

# Spanish Dative Arguments in Passives\*

**Nakyung Yoon**

Korea University

Yoon, Nakyung(2021), "Spanish Dative Arguments in Passives", *Revista Asiática de Estudios Iberoamericanos*, 32(1), 1-43.

**Abstract** This paper offers an account of the acceptability and unacceptability of certain datives in periphrastic passives. Demonte (1995) observes that *core* datives can appear in the passives, while non-core datives cannot. I argue that core and non-core datives should receive a distinct analysis, in order to account for their distinct behavior in periphrastic passives. Passivization, nominalization and sluicing data in ditransitives and transitives demonstrate that the argument structure properties of core and non-core datives are different. In addition, I claim that the clitic doubling is a morphological realization of Agree with a little *v*. Those dative DPs that require clitic doubling are the same DPs when doubled in passives that result in ungrammatical periphrastic passives. When they appear in actives, the clitic must be present, reflecting the obligatory Agree with the little *v* to license them. In passives, however, PrtP somehow blocks this Agree relation with the *v*, thus they are not licensed.

**Key words** core and non-core datives, passives, argument structure, Agree

---

\* Some of the ideas were shared at the Hispanic Linguistics Symposium 2013 (Canada, October 17-20), but much were further developed and modified in this paper.

## I. Introduction

In Spanish, dative clitic doubling has been a central issue in linguistic theories because of the possibilities it has for shedding light on the puzzling status of dative arguments, as illustrated in (1) and (2).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) CORE DATIVES
- a. Pablo (le) mando una postal a Vicky. *goal*  
 Pablo CL-DAT sent a postcard.<sub>acc</sub> Vicky.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘Pablo sent Vicky a postcard.’
- b. Andrea (le) envío un diccionario a Gabi. *goal*  
 Andrea CL-DAT sent a dictionary.<sub>acc</sub> Gabi.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘Andrea sent Gabi a dictionary.’
- (Cuervo 2010:156)

- (2) NON-CORE DATIVES
- a. Pablo \*(le) cocinó una torta a Andreína. *benefactive*  
 Pablo CL-DAT baked a cake Andreína.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘Pablo baked a cake for Mario.’
- b. Pablo \*(le) puso azúcar al mate. *source/possessor*  
 Pablo CL-DAT put sugar the mate.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘Pablo put sugar in the mate.’
- (Cuervo 2003:46)

In (1), clitic doubling is optional with the goal dative arguments of the ditransitive verbs, whereas it is obligatory with other types of datives such

1) It is well known that in Spanish there exists widespread dialectal variation with respect to clitic systems (Suñer 1989, Fernández-Ordoñez 1993, Klein-Andreu 1993 among others). The dialectal variation among peninsular Spanish and different regions of Latin American Spanish reveals different occurrence of dative clitic. As indicated in Becerra Bacuñán(2006) and Aranovich(2011:152), dative clitic doubling is much more common in the American varieties in a way that the phenomenon appears to be almost obligatory with any types of datives.

as benefactive (2a) and source (Landau 1990)/possessor (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003, Pyllkkänen 2002) (2b) of the transitive verbs.<sup>2</sup>

In broad terms, there are two approaches on the doubling of dative clitics—the *unified* and the *non-unified* account. The unified account argues that clitic doubling, in reality, indicates a structural change: a clitic doubled sentence behaves as a double object construction in English, whereas a non-clitic doubled sentence is a counterpart of the prepositional sentence of a double object construction (see Larson 1988). Thus, within the unified account, dative arguments are treated in the same way, that is, they are not direct arguments of verbal phrases. This account makes a strong prediction that sentences with doubling should respond the same way to any set of data that influences dative constituents because they have the same argument structure. It is crucial to note that under this account, clitics serve as indicators of a change in the argument structure.

The non-unified account, on the other hand, categorizes dative arguments into two types (Strozer 1976, Ordóñez 1999, Di Tullio 2005, Pujalte 2010, among others). Pujalte, in particular, argues that dative arguments behave differently as demonstrated by a particular set of data which is divided into non-added and added arguments. According to this account, sentences with non-added and added arguments do not have the same underlying structure. This explains, in an empirical way, why the dative clitic doubling is optional with non-added arguments, whereas it is obligatory with added arguments.

---

2) The notion *goal* or *recipient* argument can be defined as being the destination of the theme. The *benefactive* is interpreted as getting some benefit out of the verbal event (Bosse & Bruening 2011). *Source/possessor* datives involve possessive relationship of ownership, part-whole or kinship which includes both alienable and inalienable. In particular, alienable possessor is related to a possessive split determined by the possessum, whereas inalienable possessor relates with kinship and/or body part terms (and perhaps others) (see Haspelmath 2008).

Evidence bolsters the non-unified account, as exemplified in (3) and (4). In (3), passivization of ditransitive verbs with core datives is acceptable, whereas it appears to be unacceptable to passivize transitive verbs with non-core datives, as in (4).<sup>3</sup>

- (3) CORE DATIVES  
(GOAL)
- a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.  
the prize Nobel CL-DAT was awarded to Cela the year last  
'The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.'  
(Cuervo 2003:98)
- b. El libro le fue entregado al dirigente político con su  
correspondencia.  
the book CL-DAT was delivered to the leader politic with his  
correspondence  
'The book was delivered to the politic leader with his  
correspondence.'  
(DRES 1997)
- (4) NON-CORE DATIVES  
(BENEFACTIVE)
- a. \*La casa le fue pintada a Juan.  
The house CL-DAT was painted to Juan  
'The house was painted for Juan.'
- (INALIENABLE POSSESSOR)
- b. \*Los hijos le fueron admirados a Carolina.  
The children CL-DAT were admired to Carolina  
'Carolina's children were admired at school.'

---

3) In Spanish, passive *se* substitutes the occurrence of periphrastic passives for real speech while periphrastic passives can be used much more frequently for written form of language, as indicated in Chantal Melis and Silvia Peña-Alfaro (2007). Although acceptability judgments on periphrastic passives might highly depend on the different usage of the sentence, here it is based on native speakers' grammar.

(ALIENABLE POSSESSOR/SOURCE)

c. \*/<sup>ok</sup> La bicicleta le fue robada a Pablo.

The bicycle CL-DAT was stolen to Pablo  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday.’

(Cuervo 2003:99)

The acceptability and unacceptability of passivization cannot be explained by the unified account. It is important to remember that the unified account predicts that all the clitic-doubled sentences behave the same in the data presented above because clitic doubling also affects dative constituents. Under the unified account, the unacceptability of (4) can be accounted for by variability in judgments. In addition, this account assumes the obligatory appearance of a dative clitic in ditransitive constructions. The non-unified account, on the other hand, predicts the different acceptability of dative arguments because ditransitive and transitive sentences have different argument structures. In other words, ditransitive predicates select a dative argument, as a direct verbal argument, but transitives have a non-core dative argument, instead.

It is important to note that different acceptability judgments exist in sentences with alienable possessors or source datives, as shown in (4c). That is, sentences with alienable possessors or source datives appear to be either acceptable or unacceptable depending on the variety of Spanish. Whether this variation is solely a result of the diversity of Spanish varieties is debatable. One possible explanation for the variety of judgments involves predicates. Remember that the verbs in (3) are typically treated as ditransitives and the verbs in (4) as transitives, thus the dialectal variation is restructured to one class of predicates. That is, in passives, core datives with ditransitives are acceptable, whereas non-core datives with transitives for many are unacceptable. A more systematic study of the variation is needed, although that will not be carried out in this paper.

In this paper, I examine two previous analyses of the ditransitive and the transitive sentences to provide generalizations on Spanish passive constructions with certain dative arguments.<sup>4</sup> As a first step to solve the problem, I argue, following Pujalte(2010), that the core and the non-core dative arguments should receive different analyses. I term goal datives as *core* datives and benefactive and source/possessor as *non-core* datives and show that passive constructions with dative arguments present puzzles for previous analyses. *Core datives* are direct verbal arguments of ditransitives and their syntactic representations as DPs are interpreted as goal datives at Logical Form. On the other, *non-core datives* are not direct arguments of transitives and their syntactic representation as DPs are introduced by a functional head and are interpreted either as benefactive or source/possessor datives.

Regarding argument introducers, I will follow Hale & Keyser(1993) and Marantz(1997) in claiming that a verb is formed by the combination of a Root and a verbal host (the verbalizing head *v*). In formal semantic terms, roots can express a property or state, a manner of acting or moving, or a thing or substance (see Cuervo 2003:22-23).

The organization of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 reexamines two previous accounts, the *unified* (Cuervo 2003, 2010) and the *non-unified* account (Pujalte 2010) and shows why Cuervo's unified approach cannot account for a set of linguistic data, which stands for the other approach. Evidence, such as nominalization and sluicing, supports the assumption that sentences with core and non-core datives have distinct argument structures. Section 3 focuses on evaluating each prediction on periphrastic passives with dative arguments to illustrate generalizations about passives.

---

4) I use the term *passive* to refer to *periphrastic passive*, not *passive se*, which is another Spanish passive construction.

In particular, a close examination on the unified and the non-unified accounts leads to the conclusion that the unified account cannot explain the (un)acceptability of datives in passives. This is because the account predicts that all the datives behave the same in passive constructions which affect dative constituents, but the data shows diverse status of the acceptability of core and non-core datives. The non-unified account, on the other, provides better predictions on the different behavior of core and non-core datives both in actives and passives, based on the assumption that such distinct behaviors suggest two different argument structures of predicates with each dative. One of the assumptions that need to be further examined within this account, however, involves unaccusatives that make the real nature of dative arguments to remain unclear. Based on traditional assumptions which treat unaccusatives and passives the same due to the Case value and thematic absorption, it can be assumed that unaccusatives and passives with non-core datives behave the same. But the acceptability judgment tests show that this assumption is not borne out. The comparison of unaccusatives and passives with non-core datives, however, indicates that the passive itself should affect the unacceptability of the sentences. For this reason, I diverge from Pujalte's non-unified account and argue that passives are realized in the argument structure. Section 4 outlines the proposal, according to which dative clitics both in active and passive constructions are the morphological realization of Agree with the little *v*. I base this claim on Ormazabal & Romero's hypothesis(2013) that dative clitics are verbal agreement markers. This fits into the fact that the dative DPs that require clitic doubling are the same DPs when doubled in passives that result in ungrammatical periphrastic passives. The incompatibility of non-core dative clitics in periphrastic passives derives from the failure of licensing with the little *v* due to the blocking of PrtP via Agree. In active sentences with non-core datives, the

clitic must be present, reflecting the obligatory Agree with *v*. As a final remark, the findings and limitations of this paper are given.

## II. The unified and the non-unified accounts

The status of Spanish dative arguments has diverged into two camps in the literature. Subsection 1 centers on Cuervo’s the all-Applicative account to demonstrate how it treats the datives the same way as applied arguments. Subsection 2 focuses on Pujalte’s non-unified account to discuss how certain datives should be treated differently. Subsection 3 offers more evidence, including nominalization and sluicing, for differing dative arguments, which points to the hypothesis that argument structures of ditransitive and transitive are different, thus core and non-core datives should be differentiated.

### 1. The unified account (Cuervo 2003, 2010)

Cuervo (2003) argues that Spanish datives should be treated the same way, namely, they are not direct arguments of verbs. The datives with a wide range of meanings including goal, benefactive, source/possessor, location/recipient, experiencer and ethical, are always introduced and licensed by a low Applicative head, never by a verb. This is supported by the assumption that certain verbs taking two internal arguments can form both clitic-doubled ditransitive constructions and prepositional constructions, whereas other verbs only form prepositional constructions, as demonstrated in (5).

- (5) SPANISH DATIVE ARGUMENTS AS APPLIED ARGUMENTS (CUERVO 2003, 2010)
- a. (Le) entregué la llave al conserje. *goal*  
 CL-DAT I-gave the key.acc to-the janior.dat  
 ‘I gave the keys to the janitor.’

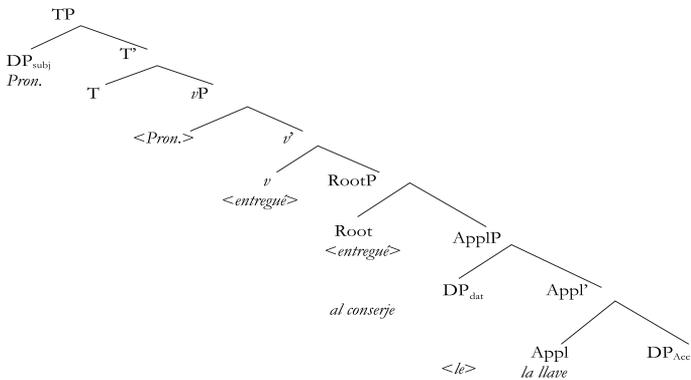
- b. \*(**Le**) cociné el pollo **a Mario**. *benefactive*  
 CL-DAT I-cooked the chicken to Mario.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘I cooked the chicken for Mario.’
- c. \*(**Le**) limpié las manchas **a la camisa**. *source/possessor*  
 CL-DAT I-cleaned-off the stains to the shirt.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘They cleaned the stains off (of) the shirt.’
- d. \*(**Le**) fregué las manchas **al tablero**. *source/possessor*  
 CL-DAT I-wiped-off the stains to-the table-top.<sub>dat</sub>  
 ‘I wiped the stains out of the table-top.’

(Demonte 1995:6)

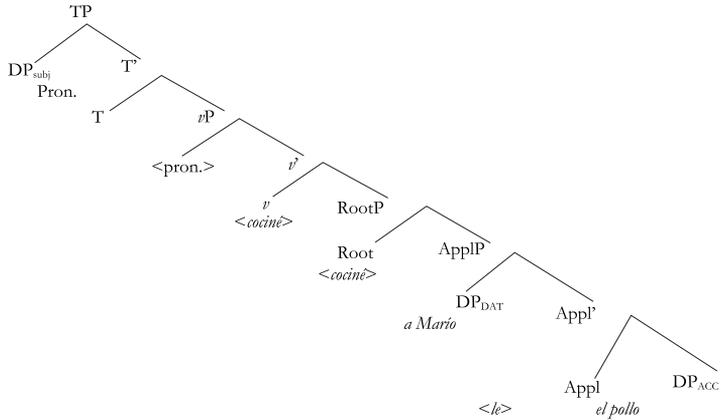
Ditransitive verbs like *entregar* ‘to give’ in (5a) can form both a clitic-doubled sentence and non-clitic doubled sentence. The clitic-doubled sentence is a dative (applicative) construction, whereas a non-clitic doubled sentence is a prepositional construction. The rest of the examples in (5) show that transitive verbs such as *cocinar* ‘to cook’, *limpiar* ‘to clean’, and *fregar* ‘to wipe off’ only form clitic doubled prepositional constructions.

The constructions of the ditransitive verb (5a) and the transitive verb (5b) are represented in the diagrams (6) and (7), respectively, where the low Applicative head merges below the Root Phrase.

(6) APPLIED DATIVES IN DITRANSITIVES (CUERVO 2010)



(7) APPLIED DATIVES IN TRANSITIVES (CUERVO 2010)



In both structures, the Applicative head licenses the arguments and relates them to the theme and dative object independently of the verbs (Cuervo 2003:67). Dative clitic *le* is merged with the Applicative head below the Root, regardless of the type of dative arguments. In (6), the goal dative *al conserje* ‘to the janitor’ of the ditransitive verb *entregar* ‘to give’ is introduced by the low applicative head and occupies the specifier position of the head below the RootP. In the same way, the benefactive dative *a Mario* ‘to Mario’ of the transitive verb *cocinar* ‘to cook’ is introduced in the specifier of the low Applicative head below the Root, as shown in (7). In this way, dative arguments are accounted for in a uniform way.

With regards to semantics, dative arguments have structural meanings (Cuervo 2003:157). This position below the verb (the verbal root) determines that ditransitives are a case of Pykkänen’s low Applicatives and that the low Applicatives express a dynamic possessive relation between two individuals, two internal arguments of ditransitive verbs. Dynamic possessive relation involves dynamic transfer of possession, which can be literal (e.g. Daniel gave Stephanie a tagine) or metaphorical (e.g. Daniel showed Stephanie a tagine). Pykkänen argues that the

interpretation of goals and benefactives in double object constructions can be generalized in the notion of recipient; so the direct object is transferred to the possession of the indirect object. Cuervo, however, diverges from Pylkkänen and discusses that this relation is not necessarily dynamic, and that a low Applicative can express a static relation between two individuals by which dative DP is interpreted as possessor of the theme (see Cuervo 2003:29). Although this approach is inspiring, it is unclear what triggering factors are involved to explain why certain verbs can form both constructions while other verbs cannot.

In sum, this approach assumes that the underlying structures of dative clitic-doubled sentences are the same. The presence and absence of dative clitics represents a change in their argument structures. For this reason, this approach predicts that clitic-doubled sentences in passives will behave the same, regardless of the type of dative arguments, thus all sentences should be either acceptable or unacceptable. As already demonstrated, this approach does not make right predictions for passive sentences with dative arguments, which will be shown in more detail in section 3.

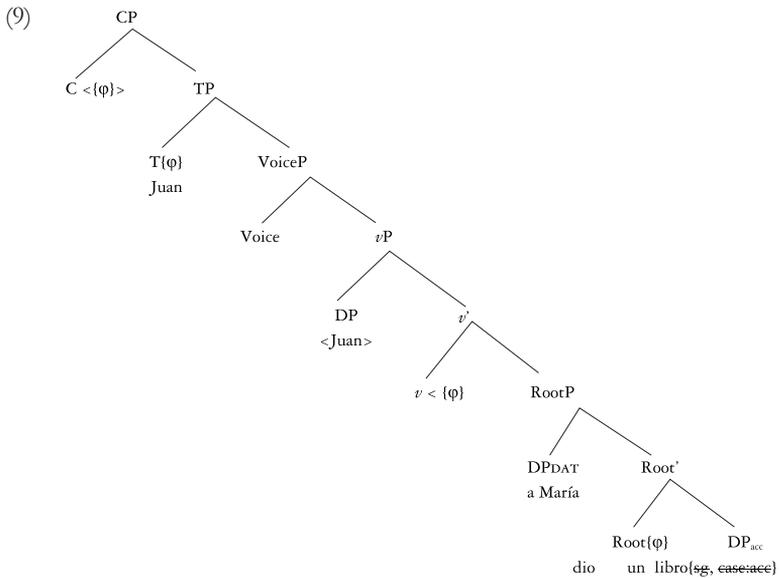
## 2. The non-unified account (Pujalte 2009, 2010)

Pujalte (2009, 2010) argues that datives should be classified separately into two types: *non-added* and *added* datives. This is because ditransitives with non-added and transitives with added datives have different argument structures, thus the presence/absence of dative clitics does not indicate structural change, nor semantic alternation.

The different argument structures can be explained by different syntactic configurations. Non-added arguments are directly associated with a Root, whereas added arguments are introduced by a low applicative head, which indicates a change of argument structure. On one hand, core

datives like goal datives *María*, in (8a), and *los invitados*, ‘the guests’, in (8b), are merged with the Root. The diagram in (9) illustrates a syntactic construction of (8a).

- (8) NON-ADDED DATIVES
- a. Juan le dio un libro a María.  
 Juan CL-DAT gave a book to María.  
 ‘Juan gave a book to María.’
  - b. Juan les mostró el cuarto a los invitados.  
 Juan CL-DAT showed the room to the guests.  
 ‘Juan showed the room to the guests.’



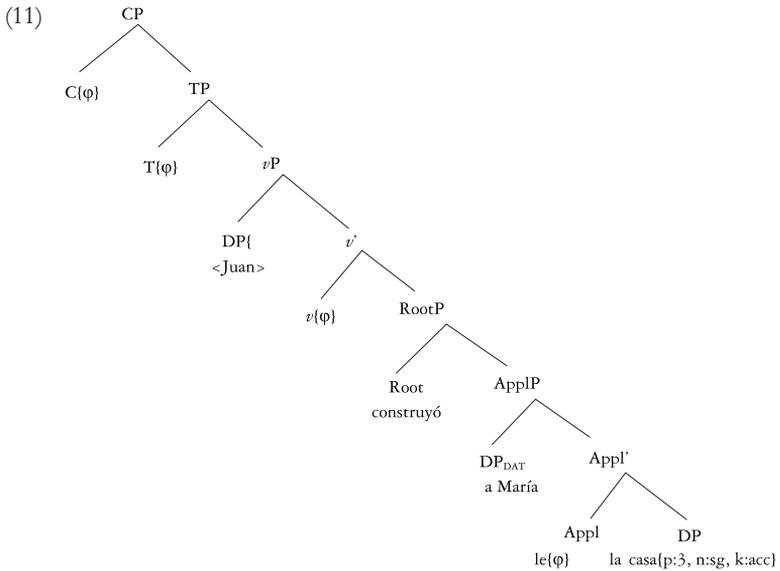
This account is based on the Agree system (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and a version of the feature inheritance mechanism (Chomsky 2008): T has no  $\phi$ -features, but it inherits them from C, which results in a C-T complex. The Root does not have  $\phi$ -features and must inherit them from  $v$ , forming a  $v$ -Root complex (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In this system, therefore, non-

added dative arguments are merged with the Root as in (9) and Root inherits  $\phi$ -features from C in a formation of C-T- $\nu$ -Root complex.

On the other hand, added datives like a benefactive dative, *María* in (10a), and a possessor/source dative, *María*, in (10b), are introduced by a low Applicative head, as demonstrated in (11) (Pylkkänen 2008).

(10) ADDED DATIVES

- a. Juan le construyó la casa a María.  
 Juan CL-DAT built the house to María.  
 ‘Juan built María’s house.’
  
- b. Juan le cortó el pasto a María.  
 Juan CL-DAT cut the grass to María.  
 ‘Juan cut María’s grass.’



Within the non-unified account, the Appl heads are fully defective and inherit their  $\phi$ -features from the closest C-T or  $\nu$ -Root complex (see Pujalte 2010:7). In this system, added datives are merged by a defective applicative

head, as in (11) and should be licensed by the little *v*.

In sum, this account treats dative arguments differently due to the different argument structures of the predicates. That is, non-added datives appear with ditransitives, whereas added datives deal with transitives. Consequently, this account predicts that non-added and added datives behave differently in passive constructions, as well.

### 3. Evidence for non-unified account

The empirical challenges to the unified account not only come from the data of dative clitic doubling but also from nominalization and sluicing, which point to the assumption that datives should be treated differently. Subsubsection 1) demonstrates that ditransitives with core-datives can be nominalized, whereas transitive sentences with non-core datives cannot. Subsubsection 2) shows that core datives can be recovered although there is an elided element in the matrix clause, which shows that they are direct verbal arguments; whereas non-core datives cannot, since they are not direct arguments of verbs.

#### 1) Nominalization

Ordóñez(1999:1875-1888) observes contrastive behaviors of dative arguments in the derived nominals. The following examples demonstrate the nominalization of ditransitive and transitive verbs with dative arguments, as exemplified in (12) and (13).

(12) NON-ADDED DATIVES

- a. la devolución de los bienes a sus dueños legítimos  
the refund of the properties to their legal owners  
'the refund of the properties to their legal owners.'
- b. el envío de un salmon ahumado en Uga a sus amigos.  
the shipment of a smoked salmon in Uga to their friends

‘the shipment of a smoked salmon in Uga to their friends.  
 (Ordóñez 1999:1875)

(13) ADDED DATIVES

- a. \*la compra de un piso a su hijo.  
 the purchase of an apartment for his/her son  
 ‘the purchase of an apartment for his/her son.’
  
- b. \*la construcción de la casa a Pedro.  
 the building of the house to Pedro  
 ‘The building of the house for Pedro.

(Ordóñez 1999:1888)

Both non-added and added datives appear with the preposition *a*, but the acceptability of nominalization diverges: nominalization of ditransitives with goal datives in (12) is acceptable, whereas nominalization of transitives with benefactive datives in (13) is unacceptable.

It is important to note that this account assumes that some verbs can appear in two different argument structures: a dative (applicative) construction and a prepositional construction. Assuming such syntactic configuration, the unacceptability of (13) can be due to i) the absence of clitic doubling, ii) the wrong preposition. Considering that doubling indicates a structural change, its absence signals that the argument structures of (12) and (13) are those of prepositional sentences. That’s why the examples in (13) are unacceptable whereas the examples of (12) are acceptable. The other possible explanation is that the examples are unacceptable because they contain the wrong preposition. For instance, the second object in (13b) can only appear with a ‘to’ with a verb. In (13b), it should be *para* ‘for’, not *a* ‘to’. Thus, the dative arguments are PPs, since the preposition *a* ‘to’ is not a case marker but a preposition without clitic doubling.

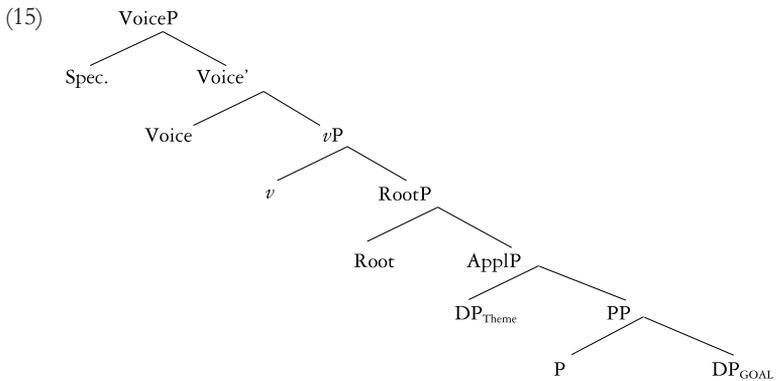
This explanation, however, accounts for the fact that all the datives above are derived from the prepositional phrase. It is important to note that some verbs do not permit prepositional constructions with non-clitic doubled constituents, as discussed by Cuervo(2003).

- (14) a. Le envié una carta a Juan.  
CL-3G sent a letter to Juan.  
 ‘I sent a letter to Juan.’
- b. (\*Le) envié una carta a Barcelona.  
CL-3G sent a letter to Barcelona  
 ‘I sent a letter to Barcelona.’

(Cuervo 2003:50)

If the unified account is on the right track, the constituents *a Juan* and *a Barcelona* in (14) are goal PPs. However, the goal phrase *a Juan* ‘to Juan’ can be doubled, whereas *a Barcelona* ‘to Barcelona’ cannot. This is why these two phrases do not have the same syntactic status. In other words, *a Juan* should be a goal DP and *a Barcelona* a goal PP.

Moreover, Cuervo’s non-doubled prepositional construction indicates that the preposition *a* is the head of a PP, as shown in the diagram of (15).



(Cuervo 2003:51)

The assumption regarding certain verbs that permit both dative and prepositional constructions make a prediction that the following sentence is acceptable, because two constituents with the same thematic role can appear as the complement of PP, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) \*Juan envió los libros a María y a Barcelona.  
 Juan sent the books to María and to Barcelona.  
 ‘Juan sent the books to María and to Barcelona.’  
 (Pujalte 2010:3)

The coordination of the constituents *a María* and *a Barcelona*, makes the sentence unacceptable, even though they possess the same thematic roles. This counterexample shows that under the unified account, the assumption that some verbs can appear in both constructions, prepositional and dative does not fully explain the nominalization.

The current understanding of argument structure has been explored through various approaches and within many, the constructivist approach, often linked to the work of Ken Hale and Jay Keyser, emphasizes the role of syntax in constructing the meanings traditionally attributed to argument structure. The other approach is that the argument structure associated with a particular lexical head is derived from the lexical semantics of that head (Jackendoff 1990, Carrier and Randall 1992, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995). The lexicalists emphasize the role of verbs in projecting syntactic structure from argument structure information stored within the verb (Marantz 2013:154). Some authors respond by presenting a pair of verbs and deverbal nominal constructions and support the constructivist approach, as exemplified in (17).

- (17) a. The enemy destroyed the city.  
 b. The enemy’s destruction of the city.

Borer (2003) argues that the relations that hold between the noun “destruction” and *the city* are in (17b) in parallel and indeed have the same lexical source as the relations between *destroy* and *the city* in (17a) (see Chomsky 1970). Although (17) includes different syntactic categories, verb in (17a) and noun in (17b), it can be explained from the perspective of an account that attributes the interpretation of arguments to functional structure, which has verbalizing properties. The role of *the city* cannot be assigned by either *destroy* or *destruction*. *The city* is assigned the same role in (17a) and (17b). Therefore, there must be a verbal constituent in (17b). Thus, it can be assumed that nominalizations are built from verbs, essentially.

## 2) Sluicing

A piece of evidence in favor of the binary categorization of the core and non-core dative division, comes from sluicing data. Whether sluicing and other types of ellipsis require either only syntactic identity (Ross 1969, Rooth 1992, Fiengo & May 1994, Romero 1997, 1998, Chung, Landusaw & McCloskey 1995, 2001) or semantic identity (Dalrymple, Shieber & Pereira 1991, Hardt 1993) is rather debatable. In the light of Merchant (2013), Chung(2013) argues that a monolithic approach either syntactic or semantics-pragmatics cannot account for the diverse phenomena and therefore she combines both approaches. Her claim is that over and above semantic identity, sluicing involves a *limited syntactic identity condition* that is relevant to both argument structure and abstract Case. Speaking concretely, a predicate in the ellipsis site must have an argument structure identical to the argument structure of the corresponding predicate in the antecedent clause. Regarding Case, if the interrogative phrase of the sluice is a DP, “it must be Case-licensed by a head in the ellipsis site” identical to a corresponding head in the antecedent clause (Chung 2013:3). This is

illustrated by the examples of active-passive mismatch in (18).

- (18) a. \*Joe was murdered, but we don't know who <murdered Joe>.  
 b. \*Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know who by <Joe was murdered>.

(Merchant 2013:81)

(18) demonstrates that sluicing does not tolerate active-passive mismatching. The elided part is represented in an active voice which is not identical to that of the matrix sentence expressed in passive constructions. As observed in Merchant(2001, 2006) and Chung (2006, 2013), “a passive clause cannot antecede an active clause in the ellipsis site” (18a), and an active clause cannot antecede a passive clause in the elided part (18b). Following Chung’s assumption, a *deletion* transformation applies when the material to be deleted is syntactically identical to other material in the linguistic context (Chung 2013:2). Thus, it is possible to argue that the argument structure of actives and that of passives are not the same.

Pujalte (2010) further argues that ditransitives can license implicit datives, but transitives cannot, as illustrated in (19) and (20).

(19) NON-ADDED DATIVES

- a. Juan mandó la carta, pero no sé a quién ~~le mandó la carta~~.  
 Juan sent the letter, but not know to who cl-dat-3sg sent the letter  
 ‘Juan sent a letter, but I don’t know who to’
- b. Juan entregó la hoja, pero no sé a quién ~~le entregó la hoja~~.  
 Juan submitted the paper, but not know to who cl-dat-3sg sent the paper.  
 ‘Juan submitted the paper, but I don’t know who to’

(20) ADDED DATIVES

- a. \*Juan cortó el pasto, pero no sé a quién ~~le cortó el pasto~~.  
 Juan cut the grass, but not know to who cl-dat-3sg cut the grass.  
 ‘Juan cut the grass, but I don’t know who to’

- b. \*Juan construyó la casa, pero no sé a quién ~~le construyó la casa~~.  
 Juan built the house but not know to who cl-dat-3sg built the  
 house  
 'Juan built the house, but I don't know to who'  
 (Pujalte 2010:11)

In (19), the goal dative argument is not explicit in the matrix clause, but it has phonological expression in the subordinated sentence of the coordinated clause. In (20), the benefactive dative is not present in the matrix clause and it cannot have phonological content in the subordinated sentence of the coordinated clause. This is because, in (19), there is a syntactic identity match between matrix and coordinated clauses, so the deletion can apply which permits the production of acceptable sentence. In other words, the argument structure of the ditransitive verb has an implicit dative argument although it is not phonologically expressed, thus its appearance in the subordinated clause is allowed. In contrast, in (20), the deletion cannot apply, because syntactic identity does not match between two clauses. That is, the argument structure of transitive does not have implicit datives, thus it does not allow the appearance of datives in the embedded clause. Consequently, the syntactic mismatch between matrix and coordinated clauses also shows that datives such as goal in ditransitive constructions are core datives, whereas datives such as benefactive in transitive constructions are non-core datives.

In sum, argument structure plays a pivotal role to analyze the status of dative arguments, and it is shown that in nominalization and sluicing, core and non-core datives have different argument structures. This fits in to the predictions by the non-unified account.

### III. Predictions on periphrastic passives

This section evaluates the predictions that the unified and the non-unified accounts given above can make. Section 1 provides some basic data on Spanish passives and explores relevant aspects of a passive operation, such as dialectal variation word order, case and agreement. Section 2 shows that Cuervo's unified account cannot explain different behaviors of dative arguments in periphrastic passives. Section 3 gives an evaluation and limitations of Pujalte's non-unified account.

#### 1. Data

In Spanish, the passives can get expressed either in periphrastic passives, composed of the auxiliary verb *ser* and participle, or in passive *se* constructions. In both forms, there is an overt agreement of phi-features (number and gender): between the past participle and the grammatical subject in periphrastic passive and between the verb and the grammatical subject in passive *se*. Although both constructions share certain linguistic properties, however, they differ in pragmatic, morphological and syntactic ways. In particular, the periphrastic passive demonstrates syntactic and semantic constraints, such as restrictions of the predicate and lexical and syntactic aspects that play an essential role in the acceptability of the sentence, whereas the passive *se* presents relatively unlimited constraints. The main difference of the two passive constructions seems to be of an aspectual kind: the *ser* passive is specialized for the encoding of events or *transitions* (Mendikoetxea 1999:1621-1637), which explains why it is possible only with transitive verbs and usually appears with perfective verbal tenses indicating permanent end states (see Gries & Stefanowitsch 2006:109-110, Noh 2011).

Demonte observes that ditransitive verbs with core-datives can be

passivized, whereas transitive verbs with non-core datives cannot, as exemplified in (21) and (22).

- (21) PASSIVIZATION OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH CORE DATIVES  
 El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.  
 the prize Nobel CL-DAT was awarded to Cela the year last  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’
- (22) PASSIVIZATION OF THE TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH NON-CORE DATIVES  
 \*La casa le fue pintada a Juan.  
 The house CL-DAT was painted to Juan  
 ‘The house was painted for Juan.’

Demonte (1995:12)

Ditransitives with core datives can be passivized, as in (21), whereas when predicates are involved with benefactive or the source/possessor dative, passivization is prohibited, as in (22). It is importante to note, however, that certain transitive verbs with one internal argument can be passivized, as in (23).

- (23) PASSIVIZATION OF THE TRANSITIVE VERBS WITHOUT NON-CORE DATIVES  
 La casa fue pintada.  
 The house was painted  
 ‘The house was painted.’

Demonte (1995:12)

This appears to indicate that it is not the passive operation but dative arguments which do contribute to the unacceptability or ill-formedness of sentences like (22). In other words, the non-core datives make a certain influence on the passive operation, although more detailed speculation on syntactic mechanism of passives and relevant conditioning factors will be needed to make such generalization. In order to verify that the unacceptability results from the dative arguments, not the passive

operation, certain factors such as dialectal variation, word order and Case assignment will be examined in the following subsections.

### 1) Dialectal variation

Whether there exists variability of the (un)acceptability of dative arguments with different thematic roles is uncontroversial, it is unclear if the phenomenon simply reflects the variability of limited varieties of Spanish or it involves the passive operation on dative arguments in general. More systematic research will be needed to capture the accurate status of acceptability, but here I will mainly focus on the overall observation of dialectal variation.

In (24), the dual acceptability judgment is illustrated. On the one hand, passives of the transitive verbs with alienable possessor datives receive, in general, the unacceptability judgment. On the other, it can be acceptable in some dialects such as Mexican, Costa Rica and Honduran Spanish.

(24) NON-CORE DATIVES (ALIENABLE POSSESSOR/SOURCE)

- a. \*/OK El coche le fue robado a José.  
 The car CL-DAT was robbed to José  
 'José's car was robbed.'
  
- b. \*/OK La bicicleta le fue robada a Pablo ayer.  
 The bicycle CL-DAT was stolen to Pablo yesterday  
 'Pablo's bicycle was stolen yesterday.'

Interestingly, passivization tends to only allow some transitive verbs with alienable possessor datives in the dialects mentioned above. Passivization of the transitive verb *robar* 'to rob' with source/alienable possessor dative arguments, however, shows that not all transitive verbs with alienable possessor dative are acceptable, in (25).

- (25) NON-CORE DATIVES (INALIENABLE POSSESSOR)
- a. \*La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa.  
The stain CL-DAT was scrubbed out of the shirt'  
'The stain was scrubbed out of the shirt.'
- b. \*El pulso le fue tomado al paciente.  
the pulse CL-DAT was taken to patient  
'The patient's pulse was taken.'

In (25), passivization does not allow certain transitive verbs such as *frotar* 'to scrub' and *tomar* 'take' with alienable possessor dative arguments, that is there is no variability of judgments in these examples.

It is important to note that the low frequency of periphrastic passives can contribute to the unacceptability of transitive sentences with non-core datives. Therefore, a systematic study will be needed to examine if this set of data results merely from the variability of the acceptability or from the low frequency of use.

## 2) Word order

Word order is another possible factor which can affect the (un)acceptability. For instance, a clitic-doubled sentence is only allowed when the grammatical subject (the theme argument) is postverbal (26b-c) and (27b-c). The preverbal subjects, however, are not allowed, as in (26a) and (27a).

- (26) a. \***El pulso** le fue tomado al paciente  
the pulse CL-DAT was taken to patient  
'The patient's pulse was taken.'
- b. Le fue tomado **el pulso** al paciente.  
CL-DAT was taken the pulse to patient  
'The patient's pulse was taken.'

- c. Al paciente le fue tomado **el pulso**.  
 to patient CL-DAT was taken the pulse  
 ‘The patient’s pulse was taken.’
- (27) a. **\*El cabello** le fue cortado a la niña.  
 the hair CL-DAT was cut to the girl  
 ‘The girl’s hair was cut’
- b. Le fue cortado el cabello a la niña.  
 CL-DAT was cut the hair to the girl  
 ‘The girl’s hair was cut’
- c. A la niña le fue cortado el cabello.  
 to the girl CL-DAT was cut the hair  
 ‘The girl’s hair was cut’

(Masullo 1992:48)

The data above seems to indicate that in the passivization of some transitives with non-core datives, the movement of subject is syntactically constrained. It is possible that word order serves as one of the important constrains when it comes to governing the well-formed sentences. However, at the same time, this factor is quite complicated depending on the types of the dative.

Putting aside the dialectal variation, acceptability judgments from a native speaker of Mexican Spanish seem to point that word order does not affect the (un)acceptability of passives. As expected, the clitic-doubled ditransitive sentences with core datives in passives are acceptable when the position of subject is both preverbal and postverbal.

- (28) CORE DATIVES (GOALS)
- a. Le fue concedido **el premio Nobel** a Cela el año pasado.  
 CL-DAT was awarded the prize Nobel to Cela the year last  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’

- b. **El premio Nobel** le fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.  
 the prize Nobel CL-DAT was awarded to Cela the year last  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’
- c. Le fue concedido a Cela **el premio Nobel** el año pasado  
 CL-DAT was awarded to Cela the prize Nobel the year last  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’

(29) NON-CORE DATIVES (BENEFACTIVES)

- a. \*Le fue pintada **la casa** a Juan anteayer.  
 CL-DAT was painted the house to Juan the day before yesterday  
 ‘The house was painted for Juan the day before yesterday.’
- b. \***La casa** le fue pintada a Juan anteayer.  
 the house CL-DAT was painted to Juan the day before yesterday  
 ‘The house was painted for Juan the day before yesterday.’
- c. \*Le fue pintada a Juan **la casa** anteayer.  
 CL-DAT was painted to Juan the house the day before yesterday  
 ‘The house was painted for Juan the day before yesterday.’

(30) NON-CORE DATIVES (ALIENABLE POSSESSORS/SOURCES)

- a. <sup>OK</sup>Le fue robada **la bicicleta** a Pablo ayer.  
 CL-DAT was stolen the bicycle to Pablo yesterday  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday’
- b. <sup>OK</sup> **La bicicleta** le fue robada a Pablo ayer.  
 the bicycle CL-DAT was stolen to Pablo yesterday  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday’
- c. <sup>OK</sup> Le fue robada a Pablo **la bicicleta** ayer.  
 CL-DAT was stolen to Pablo the bicycle yesterday  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday’

(31) NON-CORE DATIVES (INALIENABLE POSSESSORS)

- a. \*Le fue admirado **el hijo** a Carolina en la escuela.  
 CL-DAT was admired the child to Carolina at the school  
 ‘Carolina’s children were admired at school.’

- b. \***El hijo** le fue admirado a Carolina en la escuela.  
 the child CL-DAT was admired to Carolina at the school  
 ‘Carolina’s children were admired at school.’
- c. \*Le fue admirado a Carolina **el hijo** en la escuela.  
 CL-DAT was admired to Carolina the child at the school  
 ‘Carolina’s children were admired at school.’

This set of data demonstrates that ditransitives and transitives with core and non-core datives in passives behave differently and the word order does not affect the (un)acceptability of passivization. It is important to note that in Mexican Spanish, passivization of transitives with alienable possessor datives can be acceptable regardless of word order. This is why the examples in (30) are acceptable, in contrast to other sentences with non-core datives. Therefore, word order does not play a pivotal role in the adequate syntactic derivation, although it could be tested systematically with much more population among different dialects of Spanish.

### 3) Case and agreement

Another syntactic factor that could regulate the ill-formedness of passives with non-core datives are uninterpretable phi-features such as Case and agreement. In passives, the DP argument in the subject position will receive a nominative Case, and the DP as dative arguments an inherent dative Case. Before examining the Case and agreement, it is worth to mention that Case and agreement depend on the structural assumptions.

The specific Case value of the DP depends on the head. If it is a DP in complement position of Root, it does not need to be licensed because it is a direct argument of the verb. But when it is a DP in complement position of Applicative, it should be licensed via Agreement. It is important to remember that there is not so much diversity with respect to Case within the unified and non-unified account. Although Cuervo’s

unified account does not explicitly mention Case assignment, it assumes that dative Case in Spanish is inherent Case, whereas accusative Case is structural case. Pujalte's non-unified account further assumes that the specific Case value of the DP in the complement position of Appl depends on the functional head that transmits its  $\phi$ -features: accusative when Appl inherits its features from  $\nu$ , and nominative when it inherits them from C. In this way, the system ensures that introducing a dative argument by this functional head does not modify the canonical Case relations of a given structure.

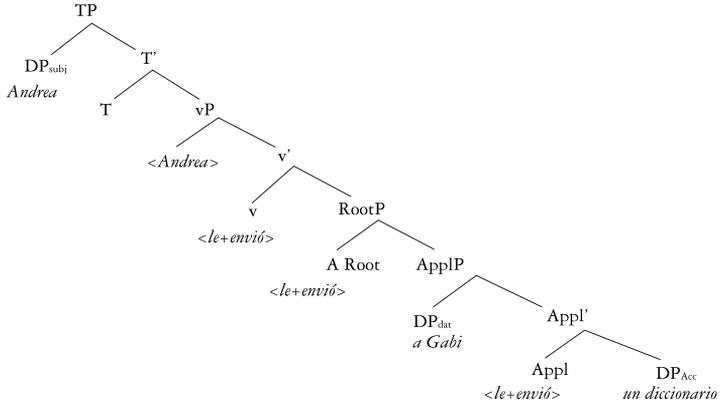
Thus, I assume, following Chomsky (2000, 2008), that Case and agreement can be checked off from C since T lacks these features and inherits them from C. However, Case and agreement with T should not contribute to the unacceptability of non-core in the periphrastic passives because it is perfectly fine with the unaccusatives.

In sum, Case and agreement do not seem to affect the (un)acceptability of the transitive verbs with non-core dative arguments because core datives should receive a dative Case from the Root but non-core datives receive a inherent Case from the Applicative.

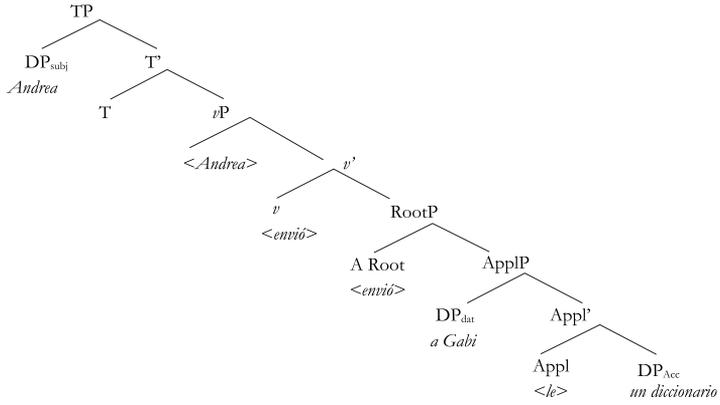
## 2. Predictions of the unified account

Cuervo claims that Spanish dative arguments behave the same because they are introduced by a low Applicative head in the specifier of this functional head, in the same manner, as observed again in the diagram of (32) and (33).

(32) APPLIED DATIVES (CUERVO 2010) (=5)



(33) APPLIED DATIVES (CUERVO 2010) (=6)



The unified approach, although inspiring and elegant, raises several problems. Among the most serious, it cannot capture the differences in the acceptability of core and non-core arguments in passives. Under this account, a clitic-doubled sentence is expected to behave the same, thus all the clitic-doubled sentences with core and non-core datives should be either acceptable or unacceptable. However, the data previously observed demonstrates that a clitic-doubled sentence with core datives is acceptable,

whereas a clitic-doubled sentence with non-core datives is unacceptable in passives. Therefore, this challenging data of passives with the dative arguments should be accounted for in a distinct way.

### 3. Predictions of the non-unified account

Although Pujalte's proposal does not explicitly provide an analysis on passives, it is possible to build on her assumptions of unaccusatives to predict the (un)acceptability of dative arguments in passives.

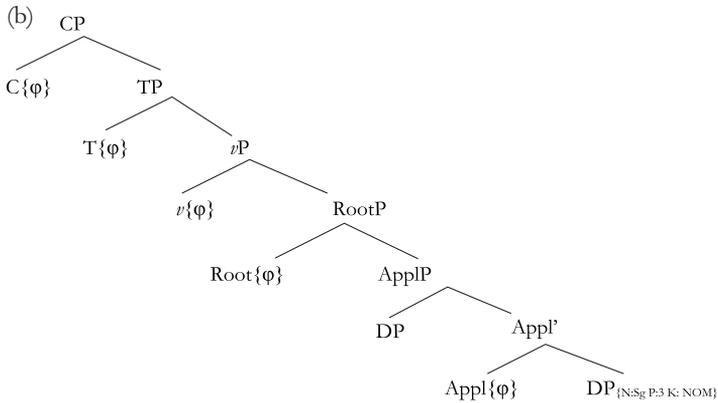
It is important to remember that passives and unaccusatives often times are treated as operations that share certain syntactic and semantic properties to the extent that they behave the same. For instance, they do share some syntactic and semantic characteristics: there is no accusative Case involvement, nor an agent thematic role. Cuervo also argues that there is semantic ditransitivity in some sense in unaccusatives with dative arguments. The structure of simple (*se*-less) verbs of change or existence, such as *llegar* 'arrive,' *salir* 'go out,' *crecer* 'grow,' *faltar* 'lack,' *sobrar* 'be extra,' *quedar* 'remain,' will be able to form dative constructions in which the dative DP is interpreted as each one of the low Applicatives (2010:168-170). Recall that the theme and dative arguments can be licensed by the Root or Applicative, depending on the approach one takes. Together, if these assumptions are on the right track, there is nothing to prevent one from assuming that passives pattern with unaccusatives.

Therefore, the predictions could be based on her assumption of unaccusatives. In her account (Pujalte 2010:7), "Applicative (Appl) heads are fully defective and inherit their phi-features from the closet C-T or  $\nu$ -Root complex. The specific Case value of the DP in the complement position of Appl depends on the functional head that transmits its phi-features: accusative when Appl inherits its features from  $\nu$ , and nominative

when it inherits them from C.” It is important to remember that a C-T or  $\nu$ -Root-AppI complex is formed when  $\nu$  lacks phi-features, as with unaccusatives. The applicative gets its phi-features from C and it values its complement DP as nominative, as illustrated in an unaccusative example and its diagram below.

(34) UNACCUSATIVES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF PUJALTE (2010)

- (a) A Juan le llegaron cartas.  
 To Juan CL.DAT arrived letters  
 ‘Juan got the letters



In passives,  $\nu$  also lacks phi-features and there is no direct involvement of external argument nor an accusative Case valuation. In Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) approach to Case, it is assumed that some functional categories are drawn from the lexicon with a set of person and number (so-called  $\phi$ -features). Since these features are uninterpretable (they make no contribution at the semantic interface), they enter the syntax unvalued, behaving as a ‘Probe’ looking for a ‘Goal’ (an active, Case-less, DP in the c-command domain of the Probe). In this system, passives are taken to involve a  $\phi$ -defective  $\nu$ , which lacks certain feature (typically person), and thus fails to assign structural Case after agreement (Bosque and Gallego

2011:19). Together, it is possible to assume that passives and unaccusatives pattern together. Considering that dative arguments in unaccusatives are introduced by Applicative, these datives are expected to behave as non-core datives. Accordingly, this approach predicts that the non-core datives in unaccusatives behave the same with datives in passives.

When it comes to the passivization of transitive verbs with non-core datives, there is no variability in judgment as well as with unaccusatives.

(35) UNACCUSATIVES

- a. A Gabi le llegaron dos cartas de Londres  
to Gabi CL-DAT arrived two letters from London  
'Gabi got two letters from London.'
- b. A Juan le llegaron cartas.  
To Juan CL-DAT arrived letters  
'Juan got the letters.'

(36) PASSIVIZATION OF DITRANSITIVES WITH CORE DATIVES

- a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela.  
the prize Nobel CL-DAT was awarded to Cela.  
'The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.'
- b. El libro le fue entregado al dirigente político con su correspondencia.  
the book CL-DAT was delivered to the leader politic with his correspondence  
'The book was delivered to the politic leader with his correspondence.'

In (35), clitic-doubled unaccusative sentences are acceptable and clitic-doubled ditransitives in passives (36) are acceptable, too.

It is crucial to note, however, that the clitic-doubled sentences with non-core datives, as in (38), are unacceptable, which do not behave the same with the clitic-doubled unaccusatives (37).

- (37) UNACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
- a. A Juan le llegaron cartas.  
 To Juan CL-DAT arrived letters  
 'Juan got the letters.'
  - b. A Juan le desaparecieron los peces.  
 To Juan CL-DAT disappeared the fish  
 'Juan lost his fish.'
- (38) PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH NON-CORE DATIVES
- a. \*El pulso le fue tomado al paciente *possessor*  
 the pulse CL-DAT was taken to patient  
 'The patient's pulse was taken.'
  - b. \*La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa. *source/possessor*  
 the stain CL-DAT was scrubbed to the shirt  
 'The stain was scrubbed out of the shirt.'

The clitic-doubled unaccusative sentences with non-core datives are acceptable like (38), whereas the clitic-doubled passives with non-core datives are unacceptable like (37).

Pujalte's non-unified account, following Chomsky (2008), assumes that uninterpretable phi-features such as Case and agreement should be checked off. This can be supported by the following data in which non-core datives with passive *se* pattern with the non-core datives with unaccusatives.<sup>5</sup>

---

5) A Mexican native speaker reported the preference for the impersonal third person plural form to transmit the same passive interpretation with non-core datives (e.g. *Le pintaron la casa a Juan anteyer*). This might be relatively problematic to assume that non-core datives with the periphrastic passives pattern with those with the unaccusatives because unaccusatives can deal with non-core datives.

- (39) UNACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
- a. A Gabi le llegaron **cartas**. *goal*  
 To Gabi CL-DAT arrived letters  
 ‘Gabi got the letters.’
- b. A Gabi le salieron **tres canas**. *inalienable possessor*  
 To Gabi CL-DAT came-out three white hairs  
 ‘Gabi got three white hairs.’
- c. Al ensayo le sobran **hojas**. *alienable possessor/ source*  
 The essay CL-DAT are-extra pages  
 ‘The essay has too many pages.’  
 (Cuervo 2010:168-169)
- (40) PASSIVIZATION OF DITRANSITIVES AND TRANSITIVES
- a. Se le concedió **el premio Nobel** a Cela el año pasado *goal*  
 SE CL-DAT awarded the prize Nobel to Cela the last year  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’
- b. Se le admiró **el hijo** a Carolina en la escuela. *inalienable possessor*  
 SE CL-DAT admired the child to Carolina at the school  
 ‘Carolina’s children were admired at school.’
- c. Se le robó **la bicicleta** a Pablo ayer. *alienable possessor*  
 SE CL-DAT stolen the bicycle to Pablo yesterday  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday.’

Pujalte’s proposal provides an inspiring basis for explaining complex data of dative arguments in passives, but this approach does not capture the differences of passives and unaccusatives.

In sum, for Pujalte, datives should be treated differently. Her proposal can be supported by the observation that the goal datives that appear with the ditransitive verbs, behave differently from other datives that show up with the transitive verbs in nominalization and sluicing data. For this reason, I will basically adapt Pujalte’s approach in treating datives

differently. But, instead of following the whole idea, I claim that her account makes too strong predictions, that is, it produces uniform predictions even on the non-core datives that demonstrate diverse behaviors. Based on her system regarding unaccusatives with non-core datives, it can be possibly assumed that the passives behave the same as with unaccusatives because both constructions involve lacking of accusative Case and agent thematic role. In this sense, I will diverge from Pujalte when it comes to the non-core datives in periphrastic passives.

#### IV. The proposal

I have shown that current theories including the unified and the non-unified do not fully account for the status of dative arguments. In particular, under these approaches, the acceptability and unacceptability of dative arguments in the periphrastic passive data remains unclear. In this section, I base my claim on Ormazabal & Romero's work (2013) arguing that dative clitics are verbal agreement markers. I also discuss, following Folli and Harley (2013), that the functional head introducing passive participle is PrtP below the little *v*. Building on these assumptions, I claim that those dative DPs that require clitic doubling are the same DPs when doubled in passives that result in ungrammatical periphrastic passive. When they appear in active constructions, the clitic must be present, reflecting the obligatory Agree with the little *v* to license them. In the passives, however, PrtP somehow blocks this Agree relation with *v*, thus they are not licensed. The optionality of the clitic with core datives in actives reflects the fact that these datives do not need the same licensing mechanism.

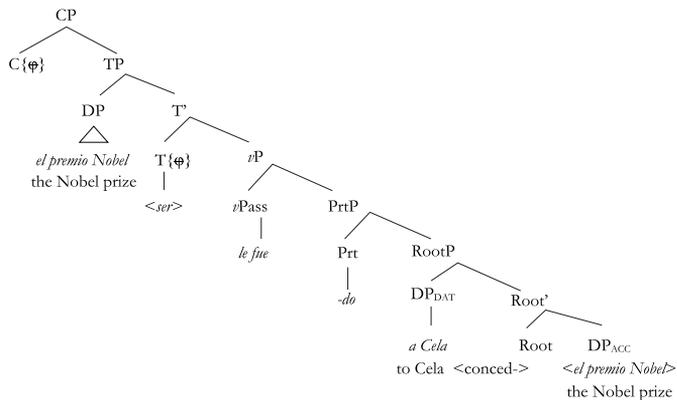
## 1. Syntactic derivation of core and non-core datives in passives

Folli and Harley (2007, 2013: 106) argue that the passive participle morphology has the effect of prohibiting the projection of an overt external argument and that the passive morphology eliminates the external argument by attaching to the root below the  $v^o$  level, preventing the projection of  $v_{CAUSE}$ . Building on Folli and Harley, I argue that passive participle morphology is introduced by a functional head PrtP below the head of  $\nu$ P and the case checking can be valued by Agree. In ditransitives with core dative arguments, core dative arguments can be licensed as the specifier of VP because they are parts of argument structure, thus they inherit features from C-T- $\nu$ -V complex, as illustrated as follows.

### (41) CORE DATIVE (GOAL)

- a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela.  
 the prize Nobel CL-DAT was awarded to Cela  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year.’

### b. Passives of ditransitives with core datives



In the structure above, the internal argument *the Nobel prize* is licensed as the complement of RootP via Agree, and the other internal argument,

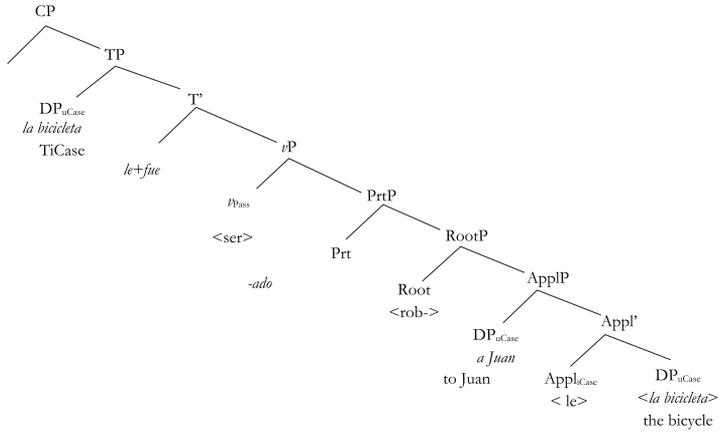
the dative is licensed as the specifier of the RootP. The PrtP combines as the complement of  $\nu$ P. For core datives, again, because they are selected by verbs, or part of their argument structure, there is no need to license them, thus functional phrase of passives does not intervene. On the other hand, the semantic properties of ditransitive verbs, ‘so-called’ dynamic possessive relation (Pylkkänen 2002) or ‘change of possession (Demonte 1995), can be explained by the assumption that the dative clitic is the semantic and syntactic reflex of Agree.

It is essential to remember, however, that passivization of transitives with alienable possessors is available in certain dialects of Spanish.

- (42) non-core datives (benefactive)
- a. \*La casa le fue pintada a Juan.  
 The house CL-DAT was painted Juan  
 The house was painted for Juan.’
- b. \*/<sup>ok</sup> La bicicleta le fue robada a Pablo ayer. (=4a)  
 The bicycle CL-DAT was stolen to Pablo yesterday  
 ‘Pablo’s bicycle was stolen yesterday.

The passivization of the ditransitive verbs and the transitive verbs are identical in the two cases and the alternation is morphological and syntactical, reflecting the result of incorporating Appl<sup>o</sup> into  $\nu^o$  and Agree: ditransitive is the spell out of  $\nu^o$ +PrtP+Root<sup>o</sup>, whereas transitive is the spell out of the  $\nu$ +PrtP+Appl<sup>o</sup>. In this case, passives might enter into simplex predicate formation that corresponds to the formation in which the participle is not introduced by PrtP head but by the head of VP. The assumption is based on Baker’s hypothesis that the past participle morpheme can be an argument, which absorbs the agent thematic role as the specifier of RootP.

(43) NON-CORE DATIVES (ALIEANABLE POSSESSOR/SOURCE)



In the construction above, a C-T- $\nu$ -V(=Root) complex can be formed and dative argument can inherit features from C and is licensed as the specifier of the Applicative head. On the assumption that non-core datives must establish an Agree relation in order to appear with transitive verbs, *le* appears obligatorily as a reflex of licensing. Note that dative possessors are involved possessors, which act as participants in the event described by the verb, but not necessarily affected (Cuervo 2010:160). It is also important to note that there is no dynamic relation of possessive transfer.

## 2. Limitations

As Pylkkänen(1997) discussed, “a comprehensive theory of linguistic representations must minimally (i) define the nature of the primitive building blocks that enter into linguistic computation, (ii) characterize the manner in which the basic units combine into complex representations and (iii) identify the ways in which languages may differ with respect to their inventory of possible representations” (p. 9). In the domain of argument structure, the question of how dative arguments get expressed

into argument structure has been answered here but the empirical motivation still remains unclear. The present proposal based on Agree with  $v$ , although it explains the triggering reasons for the clitic doubling and the (un)acceptability of passives with core non-core datives, it should be empirically developed in certain way and cover the dialectal variation.

## V. Conclusions

This paper reexamined the previous accounts on datives and argued that the core and the non-core datives should receive a distinct analysis, in order to account for their distinct behavior in periphrastic passives. That is, a passive operation can be accounted for by resource to the argument structure. This is based on the distinct syntactic behavior in nominalization, sluicing, and in particular, periphrastic passive constructions which are allowed with the core datives but not with the non-core datives. Two current accounts have been evaluated in terms of passivization and it has been shown that none of them correctly predicts on the (un)acceptability of passives with dative arguments.

Therefore, I claimed that clitic doubling in passives is associated with Agree with the little  $v$ , which results in the acceptable or unacceptable sentences in the passive. In this proposal, core datives do not need to be licensed, whereas non-core datives should be licensed via Agree but the passive functional head,  $\text{PrtP}$ , which is directly below  $\nu\text{P}$  phase, blocks this licensing, thus the derivation fails. This analysis would presumably predict ill-formedness of the passives with non-core datives, since it is precisely the failure which explains why clitic doubling should appear in actives with the non-core datives.

One of the important consequences of this generalization is that it constitutes support for the hypothesis that there is no need to assume a

special lexical mechanism for the passive formation, as the construction's properties are better understood as a result of normal syntactic and semantic composition.

In summary, the current analysis should be extended to account for dialectal variation, while capturing significant generalizations about passives. Further reflections and investigations should be made to better develop a linguistic model that can explain the complex syntactic and semantic behavior of Spanish dative arguments.

## Bibliography

- Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson, and Ian Roberts(1987), "Passive Arguments Raised," *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 20, pp. 219-251.
- Bleam, Tonia, M.(1999), *Leísta Spanish and the syntax of clitic doubling*, PhD dissertation, Univesity of Delaware.
- Boeckx, Cedric(2009), "On Long-Distance Agree," *Iberia: An International Journal of Theoretical Linguistics*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-32.
- Bosque, Ignacio and Gallego, Ángel J.(2011), *Spanish double passives and related structures*, Centre de Lingüística Teórica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Bosse, Solveig and Benjamin Bruening(2011), "Benefactive Versus Experiencer Datives," *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, pp. 69-77.
- Bruening, Benjamin(2011), "By-Phrase in Passive and Nominals," *Syntax*, Vol. 16, pp. 1-41.
- Campos, Hector(1987), "Passives in Modern Greek," *Lingua*, Vol. 73, pp. 301-312.
- Chung, Sandra(2013), "Syntactic Identity in Sluicing: How much and why," *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 44, pp. 1-44.
- Cuervo, Cristina(2003), *Datives at large*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010), "Against ditransitivity," *Probus*, Vol. 22, pp. 151-180.

- Demonte, Violeta(1995), “Dative alternation in Spanish,” *Probus*, Vol. 7, pp. 5-30.
- Folli, Raffaella and Heidi Harley(2013), “The syntax of argument structure: Evidence from Italian complex predicates,” *Linguistics*, Vol. 49, pp. 93-125.
- Harley, Heidi(2010), “Semantics in Distributed Morphology,” C. Maienborn, K. von Stechow and P. Portner(eds.), *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, vol. 3, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin, *The three adnominal possessive constructions in Egyptian-Coptic: Three degrees of grammaticalization*, in Grossman, Eitan & Haspelmath, Martin and Richter, Tonio Sebastian(eds.), *Egyptian-Coptic in typological perspective*.
- Kiparsky, Paul(2001), “Structural Case in Finnish,” *Lingua*, Vol. 111, pp. 315-376.
- Marchis, Mihaela Adriana, “‘Move vs. Agree’: The Case of Clitic Doubling,” *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 14, pp. 23-38.
- Masullo, Pascual(1992), *Incorporation and case theory in Spanish. A crosslinguistic perspective*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Melis, Chantal and Silvia Peña-Alfardo(2007), “El desarrollo histórico de la pasiva con se en español,” *Romance Philology*, Vol. 61, pp. 49-77.
- Mendikoetxea, Amaya(1999), “Construcciones con se: medias, pasivas e impersonales,” *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Bosque, Ignacio and Violeta Demonte, vol. 2: 1632-1722, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999), Construcciones Inacusativas y pasivas, *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Bosque, Ignacio and Violeta Demonte, vol. 2: 1575-1629, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Merchant, Jason(2013), *Ellipsis: A survey of analytical approaches*, Ms., University of Chicago.
- Ordóñez Ordóñez, Salvador(1999), Los dativos, *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Bosque and V. Demonte, vol. 2: 1855-1930, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Pujalte, Mercedes(2010), (Non)-added Datives in Spanish, Presented at *NELS 41*, University of Pennsylvania.
- Pylkkänen, Liina(2002), *Introducing Arguments*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.

Romero Méndez, Rodrigo(2007), Spanish Light Verb Constructions: co-predication with syntactically formed complex predicates.

**Nakyung Yoon**

Korea University  
joy2001@korea.ac.kr

Submission: March 26, 2021  
Revision Date: April, 20, 2021  
Approval Date: April, 20, 2021

# Los argumentos dativos de español en perífrasis pasivas

**Nakyung Yoon**

Korea University

Nakyung Yoon(2021), “Los argumentos dativos de español en perífrasis pasivas”, *Revista Asiática de Estudios Iberoamericanos*, 32(1), 1-43.

**Resumen** En este trabajo ofrecemos un análisis de la aceptabilidad y no aceptabilidad de ciertos dativos en perífrasis pasivas. Según Demonte(1995), los dativos argumentales pueden aparecer en las oraciones pasivas, mientras que la aparición de los dativos no argumentales está prohibida en dichas construcciones. Aquí proponemos que estos dativos argumentales y no argumentales deben recibir un análisis diferente al de la existente literatura, con el fin de explicar sus comportamientos sintácticos distintos en perífrasis pasivas. Datos como pasivización, nominalización, y *sluicing* en oraciones ditransitivas y transitivas demuestran que las propiedades de las estructuras del argumento argumental y no argumental son diferentes. Concluimos que el doblado de clítico de dativo es una realización morfológica de Agree con *v* pequeña que lo autorice. Más en concreto, aquellos SSDD dativos que requieren el doblado de clítico de dativo son los mismos SSDDs cuando están doblados en pasivas que resultan ser oraciones pasivas agramaticales. En las pasivas perifrásticas, sin embargo, PrtP les prohíbe establecer a SSDD dativos este tipo de relación Agree con *v* pequeña, con lo cual no puede ser autorizado.

**Palabras clave** dativos argumentales, dativos no argumentales, pasivas, estructura argumental, Agree