 1991, Beavers 2006), we argue that the oblique/dative contrast reflects the universal semantic mapping principle in (2).

### (2) Morphosyntactic Alignment Principle (MAP) (Preliminary):

In an argument/oblique alternation of argument *x* the direct argument realization of *x* has monotonically stronger truth conditions associated with it than the corresponding oblique realization. (Beavers 2006, 2008)

- Thus (1) reflects a contrast between an oblique goal vs. dative possessor qua a subtype of goal, a fact true of both languages and giving us the link between them.
- We further support this correlation by showing that Spanish datives alternate with more obliques than the English indirect object, but always conforming to (2), supporting its underlying nature.
- We conclude by arguing that IO is encoded differently in the two languages --- relationally in English but not in Spanish --- predicting that the languages should differ in their surface behavior.

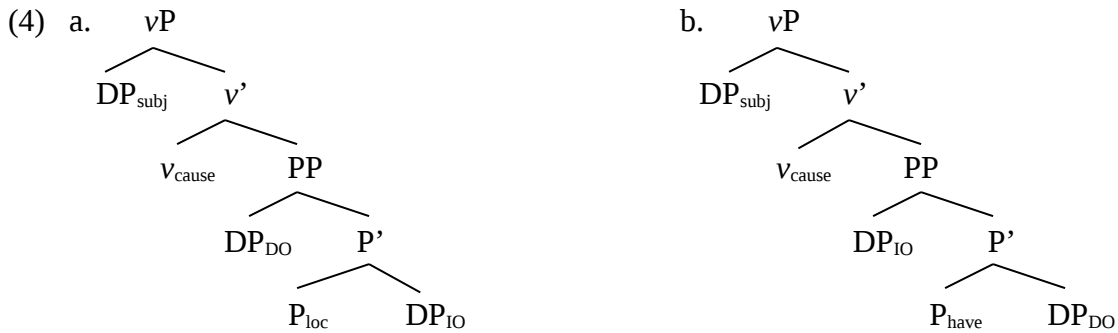
### 2. Background

- English triadic verbs like *send* show the ‘dative alternation’, as illustrated in (3a/b), where the third argument appears as an oblique (3a) or an object (3b), reflecting two different lexical decompositions.

- (3) a. John sent a letter to Mary. [ *x* CAUSE [*y* GO TO *z*] ]  
 b. John sent Mary a letter. [ *x* CAUSE [*z* HAVE *y*] ]

- Harley (2003) (following Larson 1988, Pesetsky 1995) proposes that these decompositions project two different underlying structures (4), deriving the two alternate structures for (3), which capture the

standard asymmetric c-command facts first shown by Barss and Lasnik (1986).



•Bleam (2001) extends this analysis to (1). She supports this with two pieces of evidence. First, (1) has similar contrastive semantic properties as (3). For instance, *Londres* ‘London’ can be used in a PDC but not in an IOC, unless *Londres* refers to an entity that can possess (e.g. Scotland Yard).

- (5) a. *Juan envió la carta a Londres.* (PDC)  
 John sent the letter to London  
 ‘John sent the letter to London.’  
 b.#*Juan le envió la carta a Londres.* (IOC)  
 John CL sent the letter to London  
 # ‘John sent London a letter.’ (Infelicitous unless *Londres* refers to “Scotland Yard”)

•Second, Bleam points out that the English and Spanish counterparts exhibit parallel binding asymmetries and scope freezing: a DO quantifier can bind into the oblique PP but not vice versa, and the IO quantifier can bind into the DO but not versa, as in (6) and (7) for both languages.

- (6) a. *El editor envió [cada libro]<sub>i</sub> a su<sub>i</sub> autor.*  
 the editor sent each book to its author.  
 ‘The editor sent [ each book]<sub>i</sub> to its<sub>i</sub> author.’  
 b. \**El editor envió su<sub>i</sub> libro a [ cada autor]<sub>i</sub>.*  
 the editor sent his book to each author.  
 ‘\*The editor sent her<sub>i</sub> book to [ each author]<sub>i</sub>.’ (PDC, Bleam exx. (14), (16))
- (7) a. *El editor le envió [a cada autor]<sub>i</sub> su<sub>i</sub> libro.*  
 the editor CL sent each author his book’  
 ‘The editor sent [ each author]<sub>i</sub> her<sub>i</sub> book. ’  
 b. \**El editor le envió a su<sub>i</sub> autor [cada libro]<sub>i</sub>.*  
 the editor CL sent its author each book.  
 ‘\*The editor sent its<sub>i</sub> author [ each book]<sub>i</sub>.’ (IOC, Bleam exx. (15), (17))

•Scope freezing is not observed in PDC, but it occurs in IOCs in both languages:

- (8) *Juan envió todo libro a un pariente.* DO<sub>A</sub> IO<sub>E</sub> (PDC, Bleam exx. (22), (24))  
 John sent every book to a relative.  
 ‘John sent every book to a relative’ (A>E, E>A)
- (9) *Juan le envió a un pariente todo libro (que había robado...).* IO<sub>E</sub> DO<sub>A</sub> (IOC, Bleam exx. (23), (25))  
 John CL sent to a relative every book (that he had stolen).  
 ‘John sent a relative every book (that he had stolen...)’ (E>A, ??A>E)

•These commonalities suggest the same basic syntactic analysis is applicable in both languages.

•However, all of the IOC sentences used by Bleam have IO DO word order. Yet the neutral word order

is DO IO as in (1b), as has been noted by all working on the Spanish dative alternation.

•As Bleam herself admits (following Uriagereka 1988), the parallels between English DOC and Spanish IOC only obtain in the IO DO order in Spanish. In the unmarked DO IO order, the parallelism disappears: the DO can bind into the IO and scope freezing does not occur:

(10) *El editor le envió [cada libro]<sub>i</sub> a su<sub>i</sub> autor.* (Bleam ex. (18))  
 the editor CL sent each book to its author.

(11) *El editor le envió todo libro a un pariente.* DO<sub>A</sub> IO<sub>E</sub> (Bleam ex. (26))  
 the editor CL sent every book to a relative (A>E, E>A)

•Bleam argues that sentences where the DO appears before the IO still have the IO DO order underlyingly (at first Merge), and suggests deriving the DO IO order by moving the DO across IO.

(12) a. [ IO ... [ DO ... ] ] (IOC)  
 b. [ DO<sub>i</sub> ... [ IO ... [ t<sub>i</sub> ... ] ] ] (IOC)

•She provides the somewhat marginal but acceptable sentence as in (13) to argue for such movement, where the pre-Move order is still IO DO and thus the appropriate c-command relationship still obtains.

(13) (?) *El editor le envió su<sub>i</sub> libro a cada autor<sub>i</sub>.* (Bleam ex. (19))  
 the editor CL sent his book to each author

•With respect to scope freezing she concludes: "... the scope freezing effect appears to be a property of surface structure, and not due to IO doubling per se" (p. 239), weakening the parallelism argument, although de Pedro Munilla (2004) argues that the apparent symmetry follows from reconstruction.

• However, neither author discusses what motivates the DO movement. Cuervo (2003) proposes movement checks EPP features. But if this is obligatory, it is not clear how she handles IO DO order.

•In sum, there is no categorical evidence for the English analysis of the dative alternation in Spanish, focusing on strict relationships of the two overt DPs, since the picture is murkier than the English data:

(14) a. **PDC:** V DO PP : PP is goal, DO can bind into PP, not vice versa  
 b. **IOC:** CL-V IO DO : IO is possessor, IO can bind into DO, not vice versa, marked order  
 c. **IOC:** CL-V DO IO : IO is possessor, IO and DO can bind into each other, unmarked order

• One basic issue with the above analyses is that they assume that the neutral word order is derived. However, the null hypothesis is that DO IO is basic, and scrambling produces marked word orders.

(15) a. [ DO ... [ IO ... ] ] (IOC)  
 b. [ IO<sub>i</sub> ... [ DO ... [ t<sub>i</sub> ... ] ] ] (IOC)

•We adopt this analysis as a starting point, but two problems arise: (a) where is the parallelism with English (since this is the *opposite* relationship) and (b) how do we capture the binding facts in (14)?

•We pursue an alternative that only posits similarity between English and Spanish at the level at which it is observed: a semantic correspondence with how *a single DP* --- the goal/recipient --- is realized.

•We then suggest that the syntactic facts of English and Spanish follow from how indirect objects are coded in each language, combined with the role of the clitic in determining binding in Spanish.

### 3. The Morphosyntactic Alignment Principle

- There is a crucial property underlying HAVE/GO TO: a recipient can be analyzed as a type of goal --- one that also comes to possess (Jackendoff 1990, Pesetsky 1995, Beavers 2006, 2008), predicting that the *to* variant has a strictly wider set of readings than the IO variant:

- (16) a. John sent a book to London. (Caused motion *or* the “Scotland Yard reading”)  
b. #John sent London a book. (Only the “Scotland Yard” reading)  
c.  $\forall x \forall y \forall e [receive'(x,y,e) \rightarrow arrive'(y,x,e)]$  (Recipient is “affected goal”; Jackendoff 1990:267)

The IO encoding indicates a monotonic strengthening of the thematic role over the oblique although the hierarchy in (16c). This monotonic strengthening is not restricted to datives. Direct object/oblique alternations show this effect along an affectedness hierarchy in (19) (Beavers 2008):

- (17) a. John loaded the wagon with hay. (Wagon fully loaded)  
b. John loaded hay onto the wagon. (Wagon may be fully or partly loaded)  
(18) a. John cut the rope. (Rope comes to be cut, either completely up or partly)  
b. John cut at the rope. (Rope may become cut or may be missed)  
(19)  $\forall x \forall e [quantized.change'(x,e) \rightarrow non-quantized.change'(x,e) \rightarrow participant'(x,e)]$

- The fundamental generalization is that semantically contentful direct/oblique argument alternations encode a monotonic strengthening of truth conditions on the thematic role of the participants (where a thematic role is conceived of as a set of lexical entailments; Dowty 1991):

#### (20) Morphosyntactic Alignment Principle (MAP) (Revised):

In an argument/oblique alternation of argument *x* the direct argument realization of *x* has monotonically stronger truth conditions associated with it (along some thematic hierarchy) than the corresponding oblique realization. (Beavers 2006, 2008)

- The MAP underlies the Spanish dative alternation as well:

- (21) a. *Juan envió la carta a Pedro/Londres.*  
Juan sent the letter to Peter/London  
'Juan sent the letter to Peter/London.'  
b. *Juan le<sub>i</sub> envió la carta a Pedro;/#Londres<sub>i</sub>.*  
Juan CL gave the letter to Peter/London.  
'Juan sent Peter/#London the letter'

- However, the MAP seems like a very general instrument to capture the alternation --- how significant is monotonic strengthening vis-a-vis the dative alternation? Could it be incidental?
- We discuss several cases beyond HAVE/GO TO showing the pervasiveness of the MAP in Spanish. In the interest of time we leave the hierarchies vague, although “affectedness” is typically key.

#### DE 'from/off'~Dative

- With *de*/Dative alternations the contrast is between the removal from a location vs. the removal of an integral part, thus altering the make-up of something, a strictly stronger reading:

- (22) a. *Juan quitó una silla del comedor.*  
Juan removed a chair from.the diningroom  
'John removed a chair from the dining room' (i.e. takes it out of the room)  
b. *Juan le quitó una silla al comedor.*  
Juan CL removed a chair to.the diningroom  
'John removed a chair from the dining room set' (i.e. “destroys” or “ruins” the set)

- Other such verbs are *sacar* ‘to extract/take out’, *arrancar* ‘to pull out’, *confiscar* ‘to confiscate’, etc. We illustrate the contrast by contexts that require/deny the one reading. In (23) the “integral part” reading is ruled out and thus so is the IOC (cp. the “Scotland Yard” effect.)

- (23) a. *No pudo sacar la raíz de la tierra.* (PDC)  
 neg s/he.could take.out the root from the ground.  
 ‘S/he could not take the root out of the ground’
- b. \**No le pudo sacar la raíz a la tierra.* (IOC)  
 neg CL s/he.could take.out the root to the ground (roots are never integral to the ground)

- However, an interesting thing happens when the stronger reading is contextually required: it *must* be encoded as dative, contra the MAP, where the oblique should be compatible with both readings:

- (24) a. \**No pudo sacar la muela del niño.* (PDC)  
 neg s/he.could extract the molar from the boy
- b. *No le pudo sacar la muela al niño.* (IOC)  
 neg CL s/he.could extract the molar to John  
 ‘S/he could not get the boy’s molar out’ (molars are always integral to human beings)

- Given the independent evidence for the MAP, this could be blocking: the stronger reading in (24b) blocks this reading in (24a). Indeed, we might expect a typology relationships between variants:

- (25) a. The oblique variant is compatible with any reading, including that of the argument variant.  
 b. The argument variant may block the stronger reading in the oblique variant categorically.  
 c. The oblique variant may q-implicate that the argument variant reading does not hold.

- All English alternations have the property in (25a), while in Spanish some have (25a) and some (25b). It is not hard to imagine languages where (25c) holds, though we know of no examples.

#### EN ‘into/onto’~Dative: Variant (I)

- In *en*/Dative alternations, the contrast is the opposite of *de*/Dative alternations; the oblique entails arrival at a goal, while the dative entails arrival plus an effect on the goal, again conforming to the MAP (cp. the English locative alternation above):

- (26) a. *Juan puso un mantel en la mesa.* (PDC)  
 Juan put the tablecloth in the table.  
 ‘John put the tablecloth on the table.’ (i.e. he placed it there)
- b. *Juan le puso un mantel a la mesa.* (IOC)  
 Juan CL put the tablecloth to the table.  
 ‘John put the tablecloth on the table.’ (i.e. he covered the table with it qua setting it)

- Other such verbs include *meter* ‘to insert/put in(to)’, *colocar* ‘to place’, etc. (27) and (28) illustrate the meaning differences between PDC and IOC, where contexts that exclude the stronger reading occur only in the PDC and those precluding the weaker reading occur only in the IOC:

- (27) a. *Juan metió la fruta en el frigo.* (PDC)  
 John inserted the fruit in the fridge  
 ‘John put the fruit into the fridge’
- b. \**Juan le metió la fruta al frigo.* (IOC)  
 John CL inserted the fruit to.the fridge (fruit never becomes integral to fridges)
- (28) a. \**Primero metemos el relleno en el pavo y luego lo cocemos al horno por varias horas.* (PDC)  
 first we.insert the stuffing in the turkey and it we.cook at.the oven for several hours
- b. *Primero le metemos el relleno al pavo y luego lo cocemos al horno por varias horas.* (IOC)

First CL we insert the stuffing to the turkey and it we cook at the oven for several hours  
 ‘We first put the stuffing in the turkey and bake it for several hours’  
 (stuffing is necessarily integral part of turkey, dead bird to be eaten)

En 'in/on'~DAT: Variant (II)

- A second variant contrast is stative, but has a similar meaning. In (29a) the subject discovers something strange in the box, while in (29b) the box is characterized by strangeness.

(29) a. *Juan vio algo extraño en la caja.* (PDC)  
 Juan saw something strange in the box  
 ‘John saw something strange in the box’ (i.e. simple co-location)

b. *Juan le vio algo extraño a la caja.* (IOC)  
 Juan CL saw something strange to her  
 ‘John found the box strange’ (i.e. characterized by strangeness)

- Thus this again conforms to the MAP, since being characterized by strangeness means having at least one strange quality, though it is “holistically” distributed about the strange participant.
- Perception verbs such as *ver* ‘to see’, *encontrar* ‘to find’, *detectar* ‘to detect’, *reconocer* ‘to recognize’, *oír* ‘to hear’, *sentir* ‘to feel’, etc. show a similar alternation. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate the meaning differences between PDC and IOC (and again showing the blocking effect).

(30) a. *El pobre señor no encuetra el carnet en su cartera.* (PDC)  
 the poor man neg finds the ID in his wallet  
 ‘The poor man does not find his ID in his wallet.’ (ID never characterizes wallet)

b. *\*El pobre señor no le encuentra el carnet a su cartera.* (IOC)  
 The poor man neg CL finds the ID to his wallet

(31) a. *\*El pobre señor no encuentra ningún significado en la vida.* (PDC)  
 the poor man neg finds no meaning in the life

b. *El pobre señor no le encuentra ningún significado a la vida.* (IOC)  
 The poor man neg CL finds no meaning to the life  
 ‘The poor man does not find any meaning in/about his life.’ (meaning characterizes life)

PARA ‘for’~Dative

- In *para*/Dative alternations the contrast is again one of possession. In (32a) the subject does not necessarily intend for the recipient to possess the theme, while in (32b) the same action is performed with this intention. This requires in turn of the recipient that they be capable of possession:

(32) a. *Juan compró una casa para su hijo primogénito.* (PDC)  
 Juan bought a house for his first son.  
 ‘John bought a house for his first son’

b. *Juan le compró una casa a su hijo primogénito.* (IOC)  
 Juan CL bought a house to his first son.  
 ‘John bought his first son a house’

- This alternation occurs with creation verbs *dibujar* ‘draw’, *hacer* ‘make’, *construir* ‘construct’, etc, and acquisition verbs *comprar* ‘buy’, *conseguir* ‘get’, *encontrar* ‘find’, *buscar* ‘search’, etc.
- However, like the canonical dative alternations, no blocking occurs --- the PDC is acceptable with both weak and strong readings.

## Summary

- What all of these alternations bear in common is the MAP, suggesting its general applicability:

(33) Oblique encoding/weaker reading ~ Direct argument encoding/stronger reading for one argument.

- The nature of the weak/strong reading varies on a verb-by-verb basis, characterizable as follows:

(34) a. If the third argument is a goal (*a, en, para*), a source (*de*), or static locative (*en*);  
b. The nature of the extra entailment on the third argument, e.g. the type of affectedness.

- This is what links Spanish and English together, and must be accounted for. The question is simply how the MAP is instantiated in a cross-linguistically viable way.
- Beavers (2006, 2008) argues that the MAP is a constraint on verbal polysemy, i.e. on possible argument structures shared by a single verb, so that variants contrast appropriately along some thematic hierarchy. C-command follows from separate linking principles:

(35) For  $\forall x \forall y \forall e [receive'(x,y,e) \rightarrow arrive'(y,x,e)]$ ,  $y$  = theme and  $x$  = goal/recipient:

- a. *send*, < DP[agent], DP[theme], **PP[goal]** > / < DP[agent], **DP[recipient]**, DP[theme] >
- b. \**send*, < DP[agent], DP[theme], **PP[recipient]** > / < DP[agent], **DP[goal]**, DP[theme] >

- However, Beavers (2008) also suggests that one *could* view the MAP as a constraint on inventories of subevental syntactic predicates, i.e. the reason Harley's  $P_{HAVE}$  and  $P_{LOC}$  differ in terms of their Spec/Comp relationships is to conform to the MAP.

(36) For  $\forall x \forall y \forall e [receive'(x,y,e) \rightarrow arrive'(y,x,e)]$ ,  $y$  = theme and  $x$  = goal/recipient:

- a. [<sub>PP</sub> DP[theme] [<sub>P'</sub> P<sub>GOAL</sub> **PP[goal]** ] ] / [<sub>PP</sub> **DP[recipient]** [<sub>P'</sub> P<sub>HAVE</sub> DP[theme] ] ]
- b. \* [<sub>PP</sub> **DP[goal]** [<sub>P'</sub> P<sub>GOAL</sub> PP[theme] ] ] / [<sub>PP</sub> DP[theme] [<sub>P'</sub> P<sub>HAVE</sub> **DP[recipient]** ] ]

- The semantic constraint is on the goal/recipient, but the dyadic nature of the alternating heads gives the reversal of c-command as a "free rider".
- There are reasons to be skeptical of any variant of the shell analysis (see Wechsler 2008 for an extensive critique). However, focusing purely on the putative c-command facts it does seem to do the job for English, suggesting that the MAP may be instantiated in this way.
- But English functional head analyses are not applicable to Spanish.
- The only solution is to assume that the commonality has to do solely with the grammatical function of the single argument --- oblique vs. indirect object in dative alternations.
- The difference between the two languages --- by which the word order and c-command differences follow --- is the way different grammatical functions, especially IO, are encoded in each language:

(37) a. In English IO is coded *positionally*, i.e. syntactically, relative to other DP positions.  
b. In Spanish IO is coded by a *clitic*, i.e. morphologically, with optional *a* DP doubling.

- This in turn has an effect on the syntactic diagnostics normally expected of dative alternations:
  - In English, the crucial positional fact is that the IO *always* precedes the DO. Thus the asymmetric c-command relationships follow as categorical but incidental fact about English IOs
  - In Spanish, the syntactic relationship of the IO and DO DPs is not part of the IO encoding, leading to a lack of rigid asymmetries between them.
- This is *not* to say that Spanish IO isn't also partly positional, only that it is not *relative to other DPs*.
- This means we should expect no categorical similarities between English and Spanish having to do with phrase structure. But for what facts we do have, how can we explain them?

#### 4. Cross-Linguistic Variation

- The problem with Spanish is the lack of clear asymmetries between the DO and the IO in (38c).

(38) a. **PDC:** V DO PP : PP is goal, DO can bind into PP, not vice versa.  
b. **IOC:** CL-V IO DO : IO is possessor, IO can bind into DO, not vice versa.  
c. **IOC:** CL-V DO IO : IO is possessor, IO and DO can bind into each other.

- However, there is a solution. We can take again the following null hypothesis that DO IO is basic:

(39) a. [ CL-V ... [ DO ... [ IO ... ] ] ]  
b. [ CL-V ... [ IO<sub>i</sub> ... [ DO ... [ t<sub>i</sub> ... ] ] ] ]

- If we simply allow that the clitic can be a binder (whether it is a functional head or a piece of morphology), the variation in (38b,c) follows for free:
  - In (39a) the clitic precedes/c-commands the DO, which in turn precedes/c-commands the IO. The clitic can ostensibly bind (into) the DO, which can in turn bind into the IO.
  - In (39b) both the clitic and the IO precede/c-command the DO, ruling out any binding by the DO.
- What is the evidence for the clitic as a binder? (40) shows that a clitic can bind a reflexive.

(40) *Los fracasos le<sub>i</sub> arrebataron la confianza en sí misma<sub>i</sub>.*  
the failures CL took.away the confidence in herself  
'The failures wrenched from her (her) confidence in herself'

- Were the clitic not a binder, this would be a Principle A violation. So clearly, clitics can bind.
- Cuervo (2003) argues against a clitic as binder on three grounds, also arguing against DO IO order.
  - She states, "... if it is the clitic that can bind into a theme DP, but the theme is higher than the dative DP, then such an approach would predict that in those constructions, the accusative should also be able to bind into the lower dative DP.(p-42)" She gives (41) to demonstrate this.

(41) *\*/??La policía les entregó los bebés a sus (respectivos) padres.* (Cuervo ex. (51))  
the police CL.3PL gave the babies to their respective parents.  
'The police gave the babies to their respective parents'

- However, (41) is not an appropriate sentence to prove her point, since it is independently ill-formed because it has two animate 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs.
  - First this sentence is ill-formed for the lack of the particle *a*, the marking for an animate DO.
  - Even after we add *a*-personal to the DO, the sentence is still hard to process because we would have two DPs marked with *a* that are competing to be linked to the dative clitic *les* (3PL).
- For this reason Spanish ditransitives avoid two animate 3<sup>rd</sup> person object DPs. Once we avoid this, we get well-formed sentences as in (42) and (43); in (43) the DO binds into the IO, contra Cuervo.

(42) *La policía me entregó a los bebés.*  
the police CL.1SG gave to the babies  
'The police gave me back the babies'

(43) *La policía le entregó la cartera a su dueño.*  
the police CL gave the wallet to its owner  
'The police gave the wallet back to its owner'

- Next, Cuervo argues that if we postulate that the clitic is a binder, and the DO is higher than the IO, then, the W(eak)C(ross)O(ver) effects, as shown in (44), cannot be accounted for.

(44) \**Qué (libro) le entregamos a su dueño?*  
 which book CL we.gave to its owner  
 ‘Intended: Which book did we give to its owner’

- This sentence, however, is judged acceptable (as its corresponding non wh-sentence sentence in (43)) by our consultants (although they comment that they would never use such a sentence), supporting the DO IO word order and the clitic as a binder.
- Finally, Cuervo argues that the clitic cannot be a binder because such an approach would have to assume that clitics are pronouns (that stand for an argument).
- However, Belloro (2007), who presents a corpus study of clitic doubling in the River Plate Spanish, concludes that dative clitics, *le* and *les*, although, moving toward agreement markers, still function as pronouns encoding the IO. It has been proposed by some (Suñer 1988, Franco 1993, etc.) that when a sentence lacks a lexical IO, as in (40), the IO position is occupied by a phonologically-null pronoun co-indexed with the clitic. However, this analysis seems superfluous and uneconomical if the clitic itself provides the referential properties pertinent to the IO.
- In sum, treating the clitic as a binder explains the facts in (38b,c) --- the clitic can always bind into the DO, and the relative binding by the IO and DO is determined by word order (qua c-command).
- But why would the readings where the clitic binds into the DO sound slightly odd in the pattern in (38c), as illustrated in (13) – repeated here as (45)?

(45) (?) *El editor le envió su<sub>i</sub> libro a cada autor<sub>i</sub>.* (Bleam ex. 19)  
 the editor CL sent his book to each author  
 ‘The editor sent each author<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> book’

- The answer is simple: the overt IO creates a cataphora effect. It is more common to omit it in context (Belloro 2007), and here the reading where the clitic binds into the DO is much sharper:

(46) a. *¿Qué le pasó a cada autor<sub>i</sub>?*  
 what CL happened to each author  
 ‘What happened to each author?’  
 b. *El editor le<sub>i</sub> envió su<sub>i</sub> libro.*  
 the editor CL sent his book  
 ‘The editor sent him his book’

- The only potential issue (depending on one’s theory) is why the clitic does not generate a Principle C effect with the IO in the same clause. However, as we discussed above, the CL + Optional dative DP is how the direct argument variant is instantiated, and is presumably not subject to Principle C.
- Thus with a simple assumption --- that the clitic can be a binder --- we can capture the patterns in (38) without resorting to ad hoc movement relations and otherwise unmotivated syntactic analyses designed to maintain parallelism that is properly about the semantics of one argument.

## 5. Conclusion

- We have supported the view that the dative alternation in Spanish is akin to the dative alternation in English. However, the similarity goes only so far as the relationship between semantics and grammatical function for one argument, with a single principle governing both alternations.

### (47) **Morphosyntactic Alignment Principle (MAP) (Revised):**

In argument/oblique alternations the direct argument realization of an alternating participant has monotonically stronger truth conditions associated with it (along some thematic hierarchy) than its corresponding oblique realization.

- The appropriate level for the MAP must be (as stated) that of grammatical functions of single arguments, capturing what is the same across English and Spanish.
- But since grammatical functions --- in this case Indirect Object --- are coded in different ways in different languages, we can still analyze the fundamental semantic similarities across languages without committing necessarily to commensurate morphosyntactic similarities.
- If the MAP is accurate, the picture we get must be the following (something that is not surprising from an LFG perspective for example):

(48) Theta-Roles --(UG)→ GFs --(Cross-Lx Variation/Formal Features)→ Overt Morphosyntax

- This essentially captures Bleam's intuition that some properties (semantics) are captured at first Merge, while others (scope) are captured at LF (post-syntax). However, we allow that the instantiation of the relevant GFs varies across languages and may or may not make reference to other DPs in the clause, further minimizing the parallels.
- This raises the larger question of what we expect the parallels to be across languages: is it possible to apply analyses appropriate for one language wholesale to another, or should we rather use cross-linguistic comparison to help weed out the factors needed to state truly cross-linguistic principles?

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