Datives as 'Concordial' case: evidence from Spanish and Galician

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1.The puzzle of Spanish Datives

Question: What is the semantic contribution of datives?
How can we account for all of usages of datives?
Proposal: a. Datives follow a hierarchy and cannot be unified thematically.
b. Dative is a *concordial* case.

Dative I: ARGUMENTAL DATIVES.

(1) a. Susana **(le$_i$)** mandó una carta ***a Juan***$_i$
Susana **him.cl.Dat.** sent a letter to John
'Susana sent a letter to John' (Goal)
c. *A Susana*$_i$ **le**$_i$ 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 Susana*$_i$ **le**$_i$ *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'

Dative III : ETHICAL DATIVES

(3) Juan **me** **le**$_i$ arruinó la vida *a esa chica*$_i$ *a mí *to me
Juan **me.cl.Dat.** **him.cl.dat** ruined the life of that girl
'John ruined her life and this has an adversative effect on me'

Dative IV : SOLIDARITY ALLOCUTIVE CLITICS
Galician: only second person.

(4) a. As mazás que merquei hoxe estan**che** boísimas
the apples that I-bought today are- you$_{ALLOC}$ very good
'The apples that I bought today are very good, you know'
b. 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' **SPANISH**

2. Distribution: evidence from Galician

Hierarchy: SAD/Reflexive > ED > Exp. Dative > Argumental Dative

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

(5) a. Ultimamente os alumnus insáltan**che** por nadaó decano
lately the students insult- you$_{ALLOC}$ for nothing to-the dean
'Lately, the students insult the dean without a reason, you know'
b. Marcharon**che** todos pra America.
They-left- you$_{ALLO}$ 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.

(6) a. Este ministro *écheme* un pouco ladrón
this minister is-you$_{ALLOC}$-me$_{ED}$ a little burglar
'This minister is a little burglar, you know' [Allo. + Ethical Dat.]
b. A actitude do primerio ministro preocupa**che**lles moito.
the attitude of-the prime minister worries- you$_{ALLOC}$ –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 while EDs can appear in embedded contexts.

(7) a. Dixen**che** que marcharan***che*** todos a America.
(they) say-you$_{ALLO}$ that (they) left all to America (SAD)
b. Dixen que marcháron**lle** todos a América.
(they) say that (they) left-him$_{ED}$ 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.

(8) *Diante un fracaso da policia, dique o ministro criticábase**che***
before a failure of-the-police, they-say the minister criticize-himself- you$_{ALLO}$
con dureza
with hardness
'They say that the minister criticize himself strongly in the face of a police failure'
(Longa & Lorenzo 2000: 180)

Implicational Hierarchy:
No Romance language, which has *Solidarity Datives* 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 Dative Clitics*.

3. Dative as Concordial Case

3.1 Larson and Harada 2008: Japanese
▪ *ni*-dative phrases show up consistently higher in the structure than expected.
▪ Japanese ditransitives map English DOCs, not a PP-dative constructions.
▪ Ditransitives Dat-Acc word order is derived: evidence from discourse/info properties.

... DP-ni ... DP-o Theme ... (datives, transitive locatives)
... DP-ni ... DP-ga Subject ... (intransitive locatives, possessives)

Question: ni-phrases project in the low positions excepted under the theta-theory but move to a higher point. What is the correct generalization for Japanese for the occurrence of *ni*- phrases?

Larson and Harada (2008)'s Generalization:
Ni-phrases must occur higher in structure than a structurally case-marked phrase.

3.2 Case Concord
Larson and Harada (2008)'s proposal:
▪ *Ni* is neither a case maker nor a probe. It is a concordial marker not bearing case.
▪ *Ni*-phrases obtain case by agreement from structural case probe (v, T)

The basic idea behind this proposal is familiar from the nominal system.

(9) all**ar** pess**apr** prj**ár**
all.FEM.PL.NOM these.FEM.PL.NOM three.FEM.PL.NOM
nyj**u** kennig**ar**
new.FEM.PL.NOM theories.FEM.PL.NOM
'all these three new theories' (Sigurdsson 2004a) Icelandic

Concord in Nominals: adjectival elements exhibit concord in case and ϕ-features with N.

(10)

Technical Implementation - Pesetsky and Torrego (2004)

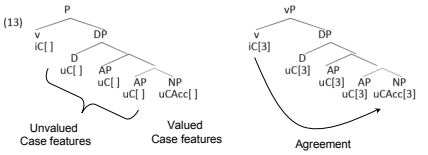
	interpretable	uninterpretable
Valued	i*Fval*	u*Fval*
unvalued	iF	uF

(11) ... u F [ ] ... u*Fval* [ ] ⇨ AGREE ⇨ ... uF[3] ... u*Fval* [3]

(12) a. i*Fval* *e. uFval
b. iF[3] ... u*Fval* [3] *f. uF[3] ... u*Fval*[3]
c. iF[3] ... uF[3] ... u*Fval*[3] *g. iF
d. iF[3] ... uF[3] ... uF[3] ... u*Fval*[3] *h. iF[3] ... uF[3] *j. iF[] ... uF[]

"Concordializing" suffixes: take an expressionn typically valued for case (and ϕ-features) and create a phrase that must obtain such values by agreement.

(13)



***Ni*-phrase** *AGREE* *SEARCH ENDS*
(14) a. Probe ... **DP-*ni*** DP–NOM/ACC
SEARCH ENDS
b. Probe ... DP–NOM/ACC ***DP-ni***

Scrambling solved the inconsistency between English and Japanese distransitive const

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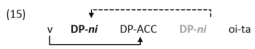


3.3 General Consequences
▪ Dative can project into doublets:
(16) *CHECK* *AGREE*
a. P DP-DAT b. Probe DP-DAT XP

▪ dative-licensing is an extremely flexible one: dative phrases are expected anywhere that appropriate probe-goal relations on structural case are found.
(17) 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

Datives in Spanish appears to show the two elements:
- a *concordializing element*: *a* preposition
- *options for movement*: the presence of the clitic

4.1 Spanish 'a'
▪ like, '*a*' can occur in familiar ditransitive constructions.

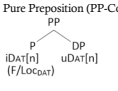
(18) a. I sent a letter **to** John
b. Yo envié una carta **a** Juan (PP-Construction)

▪ unlike, '*a*' marks the animate objects of transitive Verbs, psych-Verbs and unaccusatives .
(19) a. I hit (***to***) John a' I talked (**to**) John
Yo golpeé **a** Juan Yo llamé 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)

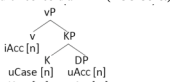
Proposal: ▪ '*a*' derives its properties from its status as a concordial element in some instances.
▪ there are in fact three *a*'s differing slightly in their feature make-up.

4.1.1 Pure prepositional "a" and pure *Concordial* K–P, and *Hybrid* K–P

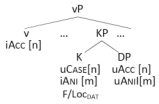
(20) a. Pure Preposition (PP-Const)



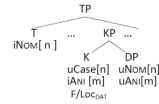
b. Pure "concordial" K-P (ACC-Const)



c. "Hybrid" K-P (DAT-Const)



c'.

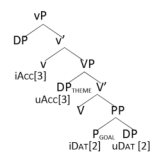


4.2 Clitics
▪ The presence of dative clitics in Spanish has an effect on word order. Ordoñez (2000)

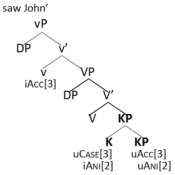
(21) El director *?(le) entregó *a los estudiantes* las notas
the director CL. gave to the students the grades

• The clitic does not force movement for case/φ feature reasons but for EPP reason.
• The clitic share with the prepositions "a" the feature F/Loc$_{DAT}$, which encodes "dativity" (Kayne 2006/ Martin 2008)

V-DO-IO
(22) a. Dí un libro a Juan
gave a book to John

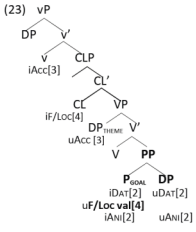


V-DO or IO
b. Ví a Juan
saw to John
'I saw John'

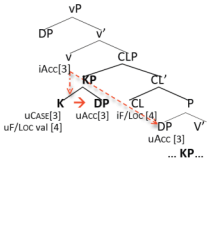


CL-V-*DO*-IO
Le dí un libro a Juan
cl.him gave a book to John

(23)



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



5. 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 and follow a hierarchy.
- Dative can project into doublets: an element valued for DAT, and a purely concordial element.

Partial References: Larson, R. 1988. "On the double object construction". *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:335-391. Larson, R. & N. Harada. 2008. "Datives in Japanese". Unpublished manuscript. Stony Brook. Longa,Victor Manuel and Guillermo Lorenzo. 2001."Universal constraints on 'superfluous'. In Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach and Luis Silva-Villar, eds. *Current issues in Spanish syntax and semantics*, 175-191. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.