

**Datives as “concordial” case: evidence from Spanish and Galician**

Stony Brook University &amp; University of the Basque Country-EHU

Susana Huidobro

[shuidobro@mac.com](mailto:shuidobro@mac.com)**1. The Puzzle of Spanish Datives**

Spanish and Galician are particularly challenging when looking for a systematic structural account of the syntactic licensing and interpretation of dative arguments because dative case can be used for a great deal of grammatical functions.

- The semantic contribution claimed to be associated with dative is considerably broader than what is usually found with inherent case (Experiencer or Affected argument).

Dative I: ARGUMENTAL DATIVES. Spanish:

- (1) a. Susana (le<sub>i</sub>) mandó una carta **a Juan<sub>i</sub>**  
 Susana **him.cl.Dat.** sent a letter to John  
 ‘Susana sent a letter to John’ (Goal)
- b. Susana (les<sub>i</sub>) preparó un té **a sus amigos<sub>i</sub>**  
 Susana **them.cl.Dat.** prepared a tea to her friends  
 ‘Susana prepared a tea for her friends’ (Benefactive)
- c. Susana le<sub>i</sub> cortó el pelo **a Juan<sub>i</sub>**  
 Susana **him.cl.Dat.** cut the hair to John  
 ‘Susana cut John’s hair’ (Possessor)
- d. *A Susana<sub>i</sub>* le<sub>i</sub> gustan/apasionan/encantan las manzanas  
 To Susana **her.cl.Dat** like/be passionate about/adore the apples  
 ‘Susana likes/is passionate about/adores apples’ (Experiencer)

Dative II: INVERSION DATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

- (2) a. *A Susana<sub>i</sub>* le<sub>i</sub> *faltan/quedan/sobran* 20 dolares  
 To Susana **her.cl.Dat** be lacking/be left/exceed 20 dollars  
 ‘Susana is lacking/is left (with)/has an extra 20 dollars’
- b. *A Susana<sub>i</sub>* le<sub>i</sub> *ocurren/sucedan* cosas increíbles  
 To Susana **her.cl.Dat** happen incredible things  
 ‘Incredible things happen to Susana’
- c. *A Susana<sub>i</sub>* le<sub>i</sub> *llegaron/vinieron* los invitados  
 To Susana **her.cl.Dat** arrived/came the guests  
 ‘Susana’s guests arrived’

Dative III: ETHICAL DATIVES (ED)

- (3) a. Juan **me** le<sub>i</sub> arruinó la vida *a esa chica<sub>i</sub>* \*a mí  
 Juan **me.cl.Dat. him.cl.dat** ruined the life of that girl \*to me  
 ‘John ruined her life and this has an adversative effect on me’
- b. El niño ya le camina \*a él  
 the child already **him.cl.dat** walk \*to him  
 ‘The child walks and this has an effect on him’

**Dative IV : SOLIDARITY ALLOCUTIVE DATIVE CLITICS (SAD)***Galician*: only second person.

- (4) a. As mazás que merquei hoxe estanche boísimas  
 the apples that I-bought today are- you<sub>ALLOC</sub> very good  
 ‘The apples that I bought today are very good, you know’
- b. A esta altura a auga férveche ó momento  
 at this altitude the water boils- you<sub>ALLOC</sub> in-a moment  
 ‘Water boils in a moment at this altitude, you know’

*Spanish*: (possibly Solidarity Allocutive Clitics)

- (5) a. María **te** sabe la alineación del Athletic de Bilbao  
 Mary **you.cl** knows the starting lineup of the Athletic de Bilbao  
 ‘Maria knows the starting lineup for Athletic de Bilbao, you know’
- b. María **te** habla 5 idiomas  
 Mary **you.cl** speak 5 languages  
 ‘María speaks 5 languages, you know’
- c. No **te** jode!/ No **te** digo (yo)!  
 you must be joking/you’re kidding me/ I can’t believe it!

**Question:** How can we account for all of the usages of dative case in Spanish?

- Proposal:** a. Datives follow a hierarchy and cannot be unified thematically.  
 b. Dative is a “concordial” case.

**2. Distribution***Hierarchy* in Galician/Spanish: SAD/Reflexive > ED> Experiencer Dat.> Argumental Dat.

- The *Solidarity (Allocutive) Dative (SAD)* is compatible with every verbal.

- (6) a. Ultimamente os alumnus insáltanche por nadaó decano  
 lately the students insult- you<sub>ALLOC</sub> for nothing to-the dean  
 ‘Lately, the students insult the dean without a reason, you know’
- b. Marcharonche todos pra America.  
 They-left- you<sub>ALLO</sub> all to America  
 ‘They on left for America, you know’ (Carbón Riobóo 1990)

- Solidarity clitics can co-occur with other datives. They appear in first position in the sequence of clitics. The *Ethical Dative* clitic follows the *Solidarity Allocutive* clitic.

- (7) a. Este ministro écheme un pouco ladrón  
 this minister is-you<sub>ALLOC</sub>-me<sub>ED</sub> a little burglar  
 ‘This minister is a little burglar, you know’ [Allo. + Ethical Dat.]

- b. Este peluqueiro cortachellelo pelo (ós nenos) nun intre  
 this barber cuts-che-dat-it hair to-the boys in-a moment  
 ‘This barber has the (boy’s) hair cut in a moment you know’ [Allo. + Possessive]
- c. Morreúchelleme a vaca do meu fillo  
 it-died-you-him-me the cow of-the my son  
 ‘My son’s cow died on me, you know’ [Allo. + (IO) + Ethical Dat.]
- d. O ministro mercabachelles xoias.  
 the minister bought-you<sub>ALLOC</sub>-them<sub>DAT</sub> jewels  
 ‘The minister used to buy pieces of jewelery (to any peddler)’ [Allo. + Source]
- e. O ministro agasallabachelle xoias.  
 the minister complimented-you<sub>ALLOC</sub>-them<sub>DAT</sub> jewels  
 ‘The minister used to compliment (everybody) with pieces of jewelery’  
 [Allo. + Ben.]
- f. A actitude do primerio ministro preocupachelles moito.  
 the attitude of-the prime minister worries- you<sub>ALLOC</sub> -them.dat a-lot  
 ‘The attitude of the Prime Minister worries them seriously, you know’  
 [Allo. + Exp. ](Lorenzo & Longa 2000: 177)

■ SAD clitics are clearly root oriented because they cannot appear in embedded clauses. Meanwhile EDs can appear in embedded contexts.

- (8) a. Dixenche que marcharan\***che** todos a America.  
 (they) say-you<sub>ALLO</sub> that (they) left all to America (SAD)
- b. Dixen que marcháron**lle** todos a América.  
 (they) say that (they) left-him<sub>ED</sub> all to America (ED)  
 ‘They say that they all left to America and this has an adversative effect on him’.

■ *Che* and reflexive anaphoric clitics are in complementary distribution.

- (9) \*Diante un fracaso da policia, dique o ministro  
 before a failure of-the-police, they-say the minister  
 criticábase**che** con dureza  
 criticize-himself- you<sub>ALLO</sub> with hardness  
 ‘They say that the minister criticize himself strongly in the face of a police failure’  
 (Longa & Lorenzo 2000: 180)

### Summary:

Comparing SAD with other datives, the possibility of the former’s appearing with all kinds of verbal classes, their being in first position in a given string of clitics and their being restricted to matrix suggest that SAD are higher in the structure than any other dative, including ED.

**Implicational Hierarchy:**

No Romance language, which has *SAD* lacks Ethical Datives or Experiencer Datives. However, the opposite is quite common; it is easy to find languages with Ethical Datives and no indication of *Solidarity Allocutive Dative Clitics*.

**3. Dative as Concordial Case****3.1 Larson and Harada 2008: Japanese**

Larson and Harada (2008) study *ni*-phrases in ditransitive and locative constructions in Japanese. And they conclude the following:

- Japanese ditransitives map English DOCs, not a PP-dative constructions. *ni*-dative phrases show up consistently higher in the structure than expected (o-Theme accusative).
- Japanese ditransitives word order is derived: there is evidence from discourse/info properties than Dat-Acc order is derived.
- Japanese *ni*-locative and possessive marker is also consistently more leftward than expected.

Japanese transitive locative construction:

- (10) a. John-ga        **nidai-ni**        **hon-o**        nose-ru  
          John-NOM     cart-DAT     book-ACC     load-PRES  
          'John loads the books on the cart.'
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga     [**Taroo-to Hanako**]<sub>i</sub>-no tukue-no-ue-ni  
          Yamada-professor-Nom Taro-and Hanako-GEN desk-Gen-over-Dat  
          **otagai**<sub>i</sub>-no            tooan-o            oi-ta.  
          each.other-GEN     answer.sheet-ACCput-PST  
          'Professor Yamada put each other<sub>i</sub>'s answer sheets on [Taro and Hanako]<sub>i</sub>'s desks.'
- c. \*Yamada-sensei-ga        **otagai**<sub>i</sub>-no        tukue-no-ue-ni  
          Yamada-professor-NOM each.other-GEN     desk-Gen-over-DAT  
          [**Taroo-toHanako**]<sub>i</sub>-no tooan-o  
          Taro-&Hanako-GEN     answer.sheet-ACCput-PST  
          'Professor Yamada put [Taro and Hanako]<sub>i</sub>'s answer sheets on each other<sub>i</sub>'s desks.'

In English, locatives plainly project lower than themes

- (11) a. Escher put **an object** under **itself**  
       b. \*Escher put **itself** under **an object**.

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**Summary:**                    ... DP-ni        ... DP-o    ... (datives, transitive locatives)  
                                   ... DP-ni        ... DP-ga    ... (intransitive locatives, possessives)

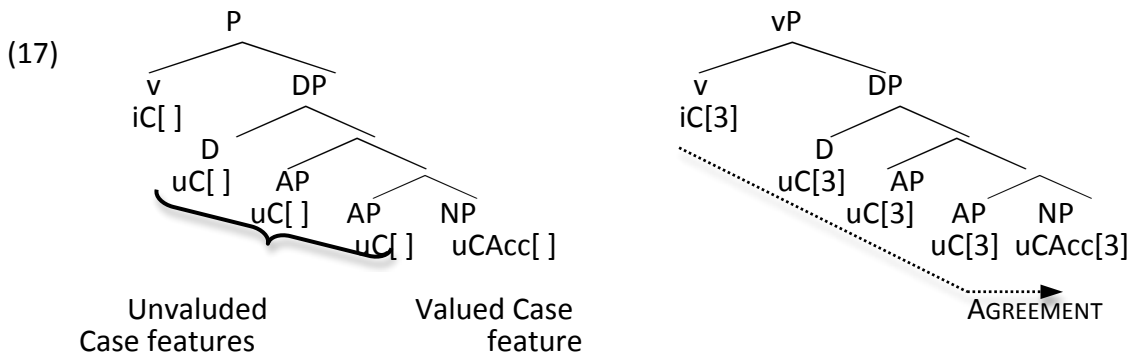
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- (15) ... u F [ ] ... uFval [ ] ⇔ AGREE ⇔ ... uF[3] ... uFval [3]
- (16) a. iFval  
 b. iF[3] ... uFval [3]  
 c. iF[3] ... uF[3] ... uFval[3]  
 d. iF[3] ... uF[3] ... uF[3] ... uFval[3]
- \*e. uFval  
 \*f. uF[3] ... uFval[3]  
 \*g. iF  
 \*h. iF[3] ... uF[3] \*j. iF[] ... uF[]

**3.2.1 Concord in DP and VP**

- *Nouns* enter the numeration with an uninterpretable, valued case feature.
- *Adjectives* enter the numeration with an uninterpretable, unvalued case feature.



**3.2.2 Slavonic Possessive Adjectives**

It is apparently possible for nominal elements to behave adjectivally: to be inserted with unvalued case features and to obtain case by agreement.

- (18) Upper Sorbian Possession: (Corbett 1987)
- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. An Adnominal Genitive | b. With the ‘adjectivalizing’ suffix –ow |
| ‘khiha <b>Jan-a</b> ’    | ‘ <b>Jan-ow-a</b> knih-a’                |
| book Jan-GEN.SG          | Jan-POSS-NOMSGFEM book-NOMSGFEM          |

The adjectival nature of *Janow* in (18a):

- Exhibits the same agreement forms as normal attributive adjectives.
- Precedes the head like attributives, but unlike the adnominal genitive.

The suffix –ow, doesn’t make *Jan* an AP semantically; it makes it adjective-like in lifting the normal requirement of valuation for case and agreement.



- (23) a. *AGREE*  
 v DP-DAT DP-ACC  
 └──────────────────┬──────────────────┘  
 ↑
- b. *AGREE*  
 T DP-DAT DP-NOM  
 └──────────────────┬──────────────────┘  
 ↑
- c. *AGREE*  
 X DP-DAT DP-VOC  
 └──────────────────┬──────────────────┘  
 ↑

For another language to make use of this strategy, its grammar needs only two items:

- a *concordializing element*, counterpart to Japanese *-ni*
- *options for movement*, counterpart to that played by scrambling in Japanese

#### 4. Datives in Spanish

PROPOSAL:

Datives in Spanish appears to show the two elements:

- a *concordializing element*: a preposition (counterpart to Japanese *-ni*)
- *options for movement*: the presence of the clitic (counterpart to scrambling)

##### 4.1 Spanish ‘a’

The so-called dative preposition *a* in Spanish shows a number of peculiarities in comparison to English *to*.

- *like* English *to*, ‘*a*’ can occur in familiar ditransitive constructions.

- (24) a. I sent a letter **to** John  
 b. Yo envié una carta **a** Juan (PP-Construction)

- *unlike* like English *to*, it can mark the animate objects of transitive Verbs (25a), and it can mark apparent subjects of psych-Verbs and certain unaccusatives (25b).

- (25) a. I hit (**\*to**) John  
 Yo golpeé **a** Juan  
 ‘I hit John’ (Accusative Construction)
- b. (**\*To**) Susana likes/lack apples  
**A** Susana le(cl.him) gustan/faltar las manzanas  
 ‘Susana likes the apples’ (Dative Construction)

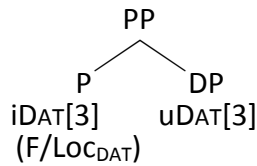
**Conclusion:** ‘*a*’ has a narrower distribution than *to*, in disallowing inanimate objects, but in another sense it has a broader distribution, in occurring in case contexts where English *to* is forbidden.

**Proposal:**

- a. I will explore the idea that Spanish ‘*a*’ derives its constellation of properties from its status as a concordial element in some instances.
- b. I argue that there are in fact three *a*’s differing slightly, but systematically, in their feature make-up.

**4.1.1 Prepositional *a*, Accusative *a* & Dative *a***

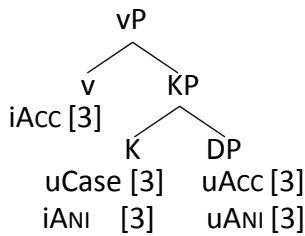
(26) a. **Prepositional *a*** (PP-Const)



**Pure Preposition:**

- it bears a interpreted DAT case feature that is checked by agreement on its object.
- it bears a feature F/LOC<sub>DAT</sub> as a goal marker of some kind and realized only when the clitic appears.

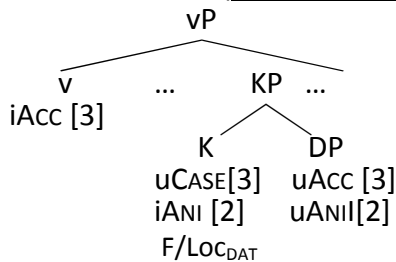
b. **Accusative *a*** (Accusative Const.)



**Pure “concordial” preposition:**

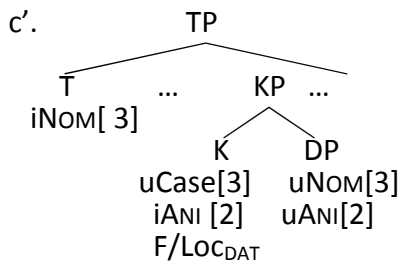
- it bears an unvalued, uninterpreted case feature (uCase [ ]) that allows a higher, interpreted accusative probe to agree with it and agree with the object.
- *a* bears the animacy feature that is checked on its object.
- *unlike* the preposition it does not bears a feature F/LOC<sub>DAT</sub>

c. **Dative *a*** (Dative Construction)



**“Hybrid” Preposition:**

- it is something across between pure prep. and “concordial” prep.
- it bears an unvalued, uninterpreted case feature (uCase [ ]) and the animacy feature that is checked on its object.
- it bears a feature F/LOC<sub>DAT</sub> obligatorily.



4.2 Clitics

I will pursue the idea that Spanish also shows the second element found in L&H’s account, namely a mechanism for movement. The *clitic* is the mechanism that forces the movement of the NP.

- The presence of dative clitics in Spanish has an effect on word order. Ordoñez (2000) points out that the Clitic Doubling is obligatory when the IO crosses over the DO as shown in (24). The example is deviant without the clitic.

- The clitic does **not** force the movement for Case reasons but for EPP reasons.

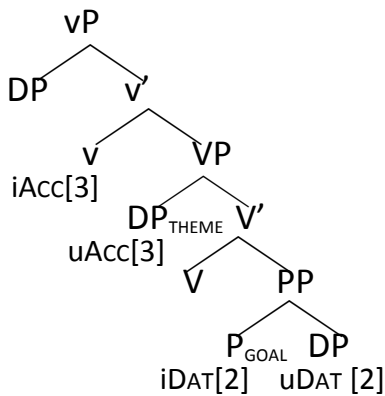
- The clitic share with the preposition *a* formal feature that encodes ‘dativity *Dat* + *Locative* nature (Kayne *To appear* & Martín 2008).

(27) El director    \*?(le)    entregó    a los estudiantes    las notas  
 the director    CL.    gave    to the students    the grade  
 (Ordoñez 2000)

5. Derivation

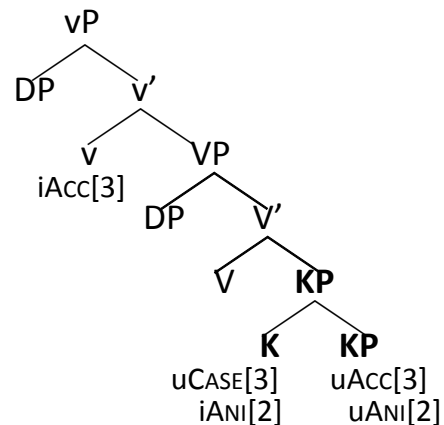
V-DO-IO

(28) a. Dí    un libro    a Juan  
 gave a book    to John



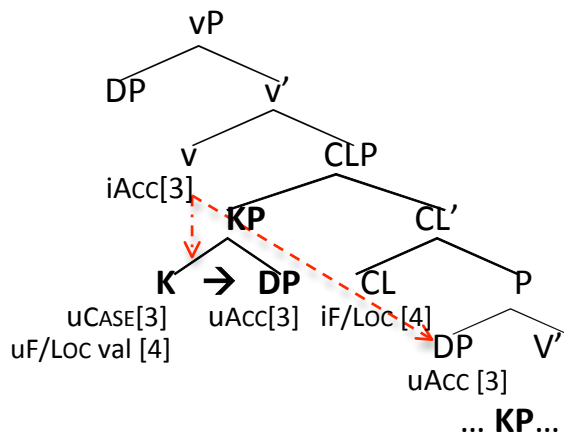
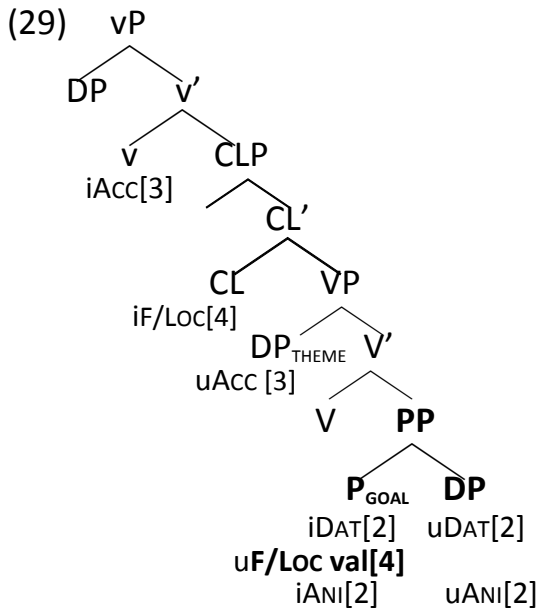
V-DO

b. Ví    a Juan  
 saw    to John  
 ‘I saw John’



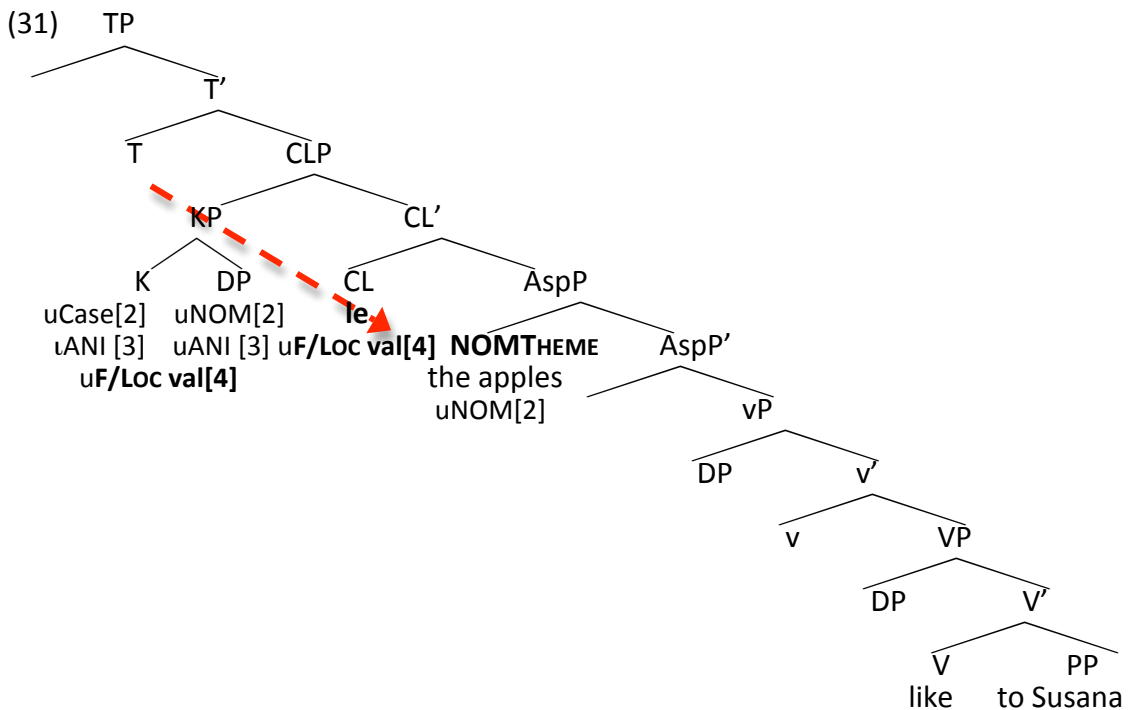
**CL-V-DO-IO**  
 Le dí un libro a Juan  
 cl.him gave a book to John

**CL-V-IO-DO**  
 Le dí a Juan un libro  
 cl.him gave to John a book



**Psych Verbs and Dative Inversion Constructions (DICs).**

(30) **A** Susana le gustan las manzanas  
 (\***To**) Susana cl.him likes the apples.  
 ‘Susana likes the apples’



## 6. Further Research

- *Ethical Datives* both in Romance as well as in Greek and English are marginal in double object constructions. This means that there is a relation between the reading of the double object construction and the ethical reading. It may be that the Ethical Reading is a kind of Ditransitive constructions.

- (32) a. ? Me (le) dió un libro a Juan (Spanish)  
           cl.ED cl.him gave a book to John  
       b. ? mu (to) edoses to vivlio sto Jani/tu Jani  
           cl.ED cl.him gave a book to Joh.Acc/the John.Dat (Greek)  
       c. ?He gave a book to John on me/He gave John a book on me (English)

- *Solidarity Allocutive Dative Clitics (SADs)* are expected between a functional head X and a vocative phrase.

- (33)
- |   |           |        |
|---|-----------|--------|
| X | AGREE     |        |
|   | DP-DAT    | DP-VOC |
|   | └───┬───┘ | ↑      |

## 7. Conclusion

- Galician and Spanish show that datives cannot have a thematically unified account.
- Datives are not associated with a special functional with specific thematic-semantic contribution.
- Dative can project into doublets: an element valued for DAT, and a purely concordial element.

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