

Subjective and Objective Datives¹

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I. Introduction.

It is well known that dative constructions cover a wide variety of functions that have resisted a unified and motivated account. This paper offers a Cognitive Grammar account of dative constructions in Spanish. The meanings obtained in dative constructions involve a participant being affected. However the variety of ways in which affectedness can take place imposes serious problems to any coherent and motivated analysis. A sample of such variation is provided in examples 1 to 9:

1. *Le entregaron más recursos económicos a los municipios.*(CEQ)²
'They gave more economical resources to county'
2. *A esas bolsas sólo les cabe una barra de pan* (CEQ)
'Those bags only fit a baguette'
3. *A Adrián le encantó la película*
'Adrian loved the movie'
4. *Eso de andar con jovencitas no le va nada bien* (CEQ)
'That thing of going out with youngsters does not fit him'
5. *Adrián le arruinó la fiesta a Valeria*
'Adrian ruined Valeria's party'
6. *Adrián me le arruinó la fiesta a Valeria*
'Adrian ruined Valeria's party on me'
7. *El problema se me fue de las manos*
'The problem escaped from my hands'
8. *Se leyó el periódico de una sentada*
'He read the newspaper in one shot'
9. *Pásele!*
'Come on in!'

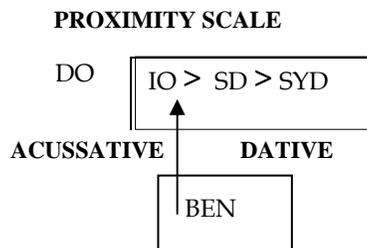
Dative and accusative clitics overlap in first and second person *me, nos, te* and can only be contrasted in third person *le(s)* for dative and *lo* for accusative. Datives involve among other constructions Indirect objects (IO), sympathetic datives (ED), so called, "inversion" phenomena

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² *Corpus del Español de Querétaro*. A data base collected at the Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro. The corpus consists of three million words including texts from journalism, formal and informal interviews as well as BA classroom essays and compositions. The semantic-statistics analysis of the corpus was done with Dirk Speelman's *Abundantia Verborum*, a computer tool for carrying out corpus-based linguistic studies developed at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. I am thankful to Dirk for his help using his program.

and other construction types that have generated unrestricted and quite confusing terminology. Indirect objects (1., 2. and 3.) are commonly distinguished from sympathetic datives (6.) in that the former is part of the core of the event while the latter is not. There are however important intermediate cases which require a specific account. Even within the realm of indirect objects there are enough problems which need to be dealt with. From the prototypical “transfer construction” (Langacker 1991b, Goldberg 1995, Newman 1996) involving a ditransitive verb in (1.) closely related and more distant constructions are obtained. Example (2.) does not involve a ditransitive verb nor does it have an agentive subject. In contrast, (3.) is a case of a mental verb whose dative participant is agentive enough to be seen as a potential subject. In all these cases the dative is part of the valence of the verb. In contrast it is also common to have datives not belonging to the verb’s valence. While (4.) involves an intransitive verb of motion *ir* “go”, (5.) is a prototypical transitive verb. Moreover, in (6.) there are two datives none of which is part of the valence of the verb. the dative clitic in (7.) can only occur if the middle marker *se* is present (**me fue de las manos*). Finally in (9.) is a discourse based emphatic of politeness. In all these examples the dative stands for a participant being affected in multiple ways. Yet affectedness is constrained to specific patterns that, I will claim, respond to one basic conceptual schema.

From the examples above two basic problems arise: a) there is considerable polysemy in the core functions of the dative and b) the core functions extend first to uses that resemble its basic representation and then to constructions more loosely connected. Important headway has been made in recent functional and cognitive approaches (Delbeque and Lamiroi 1992, 1996 (D&L), Vázquez 1995) in understanding these phenomena. This paper grows from them to motivate the emergence of these constructions from basic cognitive operations. The first problem is accounted for by the archetype representation of the experiencer role (Langacker 1991a, b) which, given its internal configuration, applies to some specific domains. The second problem emerges when the dative role archetype is evaluated *vis a vis* the conceptualizer. Thus the dative is located in different positions pertaining to the objectivity/subjectivity alignment of the conceptualizer with respect to the scene. I will suggest that there are three conceptual places that the dative participant may occupy: the actual scene, the setting or the conceptual sphere. These places determine the existence of three outstanding dative constructions: indirect objects (IO), setting datives (SD) and sympathetic datives (SYD). As the dative moves from the core of the event to more peripheral areas, the subjective construal of the scene increases. While only indirect objects are in the scene other datives are located in more peripheral areas of the conceptual event, as suggested by the following proximity scale:



Both the role archetype and the proximity scale will provide the basis to exclude benefactives from the dative dominion.

There are several topics that this paper will not address. Although these topics are consistent with the analysis they require independent papers. First, the discourse base emphatic

pásele ‘como on in’(9.), *correle* ‘hurry up’, etc.. See Torres’ (1999) analysis for an illuminating analysis.

The other problem not being analyzed here is the “completive” construction, traditionally known as ethical dative, exemplified in (10.) and (11.):

10. *Se leyó el periódico de una sentada*
‘S/he read the whole paper in one sitting’

11. *Se comió toda la ración*
‘S/he ate up the whole portion’

In previous work (Maldonado 1999) I have proposed that the dative middle marker *se* lets the subject fully exploit the object provided that there is high degree of transitivity, bounding, object placing in the dominion of the subject and, above all, subject involvement. I will assume that analysis and simply show how it corresponds to the basic dative schema.

All other meanings highlighted in 1 to 9 will be accounted for in a network of related meanings which will follow from the dative schema and the placement of the conceptualizer in different places of the conceptual event. Section II will offer some cognitive grammar notions relevant for the analysis. Section III provides the prototype for datives and offers a basic schema licensing different elaborations. Section IV is devoted to the analysis of datives belonging to the valence of the verb. Section V describes patterns in which the dative schema is elaborated by different verb types. Verbs of communication, dative reversals, locative affected datives, whole part and additive datives are seen in separate subsections. Section VI is devoted to two place verbs with dative complements including hyperactive verbs. Section VII accounts for applicatives, i.e. non-valence datives that mirror the structure of the prototype. Section VIII. Shows that benefactives and datives have a different configuration and show no overlap. Section IX addresses the problem of subjectivity. Section X is devoted to sympathetic datives. Section XI addresses setting datives and what is known as the “*se me* construction”. Section XII spells out the conceptual paths covered by dative constructions including crucial issues of dative constructions in all Spanish speaking dialects. Finally, Section XIII concludes with general observations about the structure of dative constructions.

II. Cognitive grammar

Given the development of cognitive grammar I assume basic familiarity with the theory. Fundamental to cognitive grammar is the fact that all linguistic units involve three elements: a semantic pole, a phonological pole and a symbolic relation which links the two. Thus all expression are symbolic in nature. Moreover, “linguistic expressions and grammatical constructions embody conventional imagery, which constitutes an essential aspect of their semantic value. In choosing a particular expression or construction, a speaker construes the conceived situation in a certain way. i.e., he selects a particular image (from a range of alternatives) to structure its conceptual content for expressive purposes” (Langacker 1987: 7). Each construction depicts a conceived situation which includes all the relevant cognitive domains as well as the specific construal the conceptualizer imposes on the scene.

A grammatical construction is thus an assembly of symbolic structures. One of these structures enjoys privileged status. It is foregrounded as “it represents the assembly’s primary value letting the other elements in the construction remain in the background. The foregrounded element is called the *composite structure*” (Langacker 2000:24) for it usually incorporates the content of those in the background: the *component structures*. Two or more component expressions can be integrated to form a more complex unit. Integration is obtained establishing correspondences between subparts of component structures and superimposing the corresponding entities.

A grammatical relation generally has one or more focal elements normally describable as participants. Participants show important salience asymmetries which are claimed to correspond to figure/ground organization. The most salient element in a relation is called the *trajector* and is characterized as the *primary figure*. The second focal element, the *landmark*, is characterized as a *secondary figure* within the profiled relationship. Should there be a third focal element in a given relation it would be considered as a *secondary landmark*.

Fundamental to clause structure are several conceptual archetypes which may come from perception, physical experience and cultural knowledge. From these archetypes is formed a more complex one that Langacker calls the *canonical event model*. There are two component archetypes that are crucial for this study: the *billiard ball model* and the *stage model*. According to the first we see the world as populated by physical objects “moving in space and impacting other objects which undergo some reaction due to the force thereby transmitted.” (Langacker 2000:24). Two basic role archetypes are subsumed in the model. An “agent” volitionally carries out a physical action, being both the instigator and the source of energy. While the “patient” is taken “in a narrow sense to indicate an object that undergoes an internal change of state” (Langacker 2000:24). Non focal participants are expressed as obliques as is *Adam* in:

12. *In the garden, Eve sliced an apple for Adam*

In the garden constitutes the *setting* for it specifies the global locus within which the profiled event occurs. “The setting can be equated with the general locus of viewing attention” (Langacker 2000: 25).

The second archetype is the “stage model”, a reflection of perceptual (especially visual) experience. “In the normal arrangement, we direct our gaze outward to a general locus of viewing attention—the “on stage region”. Within this region we focus our attention on specific objects and their interactions” (Langacker 2000:24) We are offstage as viewers while the participants are on stage as in a play. Figure 1 and (13.) are alternative representations of the two submodels being conflated in the *canonical event model*:

13. [V → [... AG ⇒ PAT ...]]

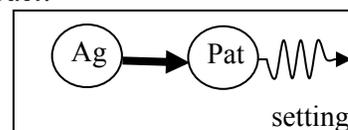


Figure 1

The dashed arrow indicates a perceptual relationship of the Viewer with respect to the action. The double arrow indicates an interaction involving a transmission of energy from the Agent to the Patient. “The outer brackets delimit the viewer’s maximal scope (everything within the field of view), the inner brackets mark the on-stage region (the general locus of viewing attention)”. Moreover in figure 1 the rectangle represents the setting where the participants interact.

III. The prototype

Langacker proposes a four way distinction to handle the nuclear role archetypes to be found in basic clause structure. The contrast is summarized in table 1

	Source	Target
Active	Agent	Experiencer
Passive	Instrument	Theme

Table 1 Role Archetype Model

Agents and instruments are in the source domain. Experiencers and themes lie at the opposite end. The notion of “theme” subsumes all non-active participants in the target domain, most typically patients (*I opened the door*), movers (*I threw the ball*) and zero (*She is tall*). A different relationship is established regarding degree of activity: agents and datives are active while instruments and themes are not.

This four way distinction follows from the billiard ball model. The patient typically lies down stream from the agent and undergoes some change of state (The squiggly arrow in figure 2). The instrument may be conceptualized as a non-active participant transmitting the energy inherited from the agent to the patient. The wider arrow in figure 2 represents a higher degree of energy transmission of the agent:

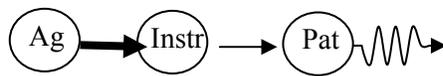


Figure 2

In *John opened the door with the key* the door is directly affected by John’s energetic transfer through the key. Patients are in the target domain. They differ from experiencers in that they are passively affected by the agent’s action. Experiencers, in contrast, are defined as ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE TARGET DOMAIN. Affectedness takes place in an active manner for the participant makes mental contact with the result of some action (generally imposed on the patient). Being in the target domain, the experiencer is the last element to be affected in the action chain. While the patient presupposes direct contact and passive affectedness, the experiencer implies a more distant relationship due to a higher degree of participant activity. The experiencer’s activity may be motivated in different ways, the most common one being a concrete or abstract possessive relationship with the patient.

The notion of target domain is a complex one and needs to be spelled out in two related but independent notions:

14. Target₁ refers to the action chain's energy flow and defines the dative as a participant lying downstream from the subject (after the accusative).
15. Target₂ designates the spatial interpretation of the dominion as a locative goal.

As I shall point out in the paper this distinction follows from the grammaticalization process of datives where concrete GOALS take a more abstract representation profiling a schematic trajectory with no specific directionality. I will claim that target₁ is always profiled while target₂ can be down played to profile schematic trajectories. In most cases both meanings are fused in a complex representation but in others they may accomplish different functions. In this paper the term target implies both notions. The subindex will only be used in cases where target₁ and target₂ accomplish different functions.

The experiencer is the prototype for dative constructions. Datives are best represented by indirect objects. In the “transfer construal” there is no direct contact between the subject and the indirect object for the experiencer participant is distant from the actual performance of the subject. In the transfer construal the theme is relocated from the dominion of the subject to that of the experiencer. Defined in broad terms, the notion of dominion corresponds to a virtual area in which a participant may interact physically or mentally with other entities. The following are obvious examples of that construal:

16. *Le entregaron más recursos económicos a los municipios* (CEQ)
‘They gave more funds to the districts’

17. *Nos ofrecieron una oportunidad inigualable* (CEQ)
‘They offered an unbeatable opportunity to us’

The transfer construal in figure 3 represents adequately the prototype:

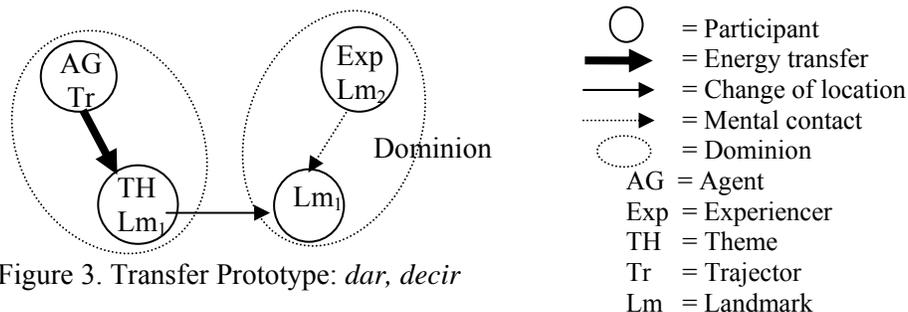


Figure 3. Transfer Prototype: *dar, decir*

Example (17.) only differs from (16.) in having an abstract theme being transferred. Figure 3 offers

a conceptual schema where the theme lands in the experiencer's dominion³ at the endpoint of a trajectory. As indicated by the dotted arrow, the experiencer is active as s/he establishes physical or mental contact with the transferred object. I will claim that datives always conform to Langacker's characterization of the experiencer as both active and located in the target domain.

³ To simplify matters I will not be concerned here with the subject's dominion which is obviously present as the subject interacts with the object.

Both properties are crucial. The target location guarantees that no dative will be the primary initiator of an event, a property being reserved for agents in the source domain. The active characterization of the experiencer establishes a clear contrast with non-active themes. It also implies the presence of some concrete or abstract dominion where the experiencer interacts with some element. The emergence of possessive meanings with respect to the theme are thus expected.

Given this schema different elaborations and motivated extensions are created to conform a network of related meanings. I will claim that these meanings derive from profiling or leaving in the background one or more of the core properties of the transfer schema. Based on this schematic representation, in the next section I analyze datives belonging to the verb's valence.

IV. Valence datives

Indirect objects lie in the center of the dative construction. The experiencer is active as s/he interacts physically or mentally with the object located in his/her dominion. This characterization implies specific coding patterns.

IV.1. *Obligatoriness*

The experiencer is considered part of the verb valence since it cannot be omitted as the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples show:

- 18. *Le encanta el tequila*
'She loves tequila'
- b. * *Encanta el tequila*
- 19.a. *Le duele la pierna*
'His leg hurts'
- b. * *Duele la pierna*
- 20.a. *Son problemas que a él no le incumben (CEQ)*
'These are problems that don't concern him'
- b. * *Son problemas que no incumben*

Three place predicates conform to the prototype: in non-anaphoric situations dative omission leads to questionable or ungrammatical results:

- 21.a. *Le di un regalo a Tachita*
'I gave a gift to tachita'
- b. ??/* *Di un regalo*
- 22.a. *Le ofrecí mi casa pero prefirió llegar a un hotel*
'I offered him my house but he preferred to stay at a hotel'
- b. * *ofrecí mi casa pero prefirió llegar a un hotel*

Yet, to produce generic statements, the dative of ditransitive verbs can be omitted. This process mirrors the way direct objects can be left implicit in antipassive constructions. The accusative in (23.) and the dative in (24.) are omitted:

ACCUSATIVE OMISSION

23. -¿*Qué has hecho en los últimos años?*
 What have you done in the last years?
 -He enseñado, como siempre (implied: matemáticas ‘math’ etc.)

DATIVE OMISSION

24. -¿*Qué has hecho en los últimos años?*
 What have you done in the last years?
 -*Nada, he donado mi tiempo* (implied: a la gente ‘to some people’)
 ‘Nothing, I have donated (some of) my time’

By definition, the dative participant of generic statements cannot be spelled out, yet some abstract recipient is always implied. As the recipient becomes specific the dative must be overtly coded:

25. *He donado mi tiempo a programas de beneficio social* (CEQ)
 ‘I have given my time to social programs’

IV.2 *le... a+fn*

The dative is prototypically encoded by a clitic *le(s)* linked to a prepositional phrase introduced by *a*. In (26.) *le* and the PP cooccur. Once the participant is established in discourse the presence of the clitic *le* is enough to depict the dative participant⁴. Thus the *a* phrase may be left out. In (27.) *le* refers anaphorically to a participant already set in previous discourse:

26. *Hay que reconocer la fortaleza y firmeza que esto le ha dado al candidato* (CEQ)
 ‘We must acknowledge the strength and the firmness that this has given to the candidate’
 27. *le han ofrecido grandes cantidades por el proyecto* (CEQ)
 ‘They have offered him big amounts of money for the project’

The *a*+NP cluster must always be cliticizable by *le*. Thus verbs like *acceder* ‘have access to’, *acudir* ‘attend’, *adherir* ‘join’, *colaborar* ‘collaborate’, *proceder* ‘proceed’. Do not have dative complements:

- 28.a. *Acudió a la junta, al médico*
 ‘He attended the meeting, He went to the doctor’
 b. * *Le acudió a la junta, al médico*

⁴ An argument supporting the claim that the clitic is becoming the dative marker *per se* is the fact that in current Mexican Spanish and other contemporary dialects the clitic *le* needs not show number agreement with the PP: *Ya le dieron a los niños su pastel.* (*le* = singular, *niños* = plural).

Delbecque and Lamiroy (1992), among other scholars, include non cliticizable *a*+NPs in the dative basket. In section V.3. I argue that all (locative) targets must also be affected participants.

Albeit dialectal differences, the prepositional phrase may occur without the clitic *le* in formal and written discourse. In all dialects of Spanish the clitic establishes a stronger link between the indirect object and the theme. As the link gets looser, the possibility of omitting the clitic increases. This gradual contrast can be observed in (29.):

- 29.a. *sabe que su declinación le/0 daría al foxismo la presidencia de la república* (CEQ)
 ‘He knows that his declining his position would give the Fox party the republic’s presidency’
- b. *inmediatamente les/0 pidió a los manifestantes que abandonaran las instalaciones* (CEQ)
 ‘immediately he asked the protesters to leave the building’
- c. *Tachún le/??0 dio un beso a Adrián*
 ‘Tachún gave a kiss to Adrian’
- d. *Le/??0 ruego exprese mis sentimientos a todos los familiares de su hermano* (CEQ)
 ‘I beg you to express my condolences to all your brother’s relatives’
- e. *Nada más díganles que no le/*0 tengan miedo a la libertad* (CEQ)
 Lit: ‘Tell them not to have fear for freedom’

In (29.a. and b.) the transfer is abstract and the dative participant is either an institution or a replicate mass. The use of *le* implies direct and stronger contact between the subject and the dative participant: *le* in (29.a.) would make giving the presidency irrefutable--optional without *le*, in (29.b.) it would imply that the speaker made eye contact with the audience--not so in the absence of *le*. Notice that in cases of stronger linkage be it kissing or directly addressing someone the absence of *le* lead to undesirable results as in (29.c and d).

Third person-plural impersonal constructions (30., 31.) and generic referents such as institutions, groups, masses either in subject (33.) or indirect object position (32.) depict a looser subject-dative linkage for either the dative or the subject remain schematic. Under those circumstances the clitic *le* can be left out:

30. *Dieron un día extra de asueto a los trabajadores del Estado* (CEQ)
 ‘They gave the State employees an extra free day’
31. *Autorizaron un aumento del 10% al precio de la galsolina* (CEQ)
 ‘They authorized a 10% increase in the gas price’
32. *Corresponderá a las autoridades vigilar el caso* (CEQ)
 ‘It will be the authorities duty to view the case’
33. *Los ingenieros agrónomos manifestaron su apoyo al aspirante priísta*
 ‘The engineers manifested their support to PRI candidate’

Notice that the transfer to the target domain always takes place. There are however important differences in the way the linkage is seen. In the presence of the clitic *le* not only does the transfer take place but the dative–theme contact is unquestionable. In the absence of *le*, the speaker simply reports an observed transference event where the dative-theme contact is not profiled. Notice that in situation requiring physical contact *le* omission renders ungrammatical results:

34. *El la quería saludar, pero ella no le/*0 quiso dar la mano*
 ‘He wanted to shake hands with her, but she didn’t want to give him her hand’
35. *Le/*0 quitó las monedas de la mano*
 ‘He grabbed the coins from his hand’

At the discourse level the use of *le* lets the speaker validate the event. For instance, example (33.) can be said in situations where the participants simply agree to support the candidate. If *le* is introduced as in (36.) the engineers actually expressed their support to the candidate face to face and the speaker validates such act for he may have seen it or it may have been referred from an unquestionable source:

36. *Los ingenieros agrónomos le manifestaron su apoyo al aspirante priísta* (CEQ)
 ‘The engineers manifested their support to PRI candidate’

In the absence of *le* no validation takes place. This lack of speaker commitment explains why in newspaper headlines as well as formal and reported speech there is a strong tendency to omit *le* despite the existence of well defined participants:

37. *Dieron el Nobel a García Márquez* (CEQ)
 ‘They gave García Márquez the Nobel price’
38. *La Academia ha atribuido el premio a Octavio Paz* (Form D & L 1992)
 ‘The Academy has awarded the price to Octavio Paz’
39. *Atribuyen la paternidad a Juan* (Form D & L 1992)
 ‘They attribute aptrernity to John’

To sum up, the clitic *le* strengthens the linkage that the indirect object establishes with the theme or with the subject. Strong linkage presupposes well defined participants involved in some transfer. Strong linkage is by default validated by the conceptualizer by means of *le*. Yet the conceptualizer may opt to establish some distance with respect to the event and simply report about it as a plain fact. Under those circumstances *le* may be omitted.

Many scholars (García 1975, Alarcos 1994, Vázquez1988, 1995, D & L 1992 and many others) have pointed out that the clitic *le* is obligatory when the prepositional phrase is not in its canonical position:

40. *A García Márquez le Dieron el Nobel*
 ‘They gave García Márquez the Nobel price’
41. *A las autoridades les corresponderá vigilar el caso*
 ‘It will be the authorities duty to view the case’

The point is well taken. However, the conceptualizer is still able to refrain from validating an event by omitting the clitic *le* in those contexts:

42. *A las autoridades corresponderá vigilar el caso*
 ‘It will be the authorities duty to view the case’

Unless the speaker wants to establish some distance with respect to the validity of the event, a dislocated dative PP make *le* obligatory.

IV.3 *Le/lo* overlap

Spanish is well known to be divided among dialects that distinguish dative and accusative pronouns and those that tend to fuse the distinction in a *le* or a *lo* form. Moreover, in some dialects, that do distinguish datives from accusatives there is a strong tendency to favor the use of *le* when the referent is human and masculine. This is the case for the dialect of Madrid:

- 43. *Pepe lo??/le hundió*
'Pepe submerged him'
- 44. *Pepe lo??/le admira*
'Pepe admires him'

D & L have proposed a rule to tease datives and accusatives apart:

- 45. "only those *a* NP complements which can be cliticized by a pronoun *la* and cannot be replaced by *le* are accusatives" (D & L 1992)

In order to accommodate the dialects represented by (43.) and (44.), the rule must be stated in less restrictive terms:

- 46. "only those *a* NP complements which can be cliticized by a pronoun *la* are accusatives"

Hundir and *admirar* thus do not have dative arguments:

- 47. *Pepe la hundió*
'Pepe pushed her down'
- 48. *Pepe la admira*
'Pepe admires her'

The use of *le* in the dialects following the pattern of (43.) and (44.) is determined by a variety of social asymmetries (social status and sex mainly) crystallized along the historical evolution of Spanish. Based on ample and thorough discourse analysis of old Spanish, Flores (1999) has shown that symmetrical relationships take the clitic *le*, while the lower participant in an asymmetrical relation is signaled by *lo/la*. Thus the object of *Pedro lo hundió* can be a slave, not the master, even less so the king.

In order to distinguish datives from accusatives rule (46.) must be strengthened with rule (49.):

- 49. Datives cannot become subjects of passive constructions

Passivization is precluded for Spanish datives:

- 50. * *García Márquez fue dado el nobel*

- ‘Garcia Marquez was given he nobel prize’
 51. * *La autoridades son correspondidas vigilar el caso*
 ‘The autorieties correspond watch the case’

However to actually exclude all accusative *a* NPs, rule (49.) it must operate with rule (46.) for there are two-place verbs with low transitivity (*tener* ‘have’) that do not undergo passive (**cinco hijos son tenidos*). The value of the passive test for this problem is stringer than has been acknowledged in previous analysis⁵. According to this criteria verbs like *concernir* that have been analyzed by D & L (1992) as plain transitives are in fact intransitives with a dative object:

- 52.a. *Este problema concierne a todos los estudiantes* (D & L 1992)
 ‘This problem concerns all the students’
 b. *Este problema les/*las concierne a todas las estudiantes* (clitic *le*, feminine referent)
 ‘This problem concerns all the students’
 c. * *Todos los estudiantes están/son concernidos por este problema*

Datives, as equated with experiencer participants, are characterized as active participants in the target domain. Datives are coded by:

- 53.a. the clitic *le* which is further elaborated by a prepositional phrase
 b. The prepositional phrase is always introduced by *a*
 c. *Le* strengthens the link that the dative participant establishes with the thematic object or with the subject
 d. The clitic *le* can be omitted to reduce the link between participants
 e. Under dislocation of the prepositional phrase *le* tends to be required
 f. The clitic *le* is dative when it cannot be substituted by the accusative clitic *la*.
 g. The dative phrase cannot become the subject of a passive construction.

V. Elaborations of the dative schema

The characterization of datives as active participants in the target domain involve three major coexisting properties:

- a transference
- a trajectory
- a target domain, which involves locative properties
- a non-initiative participant actively involved in some activity

V.1 Central cases

These properties may have different strengths leading to different dative constructions. The prototype involves a trajectory from the agent to the experiencer participant. In the concrete

⁵ D and L include in this group *poseer* ‘possess’. However *poseer* can undergo passive: *Según la inquisición los indios eran poseídos por el diablo*.

domain verbs like *dar* ‘give’, *obsequiar* ‘bestow’, *regalar* ‘give away’, *enviar* ‘send’, *donar* ‘donate’ *entregar* ‘turn in’, etc. fully instantiate the schematic representation of the construction. The vast majority of the examples in the corpus conform to this pattern.

In the abstract domain verbs of communication (*decir* ‘tell’, *advertir* ‘warn’, *pedir* ‘ask’, etc.) also conform to the schema: words, messages, ideas, desires and the like are transferred from the source to the target domain:

54. *..le envió un mensaje a Vicente Fox y le dijo que en Carlos Guzmán Pérez, tiene un verdadero contendiente electoral* (CEQ)
 ‘He sent a message to Vicente Fox and told him that in Carlos Guzmán he has a real electoral competitor’
55. *..le explicó a los alumnos la función de la Comisión* (CEQ)
 ‘He explained the student the Comisión’s function’
56. *sus propios compañeros de bancada... le recriminaron esa actitud* (CEQ)
 ‘His own Party colleagues recriminated him for having such conduct’

Belonging to the same group are verbs which lexicalize (Talmy 1985) the object in the verb’s meaning. The transfer still takes place yet the object is implicit in the meaning of the verb. In the following examples the experiencer is still active in the target domain as s/he establishes mental contact with an abstract object being transferred. Depending on the level of lexicalization the implied communication in the verb may be overtly expressed. In verbs like *renunciar* (57.), *llamar* ‘call’ (58.) it may not, while in *gritar* ‘scream’ (59.) the overt object generates a related change in meaning:

57. *No aguantó más y le renunció en la cara* (CEQ)
 ‘He could not take it any more and he quit right in his face’
58. *Le llamó para felicitarlo* (CEQ)
 ‘He called him (over the phone) to congratulate him’
- 59.a. *...le gritaban a Labastida, haciendo con la mano la V de la victoria de Vicente...* (CEQ)
 ‘They would scream at Labastida, doing the V-sign for Vicente’s victory’
- b. *...le gritaban que se callara* (CEQ)
 ‘They would scream at him to shut him up’

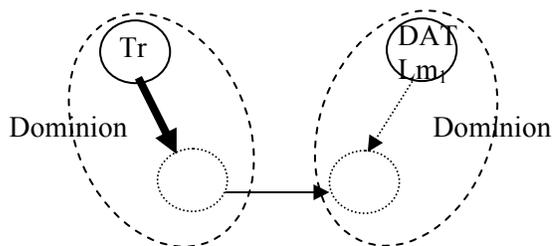


Figure 4. Implied objects. Verbs of communication

In figure 4 the dative becomes the primary landmark since the object remains covert.

The characterization of the dative as active takes care of the polysemy of *llamar* and other verbs (mostly psych verbs *interesar* ‘interest’, *atraer* ‘attract’, etc.) that can take either dative or accusative objects. When the experiencer is active, the meaning of communication is obtained as in (58.). Non-active objects are patients marked for accusative *lo*, be it a plain direct object as in (60.) or an object in a small-clause like in (61.):

60. *lo llamó para regañarlo*
‘He called him (made him come) to reprimend him’

61. *le gritaban... y lo llamaban asesino* (CEQ)
‘They would scream at him and called him assasine’

V.2 Reversals

In the prototype the transfer goes from the source domain to the target domain. However as I introduced the *role archetype model*, I pointed out that the notion of target incorporates two more specific interpretations. Target₁ refers to the action chain’s energy flow and defines the dative as a participant lying downstream from the subject (after the accusative). Target₂ designates the spatial interpretation of the dominion as a locative goal.

In the prototype Target₁ and Target₂ are conflated. As part of its grammaticalization process, the dative derives a more schematic representation where the direction of the trajectory is not specified. This is obtained by down playing target₂ and letting target₁ be the nuclear property of such dominion. Consequently, the dative can be both the locative source or the goal of the event for only a schematic trajectory is foregrounded. In all cases the dative remains as a target₁ for his/her activity is equated with affectedness.

Given this schematic representation *pedir* ‘ask for’, *reclamar* ‘claim back’, *exigir* ‘demand’, *solicitar* ‘require’ are typical verbs where both the locative source and the goal coexist, the former being more prominent. In (62.) the governor is both the target of a petition and the source of the implied answer:

62. *El líder estatal le pide al gobernador que diga la verdad* (CEQ)
‘The state leader asks the governor to tell the truth’

The polysemy of verbs like *comprar* where de dative can either be the source or the target of the action correspond to the same phenomenon. Target₁ is always present. Only in the source interpretation (63.) target₂ is downplayed:

63. *Tan pronto como puso su casa en venta se la compré*
‘As soon as he put his house on sale I bought it from him’

64. *Espero que le guste el vestido que le compré*
‘I hope she likes the dress I bought for her’

Given such schematic trajectory, the dative can be the locative source of some motion path. The following are only a few examples of a very productive pattern which applies not only to valence

datives like *comprar* ‘buy’ *vender* ‘sell’ but also to derived datives (see section VII. *Non-valence datives*):

65. *Ahórrele tiempo a toda la familia, el internet a su alcance* (CEQ)
‘Save your family time, the internet at your reach’
66. *Al perfume se le fue el aroma*
‘The lotion let go its odor’
67. *La oportunidad de ser presidente se le alejaba cada vez más* (CEQ)
‘The opportunity of becoming a president was farther and farther away from him’
68. *Consideraron que su comportamiento era inadmisibile y le retiraron el saludo*
‘The considered his behavior inadmissible and they withdraw their greeting from him’

In reversals (as termed by D & L 1992) the dative is consistently in the target domain for s/he does not initiate or cause the event. Active though s/he may be, the dative experiencer is unable to make the event happen for it is equated with target₁. Figure 5 represent the dative reversal as an active participant in the target domain. His/her activity is reduced to make contact with the theme not to actually induce the event. In reversals what may change is the directionality of the path (the two-way dotted arrow), not the dative’s (mental) contact with the theme:

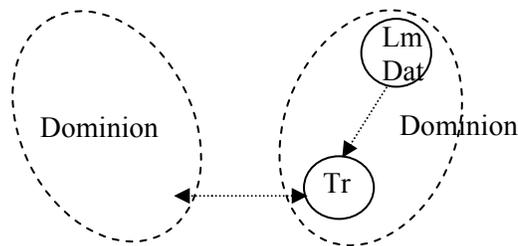


Figure 5. Reversals

V.3 *Local prominence and affectedness*

An area of particular conflict for datives is that of locative meanings. Given that datives can be locative targets, there is a tendency in current analysis to include more locative participants than the dative actually takes. I propose that the condition for a target to be dative is to fulfill the properties of the transfer schema in figure 3 i.e., the target must also be an active participant. Activity in these case is equated with affectedness. These datives are closely related to—but should not be confused wit--benefactives and malefactives. In (69.) *a la señora* is not only a locative target but she is also positively affected by the subject’s actions:

69. *Le_i acercó la silla a la señora_i*
‘He pulled the chair up for the lady’

Notice from (70.) that datives can be co-referential for the subject may act in his/her own benefit. This is also a requirement for locative targets as in (71.):

70. *Se compró una falda* REFLEX = SELF BENEFIT

- ‘She bought herself a skirt’
 71. *Se acercó la silla*
 ‘She pull the chair up for herself’

Non affected locatives are not datives. *Le* cannot be linked to *mesa* in (73.) and it cannot be reflexive: (71.) can only be the self-benefactive counterpart of (69.), not of (72.):

72. *Acercó la silla a la mesa*
 ‘He approached the chair to the table’
 73. * *Le acercó la silla a la mesa*

The requirement is crucial for it excludes verbs that D & L treat as subcases of verbs like *añadir*, *aplicar*, *asociar*, etc. which do take dative complements. The verbs under consideration “can also be construed with the preposition *con* provided the *correspondence* is conceived as *coincidence*: *aliar*, *asimilar*, *comparar*, *juntar*, *mezclar*, *reunir*, *unir*, etc.”. I claim that this is precisely inadequate for the proper characterization of datives. In *añadir*, *aplicar*, *asociar* affectedness takes place in the “incorporative” sense:

74. *Se le añade azafrán al arroz*
 ‘One must add azafrán to the rice’
 75. *Le aplicó una dosis de penicilina al paciente*
 ‘He applied the patient a dose of penicillin’
 76. Carlos Fuentes les asoció a los revolucionarios propiedades de héroes invencibles
 ‘Carlos Fuentes attributed the revels features of invincible heroes’

Now, verbs construed with *con* show the opposite properties: two entities coincide in one concrete or abstract space, yet no affectedness takes place. *Asociar con* takes a complex object composed of two individual entities yet in (77.) neither *israelies* nor *palestinos* undergo any change of state:

77. *Por error, el conferencista asoció a israelíes con palestinos*
 ‘By mistake, the speaker associated Israelites with Palestinians’

It is precisely because the notion of COINCIDENCE takes place that affectedness is excluded. For the same reason in the presence of the preposition *con* there is no dative formation. Notice from (78.) that verbs taking non affected participants even with the preposition *a*—which is rather marginal—preclude the use of *le*:

- 78.a. *Alió indios con mestizos*
 ‘He united Indians with Mestizos’
 b. *Alió indios a Mestizos*
 ‘He united Indians with (Lit: to) Mestizos’
 c. * *Cortés les alió los indios a los mestizos*
 79.a. *Juntó los niños a los jóvenes*

- b. * *Les juntó los niños a los jóvenes*
 ‘He joined the children to the young people’

Affectedness does not take place for it is the subject that establishes some mental or physical link between independent and symmetrical entities. The theme is relocated to a mental or physical area occupied by other participant, yet that participant undergoes no change at all. Notice from figure 6 that the dotted lines signaling mental activity are now link to the subject. In contrast, figure 7 fully corresponds to the prototype except that, for example (69.), it may have a further specification where the dominion can be read as a location. For this construction type location and affectedness are profiled.

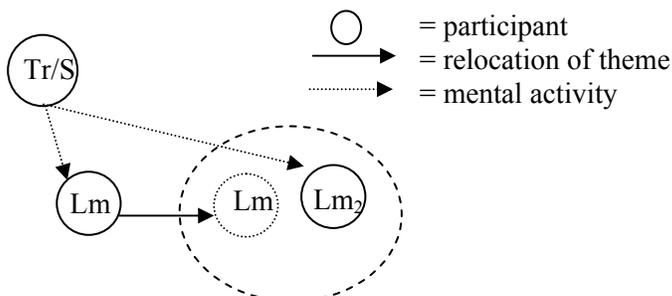


Figure 6. *Asociar con*

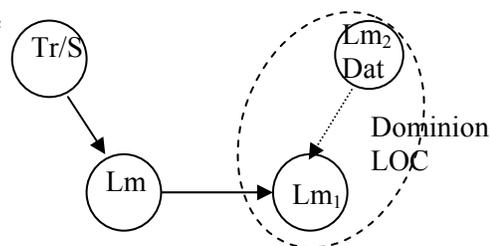


Figure 7. *Acercar, Añadir*

V.4. Whole part and additive datives

Assuming the tenets of figure 7, little needs to be said about whole/part and additive datives. The former type is exemplified in (80.), while the later corresponds to the *añadir* class, enriched here with the examples in (81.):

- 80.a. *Lávate las manos antes de comer*
 ‘Wash your hands before eating’
- b. *la mamá no la dejaba y le detenía la manita y le decía ¡Eso no!*
 ‘Her mother did not let her go and she held her little hand and told her: that, NO!’
- c. *Le cortaron el pelo a Adrián/ a la oveja*
 ‘They cut Adrian’s/the ship’s hair’
- d. *Le cambiaron las llantas al coche*
 ‘They changed the car’s tires’
- 81.a. *Al sofá le pusieron fundas nuevas*
 ‘They put new covers on the sofa’
- b. *Como José Angel se va sin avisar, cuando salen le atan un cable a la cintura (CEQ)*
 ‘Since José Angel goes away with out telling anybody, they tie a line to his waist when they go out’
- c. *A la salsa le falta sal*
 ‘The salsa needs (is lacking) some salt’

Examples in (80.) and (81.) only differ in one property. The theme in (80.) already belongs in the experiencer's dominion while in (81.) it is brought into such dominion. The notion of dominion is of main relevance here. Defined as a VIRTUAL AREA TO WHICH A PARTICIPANT HAS ACCESS FOR INTERACTION, the dominion in the dative construction relates two asymmetrical entities. The dative being active is higher in the empathy scale (Givon 1984), while the theme is passive and less salient than the dative. This asymmetry parallels the one defined by Langacker for possessives. The possessor is more prominent than the possessum since the latter is located in the dominion of the former for different types of interaction. Consequently, the possessor operates as a REFERENCE POINT to locate a less salient entity. As shown in previous work (Maldonado 1992, 1999) this parallelism precludes the use of the possessive pronoun in the dative construction in standard Spanish:

- 82.a. * *Le cortaron su cabello*
 'They cut her hair'
 b. * *Le duele su cabeza*
 'His head hurts on him'

The same phenomenon is found in other languages, as Velázquez (1996) has pointed out for Guaraní and other languages. The coexistence of two asymmetrical participants in the same dominion signals some type of possessive relationship. Since the dative already profiles such relation the use of the possessive is redundant.

Mexican Spanish has developed the use of dative+possessive to emphasize a higher degree of affectedness. The most common way double possessives occur is with diminutive nouns signaling special consideration for the (body) part and first person pronouns involving the speaker⁶:

- 83.a. *Me duele mi cabecita*
 'My little tummy hurts on me'
 b. */?? *Me duele la cabecita*

In non redundant constructions, the dative signals possession, inalienable possession being the most common one, as can be seen from examples (80.) and (81.). In these cases affectedness is obtained as a consequence of possession.

For cases where the theme is already in the dative experiencer's dominion, affectedness is obtained by imposing a change on the part. For those like *añadir* 'add' (81.), which bring the object in the dominion or take it out from it, affectedness comes as the change of state enriches or impoverishes the experiencer.

⁶ Company (1995) suggests that in double possessive constructions the possessive pronoun is reduced to something close to a plain determiner. The fact that the determiner is marginal runs against such assessment. Instead, I suggest that the dative profiles the participant's affectedness in his dominion, while the possessive pronoun highlights the uniqueness of the possessive situation as opposed to the plain inalienability of whole-part relations.

VI. Two place predicates.

From the discussion so far it stands out that the dative construction focuses on the target domain. Whether the transfer is induced or not by a volitional agent is irrelevant for the purpose of the dative construction per se. Thus, trimming down the initiative force of the agent, the dative construction simply conforms to figure 8 where a thematic subject enters or already belongs in the dominion of the experiencer.

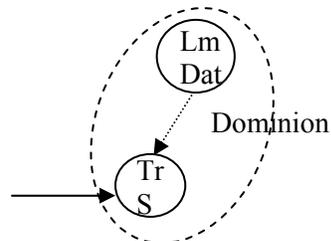


Figure 8. Two place datives

I have already pointed out that the schema leaves directionality unspecified. Thus the theme may either enter or leave the experiencer's dominion. Verbs that are paragons for the two dative construction are *caber* 'fit', *faltar* 'lack, miss', *bastar* 'be enough for', *sobrar* 'excess':

84. *A esas bolsas sólo les cabe una barra de pan*
'Those bags are good for only a baguette'
85. *La pintura es interesante, pero le falta luz*
'The painting is interesting but it is lacking light'
86. *A la casa ya le toca su pintada*
'It's the house turn to be painted'

The fact that the dative is characterized as active does not necessarily imply an animate participant. Inanimate elements can be affected or seen as active with respect to some situation. Recipients and containers are seen as active since they prevent liquids and other materials from falling off (leaving the dominion). Moreover their capacity as containers also makes them active as (84.) shows. Similarly things can hold too much or not enough of some attribute to have an adequate representation (85.), (86.). Yet what in most cases licenses the extension from the prototype to inanimate entities is the notion of dominion as it depicts the whole-part construal:

- 87.a. *A tu chamarra le sobran flores*
'Your jacket is too flowery' (Lit: 'has too many flowers')
b. *A la camisa le quedan sólo dos botones*
'The shirt only has two buttons left'

VI.1. *Mental activity. Active and hyperactive datives.*

In the abstract domain the activity of experiencer marked for dative is more evident for affectedness is manifested by verbs of mental or emotional reaction. Most common verbs are

admirar ‘admire’, *complacer* ‘please’, *emocionar* ‘affect’, *preocupar* ‘worry’ and so forth. Here are some obvious exemplars:

- 88.a. *lo importante para él es su campaña y no le preocupa lo demás* (CEQ)
‘what is important for him is his company and the rest does not bother him’
- b. *A sus ochenta todavía le emociona que la visiten sus viejos novios* (CEQ)
‘In his eighty years of age she is still touched by her old friends visits’
- c. *Señaló que no le teme a las impugnaciones posteriores al 2 de julio*
‘He pointed out that he does not fear the accusations after July 2nd’

As shown in previous work (Maldonado 1992, 1999) the contrast between accusative and dative clitics in psych verbs follows from the active/passive contrast. With the accusative the object is a patient and is directly affected by the subject, whereas the dative is active as s/he participates and is able to control his/her emotional change. Notice that in (88.a.) *preocupar* is translated as ‘concern’ while in (89.a.) it is glossed as ‘worry’. Moreover *emocionar* in (88.b.) brings in an upbeat emotion while in (89.b.) a deeper feeling which may involve tears is depicted:

- 89.a. *La caída de la bolsa lo preocupó enormemente*
‘The stock market drop worried him enormously’
- b. *Gardel todavía la emociona, cierra los ojos se ve otro mundo* (CEQ)
‘Gardel still moves her, she closes her eyes and she leaves for another world’

The degree of transitivity is higher with the accusative as the patient is affected directly and in a stronger manner by subject’s action. Unlike accusatives, datives are thus complements of intransitive constructions. The syntactic manifestation of this contrast is evident: the subject of the dative construction is in most cases sentential (88.a., b.) or mass nouns (88.c.) while that of the accusative is a noun phrase depicting actual participants (89.a.) or facts (89.b.).

In agreement with this proposal, “hyperactive”, verbs involving more active mental participation can only be coded by the dative. Evaluative verbs (*constar* ‘attest’, *parecer* ‘seem’) and the well known class of *gustar* ‘like’ (*repugnar* ‘repel’, *encantar* ‘enchant’, etc.) are thus consistently marked for *le*:

- 90. *la palabra "parto" le (*lo) parece impropia para decirla en público* (CEQ)
‘the word “parto” (delivery) does not seem proper for him to say in front of the audience’
- 91. *El cine es lo que más le (*lo) gusta*
‘Movies is what s/he most likes’

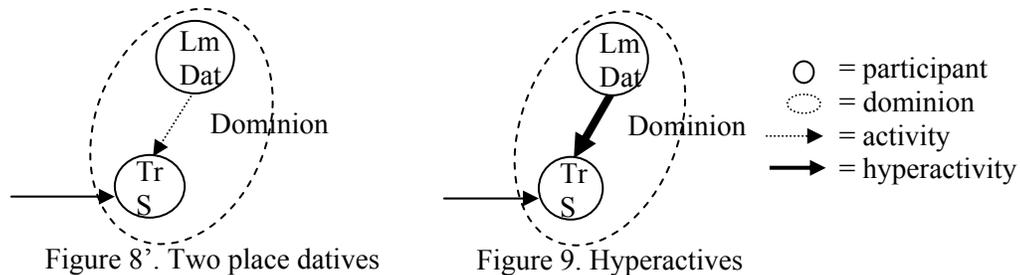
The impossibility of using *lo* attests for a non-passive experiencer. Hyperactivity can be observed from well known arguments first offered for Italian where the dative shares some properties with initiative subjects. I will simply point out that the dative of the *parecer* class can be equated with the subject of what in generative grammar used to be seen as a raising construction (92.):

- 92.a. *A Juan le parece clara la clase*
 ‘To John the class seems clear’
 b. *Juan parece entender la clase*
 ‘Juan seems to understand the class’

Gerund control is also a well known argument showing that the *gustar* class also reflect some subject properties. The dative of *encantar* controls the subject of *conocer* (93.a.), not the object (93.b.):

- 93.a. *Conociendo a tantas estrellas a Ramón le gustan las más feas*
 ‘Knowing so many stars Ramón likes the ugliest girls’
 b. * *Conociendo a tantas estrellas a ellas les gusta Ramón*
 ‘Knowing so many stars, they like Ramón’

The reason “hyperactives” share properties with agentive subjects is that the conceptual event is initiated by the experiencer for s/he makes contact and reacts in some way with respect to some event or entity. The contrast between active and hyperactive datives can be observed in figure 8 (repeated here as 8’) and 9: the dotted arrow representing mental contact in the prototype 8 becomes a wide black arrow mirroring active judgment and higher control /discrimination which characterize agentive subjects. The reason hyperactives do not make the dative a full clausal subject is that the event is initiated in the target domain. In contrast with languages like Japanese which can have dative subjects, Spanish subjects must always be in the source domain:



Hyperactives are restricted to a set of verbs. The pattern does not generally extend to other verbs or construals. In contrast, as will be shown in the next section, the main schema extends in a productive manner.

VII. Non-valence datives

The dative clitic may apply to either transitive or intransitive verbs that do not have an experiencer as part of their valence. I claim that the dative marker functions as an applicative for it augments in one the valence of the verb. Transitive verbs become ditransitive, intransitives remain intransitive for the argument they incorporate is dative, not accusative.

What is crucial about extending the use of the dative is that it only applies to situations where in the base there is already a whole-part or an inalienable possessive relationship:

94. *La lluvia destruyo mis zapatos*
 ‘The rain destroyed my shoes’
 b. *La lluvia me destruyó los zapatos*
 ‘The rain destroyed my shoes on me’
- 95.a. *Puso piedras en su camino*
 ‘He put stones (hurdles) in her way’
 b. *Le puso piedras en el camino*
 ‘He put her stones (hurdles) in the way’
- 96.a. *Rasgó las vestiduras del auto*
 ‘He ripped the car’s seats’
 b. *Le rasgó las vestiduras al auto*
 ‘He ripped the car it’s seats’
- 97.a. *Puso las luces en el árbol*
 ‘He out the lighrs on the tree’
 b. *Le puso las luces al arbol*
 ‘He put the tree some lights’
- 98.a. *No veo la solución del problema*
 ‘I don’t see the solution to the problem’
 b. *No le veo solución al problema*
 ‘I don’t see the problem a solution’

Needless to say, all these verbs can be used in a non possessive relationship *La lluvia destruyó los zapatos* ‘The rain destroyed the shoes’, a cold objective observation. This construal depicts the opposite meaning profiled by the dative. In the non-possessive construction there is no speaker involvement and no recognition of affectedness for the shoes, i.e., the theme is not linked to any participant. As the possessive is used the link is established yet the possessive simply highlights the existence of the theme in some possessor’s dominion. When the dative is used not only possession is profiled but also a strong link between theme and experiencer. Thus affecting the theme also affects the experiencer dative. Possession is obtained from the notion of dominion, affectedness comes from the active representation of the experiencer. Consistent to this analysis with the possessive form all the examples in (a.) above profile a change of states that does not affect the experiencer, while those in (b.) profile both possession and affectedness.

The internal coherence of the construction makes a natural composition where two structures “blend” (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 1998) into a more complex one. As can be seen in figure the transitive construction with a possessed object and fuses with the prototypical dative:

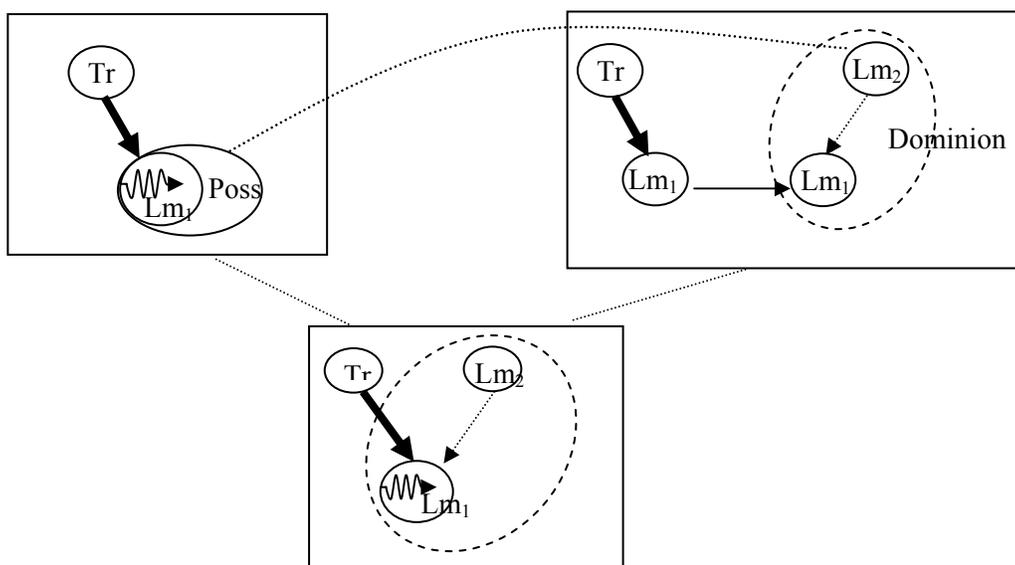


Figure 10. Transitive Applicatives

There are many correspondences in the new construal that I am not highlighting for sake of simplicity.⁷ However the correspondence between the possessor and the dative experiencer is highlighted to show that, given considerable similarity, the dative imposes its profile on the construal making the possessor an actual participant, an experiencer. This crucial change makes affectedness a crucial ingredient in the applicative construction.

When the applicative is imposed on intransitive verbs different meanings are obtained. In contrast with transitive verbs the number of correspondences diminishes. The meaning of the applicative construction is predicted by the similarities of the intransitive verb with the dative prototype. Verbs of physical manifestation match verbs of communication for emotions can be transmitted just like words can. This is the case of *sonreír* ‘smile’, *guiñar* ‘blink’, *llorar* ‘cry’, *berrear* ‘weep’, etc. Verbs of emotional reaction not implying communication cannot participate in the construction as *reír* ‘laugh’⁸, *bostezar* ‘yawn’ show:

- 99.a. *Valeria sonrió*
 ‘Valeria smiled’
 b. *Valeria le sonrió a Adrián*
 ‘Valeria smiled at Adrián’

⁷ The transitive event and the source domain of the dative prototype are identical except for the presence of the possessor in the transitive construal.

⁸ *Reír* ‘laugh’ has not lexicalized the trajectory of verbs of communication. Thus *reír* simply highlights an emotional change of state, whose suddenness is normally reinforced by the middle marker *se*. The change of state is consistently induced by some impulse. The fact that it always takes the preposition *de* ‘of’ instead of *a* ‘to’ suggests that it is consistently a locative source: *laugh at* in Spanish is *reírse de*.

- 100.a. *Maru no podía dejar de llorar*
 ‘Maru couldn’t stop crying’
- b. *Maru le lloró al policía para que no le levantara la infracción*
 ‘Maru cried on the policeman so that he would not give her a ticket’
101. * *Valeria le rió a Adrián*
 ‘Valeria laughed at Adrián’
102. * *Le bostezó al profesor*
 ‘S/he yawned at the teacher’

The way the blend is established is evident. As can be seen from figure 11, the crucial mapping is established between path of verbs of communication and that implied in the transfer construal. Of no less importance is the fact that the trajectors of both construals correspond. In this construal the subject of the intransitive verb must be an Agent. As in the case of transitive applicatives, the dative imposes the notion of affectedness: a participant in the target domain being the last recipient of some abstract transference.

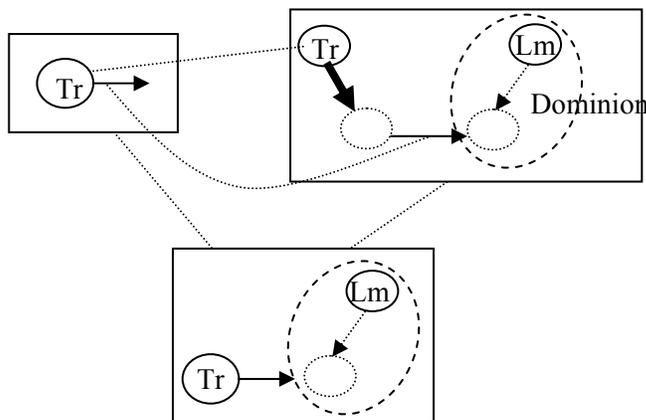


Figure 11. Intransitive applicatives.

A different picture is obtained with non-active verbs, i.e., verbs whose subject is thematic. Since the trajector does not map on to the agent of the transfer construal only the core of the dative construal is activated. Thus, all other things being equal, the dative imposes an affected experiencer whose mental change of state is driven by some event or situation. The most common cases in this construal are verbs of motion such as *entrar* ‘enter’, *llegar* ‘arrive’, *venir* ‘come’, *ir* ‘go’ and so forth

103. *Le entraron ganas de llorar*
 ‘A crying feeling entered him’
104. *La canción le llegó en el alma*
 ‘The song entered his soul’
105. *Eso de andar con jovencitas no le va nada bien*
 ‘That thing of going out with young women does not go with him’

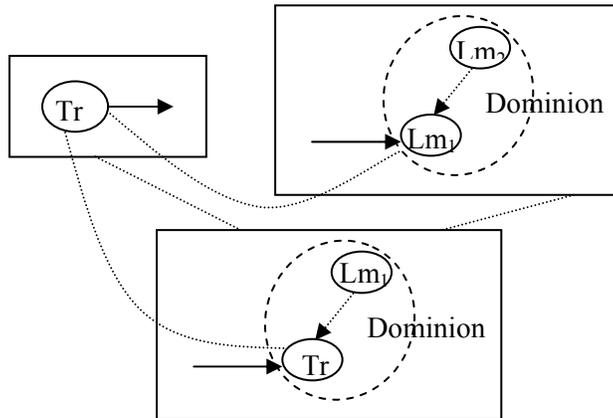


Figure 12. Intransitive applicatives.
Non-active verbs

Once the dative extends to verbs of motion a further extension to non-motion verbs is expected. It is only necessary that some thing or some attribute enters the experiencer dominion for the dative to introduce an affected participant. In (106.) there is a verb of change of position, in (107.) we have the most schematic of all verbs *ser* 'be':

106. *Le sienta bien el vestido*
'The dress goes (lit:sits) well on her'
107. *Le es difícil aceptarlo*
'It is difficult for him to accept it'

Given that the dative already implies a path, plain attributes or things can be projected to the experiencer. There is one crucial condition to meet: the experiencer must be affected. In the case of (106.) the physical configuration changes while in (107.) a mental representation is activated. This explains why other verbs profiling a the subject's movement to a goal do not enter the dative construction In verbs like *acceder* 'access', *acudir* 'go and see', etc. the subject reaches the target but the latter remains unaffected. This type of targets are simply locative goals, as can be seen from the fact that they cannot take the clitic *le*:

108. *Accedieron al senador para pedirle su ayuda* > * *Le accedieron*
'They went to see the senator to ask for his help'
109. *Acudieron a él* > * *Le acudieron*
'They went to him for help'

VIII. Proximity and affectedness. Datives and Benefactives.

I have claimed that datives require an actively affected participant in the target domain. This characterization presupposes a close link between experiencer and theme. Proximity determines the contrast between datives and benefactives. In this section I show that benefactives imply some distance never to be found in datives. This will determine clear syntactic contrasts. From different perspectives it has been suggested that indirect objects can be marked either by two prepositions: *a* and *para* (RAE 1973). Other scholars tend to treat datives and benefactives as the same functional category (Pottier 1971). For other approaches the contrast between the two categories is eliminated as the benefactive “advances” to dative (3 in relational grammar terms (Perlmutter 1983) or it is incorporated as a dative marker (Pool 1990). Moreover it has been claimed that both benefactives and datives are part of the meaning of the verb albeit they involve different levels of abstraction (Lewis 1989). Although I agree with Lewis in finding different levels of abstraction I will show that for Spanish in no case can *para* mark indirect objects. Thus no advancement blurs the distinction between those categories and crucially only datives are part of the meaning of the verb. Since the contrast between Ben and Dat has been pointed out by many scholars (Vázquez 1995, Delbecque and Lamiroy (1992, 1996), Alarcos (1980), Maldonado (1998, in press) and many others) I will simply offer the crucial arguments to establish the difference to then focus on the cognitive import of the two construals.

The reason to suggest some fusion between Ben and Dat is the similarity in meaning. One is tempted to claim that (110.a.) is equivalent to (110.b.). This similarity could be seen as a promotion or an incorporation phenomenon where the dative in (110.b.) comes from Ben in (110.a.):

- 110.a. *Han traído un paquete para el director*
b. *Le han traído un paquete al director*
‘The have bought a package for/to the director’

Yet there are syntactic and semantic reasons to keep the two categories separate.

VIII.1 *Fronting*

As shown by Alarcos (1980), Vázquez (1995) and many others, fronting the Indirect object PP requires the presence of the clitic *le* (110.b.). In contrast, the use of *le* with a fronted Ben leads to ungrammatical results:

111. *Para el director_i (*le_i) han traído un paquete*
‘The have bought a package for the director’

VIII.2 *Demoted Dat*

Since Dat and Ben can cooccur (112.a.), the promotion/incorporation of Ben only works when the indirect object is not present as in (110.a and b.). Yet in the presence of a valence Dat the promoted Ben should “demote” the original Dat to an oblique. Thus the original Ben should

occur next to the verb and the new oblique should move to the right. Such move leads to undesired results, as (112.b.) shows:

- 112.a. *Di un regalo a Juan para María* >
 b. * *Le di un regalo a María a Juan*

VIII.3 Meaning contrast

Needless to say, the meanings obtained are not as closed as it has been claimed. The contrast can best be seen from the import of *a* and *para*.

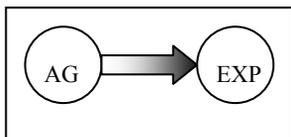


Figura 13. Prep *a* DAT

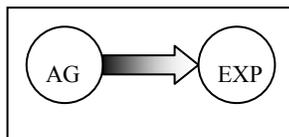


Figura 14. Prep *para* BEN

Figures 13 and 14 show that the directionality of both prepositions is the same, yet they highlight different parts of the trajectory. While *a* profiles direct contact with the target, *para* does not, i.e. thus *a* profiles affectedness while *para* designates the subject's intentions in doing something. This representation fully coincides with Delbecque's (1995) characterization of *a* and *para*. As first proposed by Lewis there are two conceptual trajectories:

113. Dat = AFFECTEDNESS TRAJECTORY: designates the affectedness undergone by the experiencer as imposed by some impulse
 114. Ben = INTENTIONALITY TRAJECTORY: designates the subject volition with respect to some goal.

Given this characterization the behavioral properties of each construction provide evidence to keep them apart. Dative constructions imply proximity, benefactives impose distance as can be seen by different situations.

VIII.4 Contact

With datives, the subject establishes physical contact, a possibility canceled for benefactives as shown by the examples in (b):

- 115.a. *Le cepilló el pelo a Valeria*
 'He brushed Valeria's hair'
 b. * *Cepilló el pelo_i para Valeria_i*
 116.a. *Le puso la falda*
 'He put her the skirt'
 b. * *Puso la falda para María* (with the contact reading)

VIII.5 Proximity

In contexts where there is no contact the dative depicts proximity among participants, while the benefactive cannot (117.b.):

- 117.a. *Le cerraron la puerta al presidente en las narices*
'They close the door on the president's nose'
b. * *Cerraron la puerta para el presidente en las narices*

VIII.6. Affectedness

Affectedness can only be coded by *le...a* not by *para*. Notice from the (b) examples that profiling the subject's intentions, as *para* does, renders undesired results. The negative inferences of finding something out can only be coded by the dative forms in the (a) examples:

- 118.a. *A Toña le detectaron cáncer en el pecho*
'They detected Toña breast cancer'
b. * *Para Toña detectaron cáncer en el pecho*
'For Toña the detected cancer'
119.a. *A Toña le descubrieron una firma falsificada y la corrieron*
'The found a false signature in Toña and they fired her'
b. * *Para Toña descubrieron una firma falsificada y la corrieron*

VIII.7. Logical consequence

While Ben cannot determine the logical consequence of some act Dat can. In the (a) examples *le...a* and *para* alternate. In the (b) examples the second clause is a logical consequence of the transfer from subject to experiencer, as depicted by the dative sequence *le...a*. This cannot take place in the benefactive construction, as the examples in (c) show:

- 120.a. *Leí un libro a/para los niños*
'I read a book to/for the children'
b. *Les leí un libro a los niños y se quedaron dormidos*
'I read a book to the children and they fell asleep'
c. ?? *Leí un libro para los niños y se quedaron dormidos*
'I read a book for the children and they fell asleep'
121.a. *Ofreció una cena a/para todos sus alumnos*
'He offered a dinner to/for his students'
b. *Les ofreció una cena a todos sus alumnos pero nadie aceptó la invitación*
'He offered a dinner to his students but nobody accepted the invitation'
c. ?? *Ofreció una cena para todos sus alumnos pero nadie aceptó la invitación*
'He offered a dinner for his students but nobody accepted the invitation'

VIII.8 Projected output

While the dative construction establishes a link between participants, the benefactive simply designates the intentions of the participant in the target domain. The same phenomenon can be observed in (122.). The intention of writing a novel is to have multiple potential recipients. In contrast, writing a letter implies a specific goal and an actual link between subject and

experiencer. Thus the indefinite mass depicted by “the ladies of his times” is not an adequate target to establish the desired link:

- 122.a. *Galdós escribía novelas para las damas de su época*
 ‘Galdós wrote novels for the ladies of his times’
 b. ?? *Galdós escribía novelas para las damas de su época*
 Galdós wrote letters for the ladies of his times’

VIII.9 Potential recipients

As distance increases affectedness diminishes. Notice from (123.a.) that in the absence of a participant having all the features to actually be affected the (applicative) dative is ruled out (123.b.), only the intentional path of Ben can be profiled.

- 123.a. *Victor Ramón barre banquetas para el gobierno de la ciudad*
 ‘Victor Ramón sweeps the sidewalks for the city council’
 b. * *Victor Ramón le barre banquetas al gobierno de la ciudad*
 ‘Victor Ramón sweeps the city council the sidewalks’

I will not elaborate on the meanings of Ben (Further analyzed in Maldonado 2001) except to say that Ben consistently profiles distal and projective meanings. In (124.) an object is projected to some external participant. Yet the expected reaching of the goal is not actually accomplished. In (125.) there is a projection to a future time, while in (126.) a whole event is yet to be developed:

124. *Se lo dieron José Angel para toda la familia, no para él* (CEQ)
 ‘They gave it to *José Angel* for all the family not for him’
 125. *Lo quiero para mañana*
 ‘I want it for tomorrow’
 126. *Te lo repito para que entiendas*
 ‘I’ll say it again for you to understand’

The distance contrast between datives and benefactives follows iconically from valence structure. Dative experiencers are part of the interaction established by the participants in the event as guaranteed by the valence of the verb. Benefactives are excluded from such interaction for they are outside the verb’s valence. In figure 14. the valence is represented by the black oval. The black heavy arrow represents the intentionality of the subject in doing some action. Inside the oval I have included the indirect object construction. Figure 14 represents a case where Dat and Ben cooccur as in (124.):

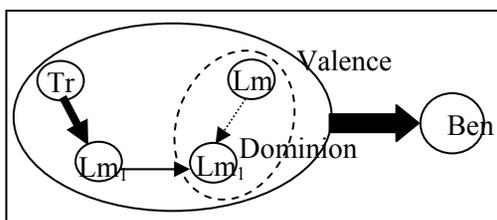


Figure 15. Benefactive construction

Given this analysis, Dat and Ben share some properties but they constitute clearly distinct constructions. Thus (110.a), repeated here for convenience as (127.a.), is a Benefactive construction. In (127.b.) there is an indirect object. No promotion has taken place:

127. a. *Han traído un paquete para el director*
‘The have bought a package for/to the director’
b. *Le han traído un paquete al director*
‘The have bought a package for/to the director’

While being in the target domain only the dative is able to profile affectedness. The benefactive construction specializes on profiling the subject’s intentions.

IX Objectivity/Subjectivity extensions

All the constructions seen so far represent cases where the conceptualizer has the optimal view arrangement. S/he is located off stage outside the objective scene. S/he is able to observe the event with no involvement. Yet the conceptualizer may be incorporated in the scene to depict his evaluation of the event. The dative clitic accomplishes such function for s/he is able to share the view of some affected participant. Empathy triggers the incorporation of the viewer in the scene.

There is a clean distinction between participants and evaluators. Participants, be it by valence or via applicative formation, are in the scene, evaluators are precluded from that area. What makes the dative of special interest is the fact that the conceptualizer can be located either in the setting or outside the main event. Given these possible spaces, two dative construals can be identified. I will claim that datives located in the outer area are SYMPATHETIC DATIVES while those located in the setting are SETTING DATIVES. Since the outer region presents clearer syntactic restrictions I will address first sympathetic datives.

X. Sympathetic datives

Example (6.) repeated here for convenience shows the type empathic relationship established by sympathetic datives:

128. *Adrián me le arruinó la fiesta a Valeria*
‘Adrian ruined Valeria’s party on me’

The affected participant is *le... a Valeria*, a dative by applicative formation. Moreover The dative clitic *me* depicts a participant that shares the affectedness experienced by Valeria yet s/he is not directly involved in the event. *Sympathetic Datives*⁹ correspond to the definition in (129.):

⁹ A variety of terms have been used to identify this construction, the most common one being *ethical dative*, an inadequate name for it triggers a long standing confusion with the *dativus ethicus* which

129. SYMPATHETIC DATIVE (SYD):

- An off stage participant that intellectually evaluates the event as s/he is linked with an affected participant in the event.
- The event falls in the dominion of the SYD since s/he is always in an (inherent) possessive relationship with some participant in the event.

The fact that the SYD is offstage determines its syntactic restrictions. As will be evident, all restrictions follow from the fact that SYDs are not participants.

X.1. *Lack of subject agreement*

Unlike valence datives (130.), SYDs cannot correfer with the subject (131.) as first pointed out by Strozer (1976):

130. *Me compré auto nuevo*
'I bought myself a new car'

131. * *Me le arruiné la fiesta a Valeria*
'I ruined Valeria's party for me'

X.2. *Person restrictions*

A fact well known since Bello and Cuervo (1850) and pointed out by Roldán (1972), Strozer (1976) and many others SYDs can only occur in first but not in second or third person. A fact expected since SYDs represent the viewpoint of the speaker.

132. *Nacho me (*te, *le, *se) le comió la manzana a Valeria*
'Nacho ate Valeria's apple on me (on you, on her/him)'

Yet García (1975) has adequately shown that SYDs can also be used in second person. Given a basic communicative situation empathy tends to be established between speaker and hearer:

133. *¿Es cierto que te le arruinaron la vida a tu hija?*

More than the speaker, SYDs profile the view of the conceptualizer. As I have claimed in previous work (Maldonado 1992, 1999) there is a 1 > 2 > 3* hierarchy determined by subjectivity. In the default case the speaker corresponds to the conceptualizer. In an abstract form the conceptualizer makes the whole event fall in his dominion for s/he is linked in a possessive relationship with some participant in the event. Only when the speaker joins the hearer to share his/her evaluative viewpoint can the SYD take second person.

X.3 *Qu questions*

designates a completive reading: *Se comió el taco de una mordida* 'He ate up the taco in one bite'. To avoid further confusion I will follow the Latin terminology. For a detailed analysis of Spanish ethical datives see Maldonado 2000.

The characterization of the SYD as being outside the event explains Jaeggli's (1982) observation that SYDs do not respond to *qu* questions (135.) while indirect objects do (134.):

- 134.a. *A alguien le arruinaron la vida*
 b. ¿A quién le arruinaron la vida?

- 135.a. *Me le arruinaron la vida a mi hija*
 b. * ¿A quien le arruinaron la vida a mi hija?

The same explanation accounts for applicatives. Notice from (136.a.) that the dative imposes a possessive relationship between the derived dative and the theme. Thus *qu* question applies. In (136.b.) the dative is not the possessor of the window, it remains outside his/her dominion. (136.b.) is marginal for no empathy link can be established:

- 136.a. *A quién le arreglaron, {pintaron, colocaron} la ventana*
 b. * ¿A quién le_i arreglaron, {pintaron, colocaron} su_k ventana?

X.4. a...NP Expansion

Expansions are exclusive to on-stage datives. As pointed out by Strozer (1976) and latter by Jaeggli (1982) SYDs cannot be expanded by a prepositional phrase. Valence datives can. Notice from (137. a. y b) that *le_i* and *mi hija_i* correfer. The SYD *me* in (137.d.) is not expanded. In contrast, the expansions in (137.c. and d.) are ungrammatical regardless of whether the indirect object is expanded or not:

- 137.a. *Le_i arruinaron la vida a mi hija_i*
 'They ruined my daughter's life'
 b. *Me le_i arruinaron la vida a mi hija_i*
 'They ruined my daughter's life on me'
 c. * *Me_k le_i arruinaron la vida a mi hija_i a mí_k*
 d. * *Me_k le arruinaron la vida a mí_k*

X.5. Omissibility

From a variety of perspectives it has been pointed out that SYDs can be omitted without major change in the meaning of the sentence. Bello and Cuervo (1850) used the term "superfluous" to point out the lack of centrality of this type of dative. Other authors consider SYDs "procedural" in the sense of Sperber and Wilson (1992) for they do not contribute to the truth conditions of the sentence and express the speaker's attitudes. Yet as opposed to expressions like "Well, well *John is here*" strictly linked to the speaker, SYDs make the event be seen from the viewpoint of the conceptualizer. While not being a participant it mirrors the affectedness experienced by some participant in the event. In lack of a SYD marker the event is neutral (138.a.). *Me* imposes an evaluation of the event (138.b.).

- 138.a. *Le quitaron una rama al árbol*
 'They took a branch from the tree'
 b. *Me le quitaron una rama al árbol*
 'They took the branch from my tree'

X.6. Presence of another affected participant

Again, it was Strozer (1976) who observed first that SYDs require the pre-existence of another dative. Given that SYDs must be linked to a participant in the event her point is well taken. A core dative must be present for the SYD to occur. The prepositional phrase, being an expansion of *le*, is of course optional as can be seen from (139.a.). Yet the indirect object clitic is required as can be seen from the ungrammatical output in (139.b.). Crucially, in the absence of a core dative, *me* can only be read as indirect object not as a SYD (139.c.):

- | | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| 139.a. | <i>Nacho <u>me</u> le_i comió la hamburguesa (a Valeria_i)</i> | SYD |
| | ‘Nahco ate Valeria’s hamburger on me’ | |
| b. | * <i>Nacho me comió la manzana a Valeria</i> | |
| | ‘Nahco ate Valeria’s hamburger on me’ | |
| c. | <i>Nacho me comió la manzana</i> | OI |
| | ‘Nacho ate my apple’ | |

Figure 15 is simplified to facilitate the representation. The core structure of the dative prototype is contained in the smaller square. The SYD is represented in the trapezoid. Instead of having an optimal view the SPEAKER / HEARER share the experience of the dative while the distance of the third person (other) block all possible empathic linkage.

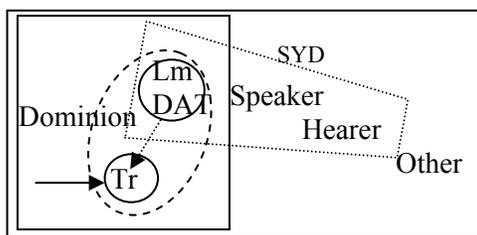


Figure 16. Sympathetic Dative

XI. SETTING DATIVE

So far two types of datives have been singled out. Those belonging to the event and those outside of it. There is a third place where the dative can be located: the setting. This conceptual location implies that the dative is now on stage, yet by virtue of being in the setting s/he is not active. The passive nature of the SD of interest has already been acknowledged by D & L (1992) after Vázquez (1995). I will defend a slightly different idea: the SD involves a intermediate level of activity. S/he is more active than the SYD and less active than core datives. The SD is not totally passive, a property exclusive to accusative complements. Being in the setting the SD is less active than the prototypical dative: however the SD shows a higher level of involvement than the SYD. For one thing the distance between the point where affectedness takes place and the SD is reduced to zero. Thus the empathy link with some affected participant is much stronger. The whole event takes place in the dominion of the dative. The act of dying (140.) happens in the experiencer’s hands and s/he is thus strongly affected by it:

140. *Se me murió en las manos*
'He died on my hands'

Traditionally analyzed as the “*se me* construction” previous analysis have made general statements about the construction as a whole, yet it is perfectly possible to tease apart the function depicted by each clitic. Before I do so, I must stress that the SD is not restricted to occur in the so called “*se me* construction”, albeit it is its most common usage. After offering an explanation of the *se me* sequence, I will show how the pattern extends to other situations (see examples (175.) and on).

In previous work (Maldonado 1988, 1992, 1999), I have shown that *se* is a middle marker whose main function is to focus on the pivotal point of change of the event. Thus the initiative forces inducing the event are down-played as are the incremental steps that gradually elaborate a change of state.

- 141.a. *El portero abrió la puerta*
'The door keeper opened the door'
b. *Se abrió la puerta*
'The door opened'

As claimed by Kemmer (1993) there is a low degree of participant differentiation and consequently a low degree of event elaboration. One consequence of this focussing function is that the event tends to be seen as rapid, sudden or abrupt:

- 142.a. *Subió al coche con toda elegancia*
'He got in the car elegantly'
b. *Se subió al coche si que nadie lo viera*
'He hopped in the car so that people wouldn't see him'

Abruptness is strongly connected with unexpectedness for the conceptualizer has no access to the evolutionary steps driving the event. In the absence of *se*, the event can be traced along as some object follows an expected trajectory, otherwise the event runs counter to normal expectations:

- 143.a. *La (*se) lluvia caía con suavidad*
'Rain fell softly'
b. *La taza se cayó*
'The cup fell down'

In a similar manner *morirse* can be conceptualized either as a natural occurrence or as an event running counter to normal expectations. Example (144.a.) shows that dying can be seen as a natural event, in contrast (144.b.) is manifestation that counter-expectations are coded by the middle marker *se*:

- 144.a. *Mi padre murió en 1988*
'Mi father died in 1988'

- b. *Mi padre se murió de pronto*
 ‘Mi father died all of a sudden’

We can see that the conditions are now set for the dative to jump in. The focussing function of the middle marker drives expectations that must affect some participant. Given that the middle construction is quite skeletal, the only available participant is one located in the setting. The SD can be a locative setting where the event takes place, but more importantly, it is an emotional place where the event is experienced. In (140.) the locative and the emotional meaning are profiled. In other cases the locative meaning may be less prominent:

145. *Con tanta presión, llegó un momento en que Gonzalo se me volvió loco*
 ‘With so much stress there came a moment in which Gonzalo went crazy on me’

I claim that the SD is a participant with setting properties. This explains its intermediate degree of activity. Langacker has pointed out that the setting can be put in focus as the trajector of the clause, as in (146.):

146. *Qualcomm stadium saw the Chargers lose again*

While most prominent, subject settings do not show all the properties of agentive subjects in a transitive clause. Among other things it cannot be the agentive complement of a passive construction (**The chargers were seen lose again by Qualcomm stadium*). Subject settings in English are metaphors. Yet in other languages the metaphor is already grammaticalized. This is the case not only of Germanic languages but most notably of Japanese. Kumashiro (2000) shows that the Japanese datives can be used to mark subject-settings. The contrast between plain settings and subject settings can be observed from possessives versus existential constructions:

POSSESSIVE

147. *Taroo-ni kodomo-ga aru (koto)*
 Taro-DAT child-NOM exist-INANIM
 (that) Taro has a child’, Lit ‘(that) there is a child to Taro’

EXISTENTIAL

148. *Kenkiushitsu-no maes-ni sensei-ga iru (koto)*
 office-of front-in teacher-NOM exist.ANIM
 ‘(that) the teacher is in front of his office’

In (147.) the dative *-ni* designates a human entity which, via metonymy, profiles a setting: Taro’s dominion. In (148.) *-no* marks a location. In both cases the nominative participant is located in some setting, the dominion of Taro or the office. Yet in (148.) *Kenkiushitsu* is a locative while Taro in (147.) is a participant, a dative subject. Arguments from honorifics and reflexive bounding show that the dative in (147.) is the clausal subject, not the nominative:

SUBJECT HONORIFICATION (POSSESSIVE)

149. *Sensei-ni okusan-ga o-ari-ninaru (koto)*
 teacher-DAT wife-NOM HON-exist.INANIM-HON
 ‘(that) the teacher respectfully has a wife’

SUBJECT HONORIFICATION (EXISTENTIAL)

150. *toshokan-no mae-ni sensei-ga oideninaru (koto)*
 library-of front-in teacher-NOM exist.ANIM.HON
 ‘(that) the teacher is respectfully in front of the library’

In (149.) the verb is deferential to the dative making *sensei* the clausal setting subject. In (150.) the verb defers to the nominative, thus the setting is not the subject. The same contrast is observed in the reflexive examples: in the possessive construction the reflexive pronoun is coreferential with the dative, but in the existential sentence its antecedent is the nominative participant:

REFLEXIVE BINDING (POSSESSIVE)

151. *Taroo-ni jibun-no chi-o waketa kodomo-ga aru (koto)*
 Taro-dat self-of blood-ac shared child-nom exist-INANIM
 ‘That) Taro_i has a child who shares self_i’s blood (i.e. biological blood)’

REFLEXIVE BINDING (EXISTENTIAL)

152. *jibun-no kenkyuushitsu-no mae-ni sensei-ga iru (koto)*
 self-of office-of front-in teacher-NOM exist-ANIM
 ‘(that) the teacher_i is respectfully in front of self_i’s office’

Kumashiro shows that the dative is also used to designate EVALUATIVE and POTENTIAL constructions where the dative is the subject setting:

EVALUATIVE

153. *Taroo-ni Hanako-no tasuke-ga hitsuyoo-na (koto)*
 Taro-DAT Hanako-of help-NOM necessary-be
 ‘(that) needs Hanako’s help’ Lit: ‘(that) Hanako’s help is necessary to Taro’

POTENTIAL

154. *Ken-ni Furansugo dekiru (koto)*
 Ken-DAT French-NOM be.possible
 ‘(that) Ken is fluent in French’ Lit: ‘(that) French is possible to Ken’

Again reflexive binding and honorifics constitute clear arguments for dative subjecthood. Japanese datives constitute participants construed as settings. The Spanish dative setting construction parallels the Japanese case except that in Spanish it is not elevated to the primary figure in the event. The dative participant is also construed as a locative setting where the event takes place. The change of state takes place in the dative’s dominion. Thus the DS establishes a strong emphatic link with the affected theme in the event. DATIVE SETTING constructions thus correspond to the following characterization:

155. SETTING DATIVE (SD):
- A semi-active setting participant that operates as a location where affectedness takes place.
 - The SD is affected by the whole event as s/he is linked to some thematic participant.

Given this characterization we should expect that the DS's syntactic behavior would tend to mirror the properties of core datives while sharing with SYDs only those relevant to an external evaluation. This is born out as it is shown below.

XI.1. *Lack of subject agreement*

As is the case for SYDs, DIS cannot corefer with the subject. Examples (156.b and 157.b) are illegal for the dative is coindexed with the subject:

156.a. *Su padre_i se le_i murió en los brazos*

'His father died on his arms'

b. * *Su padre_i se le_i murió en los brazos*

157.a. *Te me enojaste con Valeria*

Yo got mad at Valeria on me'

b. * *Te te enojaste con Valeria*

X.2. *Person restrictions*

In contrast with SYDs, there are no person restrictions for DIS. As can be seen from the following examples, second and third person singular and plural occur freely:

158. *Se me {te, le} murió en los brazos*

'He died in my/your/his arms'

159. *Se me {te, le} cayó*

'It fell down on me,you her,him'

160. *Se nos/les desorganizó* (CEQ)

'S/he got desorganized (went crazy)on us/them'

161. *Se {me te le(s)} rompió, abrió, perdió, etc.*

'It broke, opened, lost on him,her, you, me, them'

This behavior suggests that DIS operate like plain dative participants in the event for they don't share the speech act participants restrictions of SYDs.

XI.3. *Qu questions.*

In contrast with SYDs, DIS respond adequately to *qu* questions. Given this fact DIS cannot be reduced to simple setting for they share a crucial property of indirect objects.

162.a. *Se le desorganizó*

'S/he got desorganized (went crazy)on us/them'

¿A quién se le desorganizó?

'On who did he get desorganized (went nuts)?'

163.a. *Se le rompió abrió, perdió, etc.*

'S/he broke his/her arm' Lit: 'His arm broke on him'

- b. *¿A quién se le rompió, abrió, perdió, etc.?*
 ‘Whose arm broke? Lit: ‘To whom did the arm brake?’

- 164.a. *Se le fue*
 ‘It went away from him’
 b. *¿A quién se le fue?*
 From whom did it go away?’

XI.4. *a..NP Expansion*

As claimed in X.5. Expansions are exclusive to on-stage datives. Given that DIS can be expanded by an *a...NP*, DIS must be considered participants on-stage.

165. *Se nos murió a nosotros sin que nos diéramos cuenta*
 ‘S/he died on us and we did not notice’
 166. *Se le quedó dormido a su madre*
 ‘He went to sleep on his mother’

XI. 5 *Omissibility*

As is the case for all non-argumental datives, DIS can be omitted to trigger a non evaluative representation of the event. In this respect the SD follows the behavior of SYDS.

- 167.a. *Se (le) murió de pronto*
 ‘S/he died all of a sudden (on him/her)’
 b. *Se (le) volvió loco*
 ‘He went crazy (on him/her)’
 c. *Se (le) quedó dormido*
 ‘He went to sleep (on him/her)’

Since DIS are not argumental they can be left out, however the conceptualization changes dramatically. The SD makes the event meaningful for some external participant.

X.6. *Presence of another affected participant*

As is well known from the relevant literature, this may be one of the most outstanding properties of the construction. Setting datives can only occur if another affected participant is present. In contrast with SYDS, the participant to which it links is a theme either of a transitive or an intransitive construction. In the absence of a theme the output is either ungrammatical (168.b.,170.a., 172.a.) or it takes a different reading as an affected theme, as in (170.b., 172.b.):

- 168.a. *Se me murió*
 ‘He died on me’
 b. * *Me murió*

- 169.a. *Se me cayó*
 ‘It fell from me’
170. *Me cayó*
 a. * ‘It fell from me’
 b. ‘It fell on me’
171. *Me Detuvieron a los rateros*
 ‘They stopped the thieves for me’
172. *Me detuvieron*
 a. * ‘They stopped for me’
 b. ‘They stopped me’

XI.7 General properties of SDs

Omissibility and coreference are properties that DIS and SYDs share. Omissibility is not particularly significant for also applicatives and some valence datives are. Moreover, coreference is exclusive to three place verbs. Thus, given that DIS can take *qu* questions, expansive phrases and show no person restrictions it is fair to claim that they mirror valence datives to a considerable extent.

Since the mapping between SD and valence datives is not perfect some inconsistencies are expected. There is a constant ambiguity inherent to the internal configuration of the DS. The dative setting participant must always depict affectedness yet the location it designates can be concrete or abstract. In the first case, the locative meaning is more prominent than affectedness. In the second case, abstract locations give prominence to affectedness. Compare the (173.) with (174.):

173. *La pelota se le cayó de las manos*
 ‘La pelota fell from his hands’
174. *Se nos volvió loco*
 ‘He went nuts on us’

In (173.) the negative inference drawn from that the ball falling is clear, yet the locative meaning is more prominent. On the other hand, in (174.) affectedness can only take place if the participant going nuts is in the dominion of the experiencer (the abstract location) yet what is being profiled is how the change of state of the thematic subject affects the dative participant.

Given the existence of this schema, the dative setting is not restricted to the “*se me* construction”. As long as some participant can be located within the dominion of the setting experiencer the construal can take place. Inherent possessions are the most common examples, yet for the SD construal to apply it is only necessary that the theme or the whole event be located in the experiencer’s dominion. The contact experiencer-theme thus established allows her/him to express his concerns.

- 175.a. *Por fin encarcelaron al expresidente de México*
 ‘Finally they put the expresident of México in jail’
- b. *La gente lo esperó por años... hasta que por fin les {me, te} encarcelaron al expresidente...*
 ‘The people awaited for years... until finally they put the expresident in jail for them’

In fact possession may be crucial to stress the setting participant's involvement in the event. Compare examples (176.) and (177.):

176. *Nacho me {te, le} arregló la ventana* OI
 'Nacho fixed my, (your, his) window'

177. *Nacho me {te, le;} arregló su; venta* SD
 'Macho fixed his window for/on me'

Given that *arreglar* is a plain transitive verb, the dative in both examples is an applicative. Now in (176.) the dative is also the possessor of the window. This is not the case for (177.) where affectedness comes into play only by the DI's linkage to the possessor. Examples like (177.) may seem odd in lack the right context. Consider the case of a teenager's messy room. His mother may condition his going out by having him pick up his room. She declares (178.):

178. *Me recoges tu cuarto, si no, no sales*
 'You pick up that room for me, otherwise you don't go out'

Given this characterization, the SD corresponds to the following alternative representations for intransitive and transitive verbs:

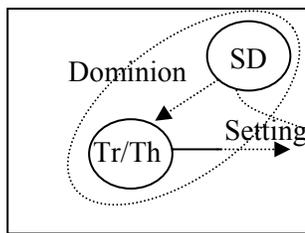


Figure 16. Setting Dative.
 Intransitive: *Se me fue*

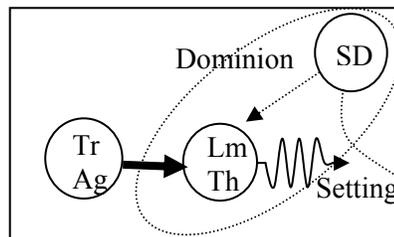


Figure 17. Setting Dative
 Transitive: *Le premiaron a su hija*

The setting dative is represented by the components in the oval (the setting participant's dominion). Its import is exactly the same for both constructions: the whole event takes place in the realm of experience of the DS participant which in turn makes contact with a thematic participant undergoing some change. The dotted arrow represents mental contact, just like core datives, the difference being that the SD is still connected to the setting. This SD is thus a semiactive participant keeping some setting features. Although somewhat evaluative for some empathy features are still present—a SYD property—the SD is linked to the theme's change-of-state and s/he is affected in very much the way core datives are.

XII. Conceptual paths of dative construals

Throughout this paper I have proposed that the dative in Spanish designates an active participant in the target domain. This schematic characterization corresponds to the one provided by Langacker for the experiencer in the role archetype model. The archetype is entrenched in the Spanish system to the extent that it constitutes a basic schema for conceptualizing a variety of dative situations. The schema is further elaborated in three fundamental spaces that the

experiencer may occupy: the scene, the setting and the viewer's location outside the core event. The schematic representation of the experiencer is preserved in all construals yet each location imposes a particular conceptualization of how affectedness takes place.

Conceptual distance determines the degree of affectedness that the experiencer undergoes. Participants in the event are maximally affected for they interact with some object or situation located in their dominion. Those in the setting are affected to a lesser degree since they only constitute an abstract location where the theme undergoes some change-of-state. The setting dative participant is affected to the degree that the whole event takes place in the realm of his/her experience. Finally, those participants outside the event, as observers, are only affected by virtue of establishing a mental link with some affected participant in the event.

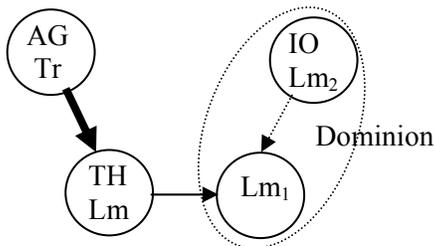


Figure 3'. Transfer Prototype: *dar, decir*

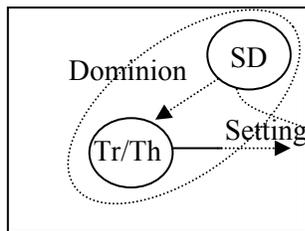


Figure 16'. Setting Dative.
Intransitive: *Se me fue*

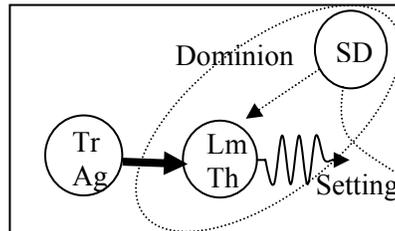


Figure 17'. Setting Dative
Transitive: *Le premiaron a su hija*

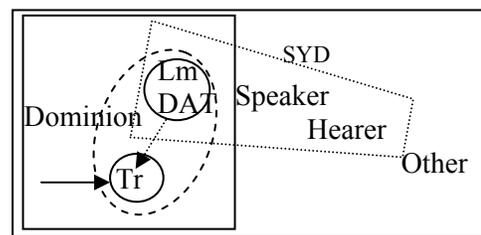
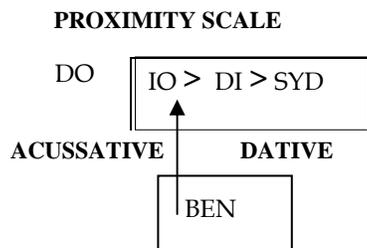


Figure 15'. Sympathetic Dative

In figure 3' no setting is required to have a dative experiencer. In figures 15' and 16' the dative is reified as an abstract setting where the event takes place. Finally, in 16' in order to have the sympathetic dative both the setting and the viewer's space must be included. Comparing the four diagrams we can see that the experiencer progressively moves out of objective scene as s/he approximates the terrain of the conceptualizer. The dative experiencer becomes increasingly subjective since, instead of participating in the objective event, her/his mental experience

approximates the view of the conceptualizer. At the other end, the conceptualizer gains objectivity in the sympathetic dative for his/her view is incorporated in the conceptualization of the event as a whole (figure 15'). The SYD incorporation in the event makes the conceptualizer pick up affectedness properties, a crucial feature of dative participants.

The dative outward move is consistent with the contents of the proximity scale repeated here for convenience:



The dative outward move represents a loss in objectivity, a well known phenomenon of grammaticalization as pointed out by Langacker (1991b), Traugott (1986, 1989), Heine (1992) and many others. As the participant leaves the objective scene a series of “external” phenomena incorporate in the event, most notably the context, the discourse situation and, above all, the conceptualizer’s view. Crucial for the proper understanding of the polysemy of the dative is the fact that the its schematic basic schema remains, albeit in skeletal form, as it picks up properties of the new domain where it is mapped on to. Understood either as an image schema preservation (Lakoff 1990, Sweetser 1988) or as a Blend (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 1998) the composit structure incorporates the basic schema plus some properties external to the on stage action. In the grammaticalization of modals like *must* there is meaning loss (i.e., the deontic meaning bleaches out). In that of the dative the original representation as an active participant in the target domain is maintained. Even more detailed properties are preserved, for in no case the dative initiates the event (a target domain feature) and there is no construal in which affectedness is not crucial. This is also true for Japanese where the dative can be elevated to primary figure in the event and yet the dative does not act as an initiative force of the event. Moreover there is no case in which affectedness is not strongly related to the presence of the experiencer’s dominion. Only the notion of $target_2$ as a locative goal tends to be bleached out. This is the case not only for extensions from the prototype but also for reversal verbs where the presence of some trajectory is enough for a dative to show up. This bleaching process coincides with well known paths of grammaticalization where a concrete meaning becomes abstract to code some grammatical meaning. The idea that datives may evolve from locative goals in many languages is of course not new. The consistency of the preposition *a* in marking all dative construals suggest the same evolutionary path:

179. *Envié el paquete a México* > *Le envié el paquete a María*
 ‘I sent the package to Mexico’ > ‘I sent the package to María’

The change from locative to dative implies a change from concrete to abstract properties: the dative picked up affectedness, a core property deriving from the experiencer-theme contact, and diminish the prominence of the locative goal. One of the problems previous analyses have stumble over is giving too much weight to the locative information of dative constructions (see

section V.3 *Locative prominence and affectedness*). I have suggested that the locative goal is in the base of the prototype. The extensions deriving from it downplay such feature.

Provided that core properties of the schema are preserved, the grammaticalization process from IO to SD to SYD does nothing but pick up properties either from the setting or from the conceptualizer's viewpoint. This process always implies an increase in empathy which in most cases drive negative inferences, yet nothing blocks dative constructions to designate positive evaluations. *Le* in (180.) is an IO, in (181.) it is a SD, while in (182.) it is a SYD:

180. *Sus tíos no cabían de orgullo cuando a Nely le dieron la mención honorífica*
'Her aunt and uncle were so proud when they gave Nely the *cum laude*'
181. *Les (me, te, nos) galardonaron al presidente de la compañía*
'They gave an award to the company's president on them, on me, on you on us'
182. *Me acabo de enterar de que te le han dado un premio a tu hija*
'I just learned that they have just given a prize to your daughter on/for you'

The positive inferences of the indirect object are expected from the transfer construal. In its absence, a change of state demanding empathy tends to drive negative inferences. This can be seen from the fact that examples like (180.) occur freely while those in (181.) and (182.) are not frequent at all. Moreover, negative readings present more dialectal restrictions. In Peninsular Spanish positive readings are almost consistently rejected under elicitation yet in spoken informal situations they are commonly heard. Having a quite stringent prescriptivist tradition, speakers of that dialect say more things than they are actually willing to accept. Be it as it may, the analysis proposed here can also accommodate some important dialectal differences in a natural manner. More conservative dialects align to the left of the proximity scale while more innovative ones exploit to a greater extent the possibilities to the rightmost part of the scale (SDs and SYDs). As we move out of the objective scene, the number of restrictions increase limiting the use options to more conservative speakers. For most Latin American dialects examples (183.) and (184.) are acceptable. Not so for all dialects within Spain:

Peninsular Spanish:

183. *Me castigaron al niño*
'The punished my children (lit: 'They punished the kid on me')
184. **Me le pusieron un cuatro al niño*
'They flunked my son' (Lit: 'They gave a for to the kid on me')

In both constructions there is a possessive relationship with respect to *niño*. Yet only the SD construction (183.) is acceptable for the dative, being in the setting, is still on stage. For the most conservative dialects, offstage participants like *me* in (184.) are banned. Positive and negative readings follow the same behavior.

Likewise SYDs tend to be used in the first person only in more conservative dialects, while the use of the second person is more frequent in less restrictive ones. Recall that the first scholar to point out that second person SYDs were also legal was Erica García, from Argentina.

XII. Conclusions

I have suggested that the apparently unrestricted number of meanings found in Spanish datives conform to a set of restricted and well defined constructions which are subsumed by a basic schema. Such schema emerges from role archetype model and presents itself in the transfer prototype: datives are active participants in the target domain. Activity is in all cases equated with affectedness. The notion of “target” is decomposed in two related construals: a participant in the action chain which is downstream from the subject (after the direct object) = target₁, and a locative goal = target₂. While target₁ is a core property of the schema, for datives always involve some non-initiative activity, target₂ is less prominent and can be left out. This phenomenon is explained in terms of a change from a concrete to an abstract meaning as part of the grammaticalization process from the locative to the dative construction. The distinction between two types of targets has been crucial to explain a set of “reversals” where the directionality of the verb goes against the canon (from the dative out):

- 185.a. *Al abuelo ya le faltan fuerzas*
 ‘Grandpa is lacking strength already’
 b. *Se le fue de las manos*
 ‘It went away from his hands’.

The notion of target₁ accounts for the dative of these construals since the experiencer is affected and does not initiate or drive the event. In cases where the directionality of the action follows the prototype the two targets are of course conflated.

The other crucial ingredient of the construction is the notion of dominion, the virtual area in which a participant has access to other entities for interaction. In the prototype some object is transferred to the target domain. This notion is present in all construals, yet it is of particular significance for several constructions that have resisted a coherent account in current analyses. While whole/part datives are unproblematic, additive datives are less clear. I have shown that it is only by virtue of having some object in the dominion of some participant that the dative can designate affectedness not only for animate but also for inanimate participants:

- 186.a. *La cambiaron el color a la fachada de la casa*
 ‘They changed the color of the house facade’
 b. *Para carnaval le ponemos sus flores al carruaje* (CEQ)
 ‘For carnival we add flowers to the carriage’

Reversals also depend crucially on the input of the dominion for it brings in a natural manner the notion of containment:

187. *Hay que comprar otra tarjeta, a esta sólo le quedan cinco pesos*
 ‘We have to buy another phone-card this one only has five pesos’ (CEQ)

The dominion constitutes the base for any concrete or abstract contact, which all dative constructions imply, but is particularly significant for verbs of perception and of mental activity:

- 188.a. *Ese tipo de actitudes le parecen insoportables*
 ‘That type of attitudes are unbearable for him’
 b. *Le preocupa que sus hijos no se hablen*
 ‘It worries him that his sons don’t talk to each other’

I have claimed that the basic representation for the dative portrays an active participant in the target domain, where the participant is affected by establishing some type of contact with an element located in his/her dominion. The actual induction of the event is of secondary importance for the dative construction. Figure 8, repeated here as 8'' for convenience, represents the dative schema:

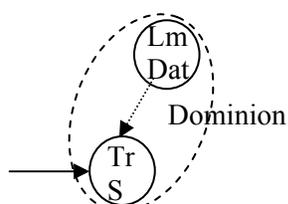


Figure 8''. Dative schema

The schema not only fully represents emotional and psych verbs but also constitutes the base for further developments. The most obvious one being the case of applicatives where the schema is imposed either on transitive or intransitive verbs:

189. *Le es fácil presentar el problema de maneras alternativas*
 'It is easy for her to present the problem in alternate ways'
 190. *No le veo solución al problema*
 'I see no solution to the problem'

The coexistence of the dative with some entity in her/his dominion presuppose contact and proximity, two crucial notions that rule out benefactives from the dative arena.

Finally I have claimed that the extensions from the dative schema come from the fact that it is applied to dominions outside the onstage region in the event. When located in the setting, the degree of activity is diminished as it confers to concrete or abstract dative settings, yet contact and affectedness are still present:

191. *Yo no lo quería decir, pero se me salió sin querer*
 'I didn't mean to say it but it just came out without my control'
 192. *Les felicitaron a sus mejores alumnos*
 'The congratulaed their best students'

Moreover when the schema is applied to an offstage region the extension involves incorporating the conceptualizer's view in the conceptual event with all the restrictions pertaining to the speech act event. Contact is established by extension i.e., by virtue of a sympathy link of the conceptualizer to some actively affected participant. The sympathetic dative activity is thus determined by the affectedness undergone by the dative participant in the event:

193. *Su presentación fue tan buena que me le ofrecieron trabajo tan pronto como terminó el examen*
 ‘Her presentation was so good that they offered her a job on me as soon as the exam was over’

Datives are active participants in the target domain. Activity in the target domain is equated with affectedness be it positive (

193.) or negative (191.). The specific way in which affectedness takes place is determined either by the type of verb (be it intransitive, transitive, ditransitive); by the directionality the verb (as it may go with or against the canonical source-goal orientation of the dative schema), or by the space the dative occupies (be it on stage, in the setting or in the space of the conceptualizer). The way a specific situation is construed imposes a particular reading yet I have tried to show that all construals are based on a schematic representation of the EXPERIENCER as defined in the role archetype model, which motivates a complex network of related meanings. Given such conceptual base and the variety of situations I have described in this paper, the speaker is able to express the subtle ways in which everyday events affect her/his experience.

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