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Initial and non-initial indirect objects in Spanish

J. Albert Bickford
SIL-UND

INITIAL AND NON-INITIAL INDIRECT OBJECTS IN SPANISH

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0. Introduction

In this paper I survey various constructions in Spanish that involve indirect objects. I claim that many final 3's in Spanish do not head initial 3-arcs, in particular, those that appear in Causative Clause Union, in the Inalienable Possessor construction, in Inversion, and in constructions in which the final 3 is an initial Oblique.[1]

The analysis and discussion is carried on within the framework of Relational Grammar (Perlmutter, 1980, and to appear, a and b). I present an argument that because Relational Grammar posits initial syntactic relations that are distinct from both semantics and final syntactic relations, it is capable of capturing generalizations about Spanish structure (especially the phenomenon of clitic doubling) that are difficult to capture in frameworks that do not include this theoretical proposal.

The paper is organized as follows: In section 1, I present analyses (most of which have appeared previously in the literature) of various types of final 3's in Spanish. Section 2 discusses characteristics that all final 3's share, justifying their inclusion together in one syntactic class. Section 3 demonstrates that this class is not completely uniform, and that class-internal differences may be characterized in terms of the analyses in section 1. In particular, I argue that the phenomenon of clitic doubling provides evidence that most types of final 3's are not initial 3's. This section thus provides new arguments for these analyses, in addition to those that have appeared previously. Section 4 briefly discusses some alternative proposals that are precluded by the facts presented in this paper, and summarizes the arguments from Spanish indirect objects for claiming that it is necessary to distinguish the three notions: semantic role, initial syntactic relation, and final syntactic relation.

1. Analyses Which Include Final 3's

Several of the following types of final 3's have previously been mentioned in the literature.[2] I give brief descriptions of each below, referring the reader to relevant papers for further discussion and justification of the analyses. Benefactive Datives have not, to my knowledge, been discussed for Spanish, although Kayne (1975) discusses the parallel construction in French.

1.1 Initial 3's

Many verbs in Spanish accept nominals that head both initial and final 3-arcs. Typically such a nominal is a Recipient or Addressee.[3]

(1) Manuel (le) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} dió \\ regaló \end{array} \right\}$ el dinero a su jefe.

'*Manuel gave the money to his boss.*'

(2) El general (les) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} dijo \\ gritó \end{array} \right\}$ muchas palabras exhortantes a los soldados.

'*The general* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} spoke \\ shouted \end{array} \right\}$ *many exhorting words to the soldiers.*'

(3) ¡No (le) hablo a ese ogro!

'*I'm not speaking to that ogre!*'

As (3) shows, an initial 3 can occur without an initial 2. Stratal diagrams for (1) and (3) would be
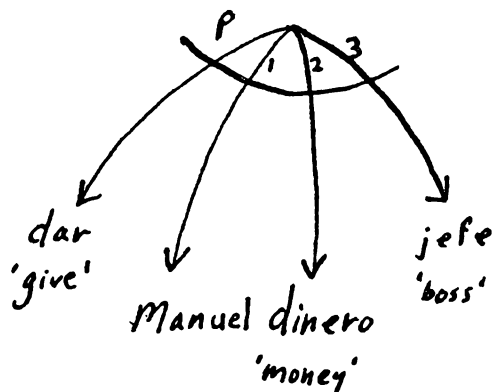
(1)'   (3)'
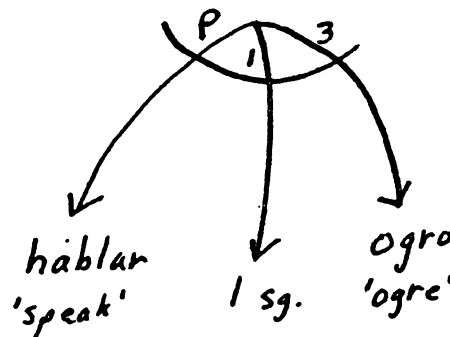
Such an analysis is generally accepted, since final 3's that are Recipients or Addressees normally are analyzed as heading initial 3-arcs. Syntactic criteria within Spanish which differentiate initial from non-initial 3's are discussed in section 3.

1.2   Inversion Nominals

Inversion has been proposed for several of the world's languages, including Albanian (Hubbard 1980), Choctaw (Davies 1981), Georgian (Harris 1981), Italian, Japanese, Kanada, Quechua, Russian and Tamil (Perlmutter 1978 and 1979, Jackson 1981, Dryer 1982, and Sridhar 1979), and Spanish (González 1982). In Spanish, gustar, 'to like', faltar, 'to lack', and a few other predicates govern Inversion.

(4)   Los días claros les gustan a los niños.

'Boys like clear days.'

(5)   Solo dos cosas le faltan a Carlos.

'Carlos lacks only two things.'

The usual analysis of Inversion in simple cases is stated informally in (6):

(6)   The final 3 is an initial 1.
      The final 1 is an initial 2.

For example,

(4)'

For convenience, I will refer descriptively to clauses like (4) as "Inversion Clauses", nominals like niños in (4) as "Inversion Nominals", and predicates like gustar as "Inversion Triggers" (even when discussing alternative hypotheses).

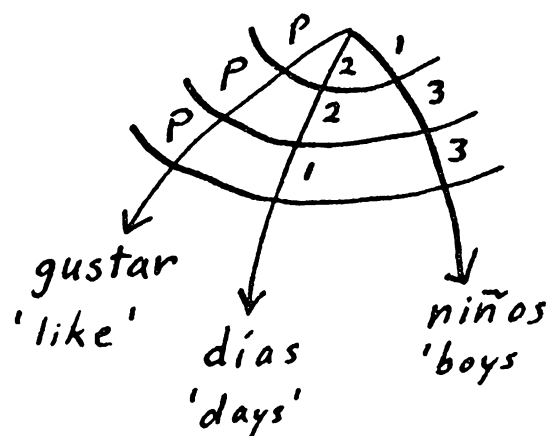Most of the arguments for Inversion in Spanish given by González (1982) parallel those that Perlmutter (1979) uses to motivate Inversion in Italian. González argues that the final 3 acts like a 1 with respect to several anaphoric and elliptical rules. If these rules are stated in terms of the notion 'working 1' (which unites, as one natural syntactic class, final 1's and Inversion Nominals) and if the analysis in (6) is assumed, the data are accounted for in a natural way. If, on the other hand, one assumes that Inversion Clauses have only one syntactic level, so that Inversion Nominals are both initial and final 3's, no explanation is given for the fact that Inversion Nominals exhibit behavior that is characteristic of 1's, in contrast to final 3's that are Recipients and Addressees. González also offers some data concerning the interaction of Inversion and Clause Reduction which cannot be accounted for at all under a single-level analysis. (Clause Reduction is discussed in the next section.)

1.3 Clause Union: Causatives and Clause Reduction

Causative Clause Union (a process that fuses a clause containing a causative predicate with its clausal object) has been the subject of intense study and debate throughout the past ten years. Causative Clause Union in Spanish (which has been studied by Aissen 1974, 1977, 1979, González 1980, and Raposo 1981, among others) is triggered by hacer, 'to cause', and dejar, 'to allow'. Compare the following sentences:

(7) a. Without Causative Clause Union
El padre hizo que el hijo mayor limpiara su cuarto.

b. With Causative Clause Union
El padre (le) hizo limpiar su cuarto al hijo mayor.

'The father made his oldest son clean his room.'

Many authors have noted that when the downstairs clause is transitive, the notional subject of the downstairs clause is a final 3 in the Causative Clause Union construction, as in (7b). If the downstairs clause is intransitive, the downstairs 1 is a final 2 upstairs, and thus takes an accusative, not a dative, clitic.

$$(8) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Lo} \\ \text{*Le} \end{array} \right\} \text{hice correr.}$$

'I made him run.'

Stratal diagrams typically proposed for sentences like (7b) and (8) are:

(7b)'
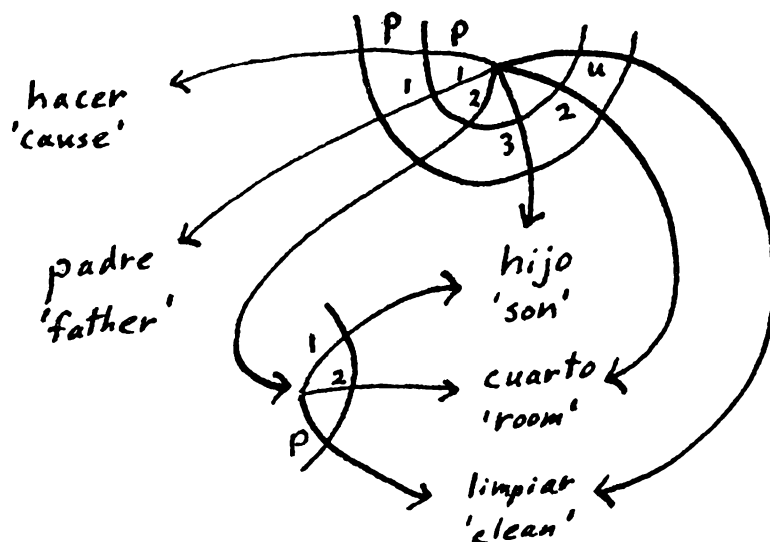
(8)'
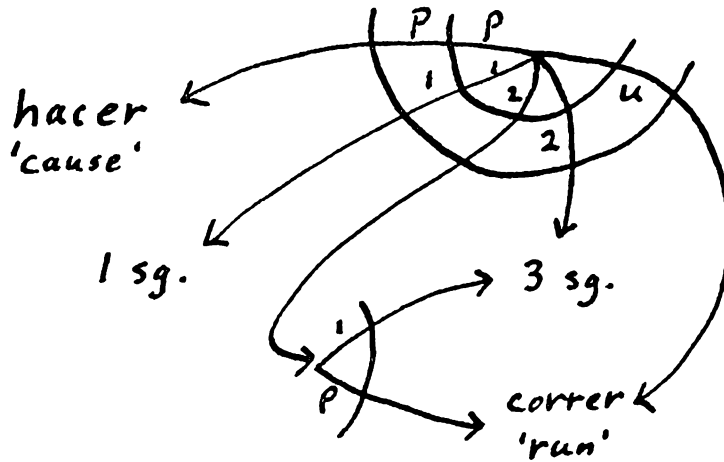
See Aissen (1979) for arguments that these sentences are multi-clausal.

Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) discuss a similar construction that they initially call Clause Reduction, but which they later classify as a type of Clause Union. Certain matrix verbs allow Clause Reduction if a nominal heads a 1-arc in each of two clauses, one embedded in the other. (This happens both with Equi verbs like querer, 'to want' and, in combination with Subject to Subject raising, with verbs like soler, 'to tend'.) The most obvious surface manifestation of Clause Reduction is that clitics attach to the upstairs rather than the downstairs verb, i.e., nominals determine clitics on the highest verb of which they are dependents. In addition, the interaction of Clause Reduction with other constructions in higher clauses supports the analysis that Clause Reduction fuses two clauses into one. (The following stratal diagrams are translations into current notation from the earlier version of RG that Aissen and Perlmutter used.)

(9)a.   Los dueños quieren alquilarles estas casas a los generales.

   b.   Los dueños les quieren alquilar estas casas a los generales.

   'The owners want to rent these houses to the generals.'

(9a)'
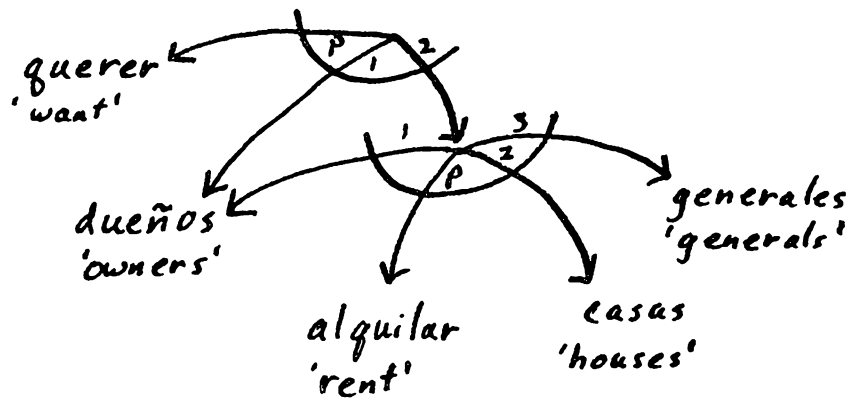
(9b)
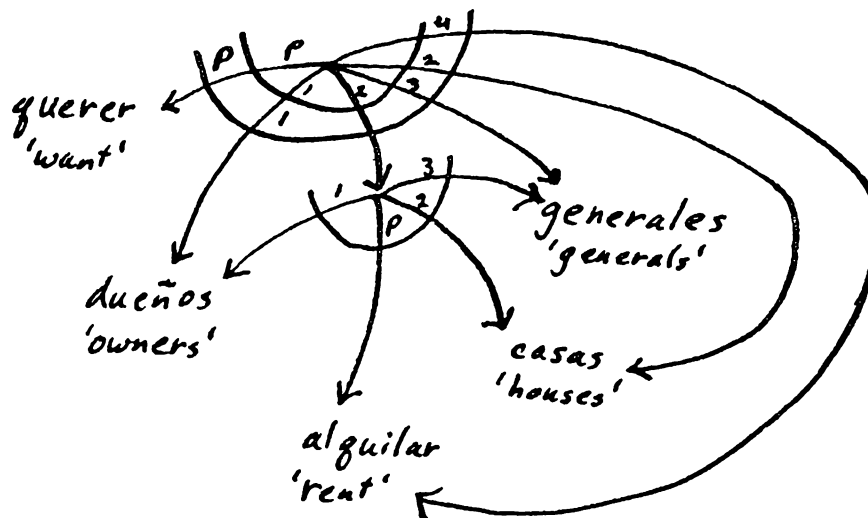
(10)a. El dueño suele alquilar<u>les</u> esta casa a diplomáticos.

b. El dueño <u>les</u> suele alquilar esta casa a diplomáticos.

'The owner tends to rent this house to diplomats.'

(10a)'
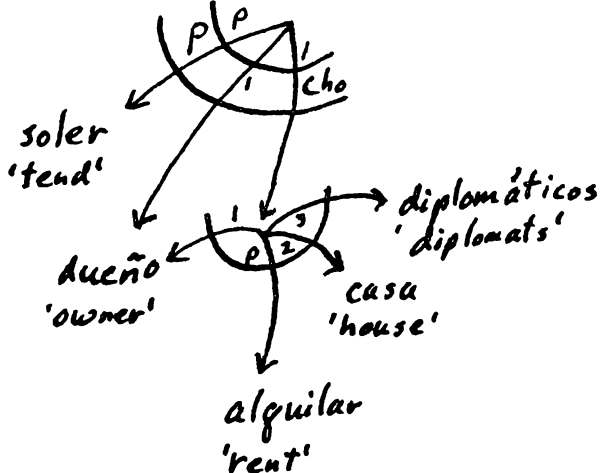
(10b)'
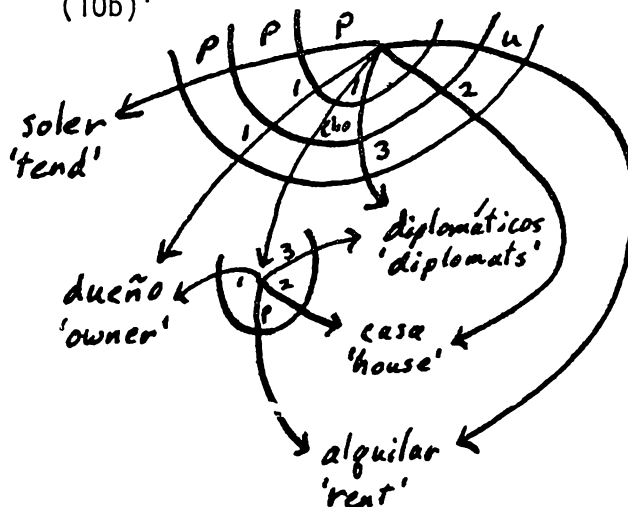
Both types of Clause Union provide ways for downstairs dependents to head 3-arcs in upstairs clauses. A downstairs 1 of a transitive clause in Causative Clause Union is a 3 upstairs. A downstairs 3 in any type of Clause Union may also be an upstairs 3.[4] In either case, any downstairs dependents that head 3-arcs in the upper clause of Clause Union constructions do not head initial 3-arcs in the upstairs clause.

1.4 Benefactive Datives

Certain final 3's express the semantic notion of a Beneficiary[5] rather than that of a Recipient or Addressee.

    (11)a.   Le compré una camisa <u>a mi esposa</u>.

        'I bought a blouse <u>for my wife</u>.'

      b.   El mono les baila <u>a los niños</u>.

        'The monkey dances <u>for the children</u>.'

      c.   Le tocaron la sinfonía <u>al rey</u>.

        'They played the symphony <u>for the king</u>.'

Sentences like those in (11) are synonomous with sentences in which the Beneficiary is expressed by <u>para</u>, 'for', the usual marker for final Benefactives.

    (12)a.   Compré una camisa <u>para mi esposa</u>.

      b.   El mono baila <u>para los niños</u>.

      c.   Tocaron la sinfonía <u>para el rey</u>.

Comparing the sentences in (11) and (12), we see that the Beneficiaries in (11) are final 3's; they are marked with the preposition <u>a</u>, 'to', and are doubled by a dative clitic. I will call final 3's like those that are underlined in (11) "Benefactive Datives".

I propose that Benefactive Datives should be analyzed as instances of Benefactive to 3 Advancement. This analysis states that Benefactive Datives bear the Benefactive relation in the initial stratum and the 3 relation in the final stratum.

(13)
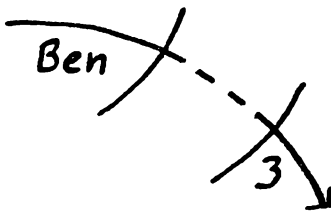
The synonomous interpretation of the pairs of sentences in (11) and (12) is reflected in their syntactic structures; the analysis posits identical initial strata for synonymous pairs. Compare the following stratal diagrams:

(11a)   Le compré una camisa a mi esposa.
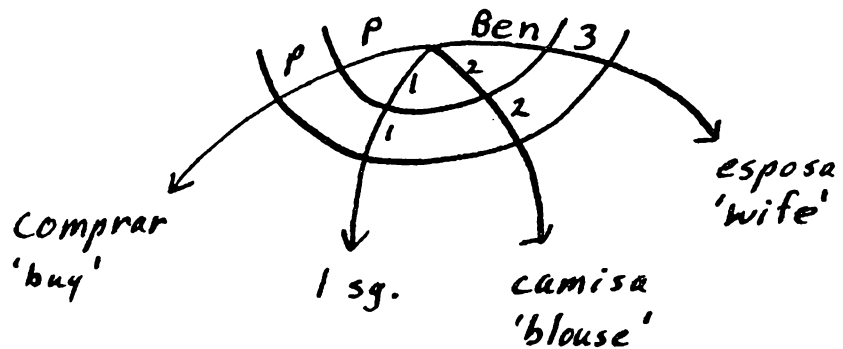
(12a)   Compré una camisa para mi esposa.
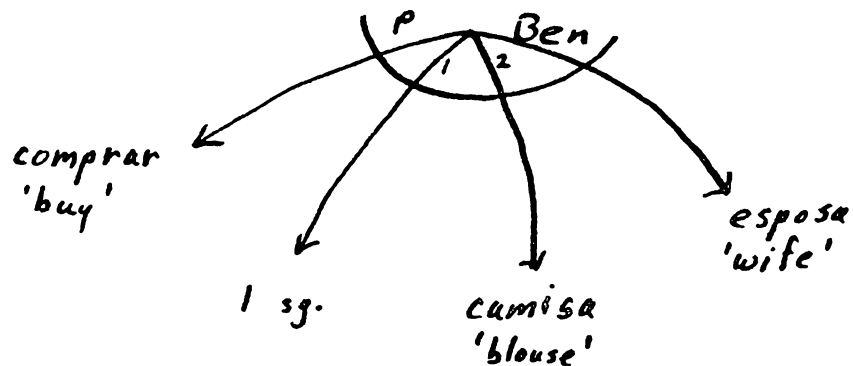
Similar analyses have been proposed for Cebuano (Bell, to appear), Choctaw (Davies 1981), Georgian (Harris 1980), Turkish (Gibson and Özkaragöz 1981), and French (Kayne 1975), among others.

1.5 Ethical Datives

Ethical Datives are final 3's that are interpreted as having an interest in and being indirectly affected by the action of the verb. Generally the effect is negative, as is implied by the colloquial use of 'on' in the glosses.

(14)   El enfermo se le murió al médico.

'The sick man up and died on the doctor.'

Tuggy (1980) suggests that Ethical Datives could be analyzed as the advancement of some Oblique to 3, but does not attempt to justify this analysis:

(15)
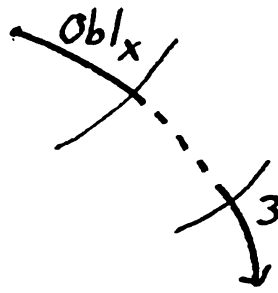
One result of the analysis of clitic doubling in section 3.2 of this paper is to provide some initial support for his suggestion.

An interesting aspect of this proposal is that in Spanish all nominals heading this Obl_x arc must advance to 3; apparently no nominal can bear this grammatical relation in a final stratum.

1.6 Inalienable Possessors

The inalienable possession construction involves a possessor and some possessed entity that is closely associated with the possessor, such as a body part, an item of clothing, or a close relative. The possessor appears as the final 3 of the clause, and the possessed item is generally a final 2, though this is not always the case.

(16) Le robaron el auto a Guillermo.

'They stole Guillermo's car.'

(17) ¡No me tomes el pelo!

'Don't grab my hair!' (i.e., Don't pull my leg!)

(18) Se me murió el padre anoche.

'My father died last night.'

(19) Le pusieron el veneno en la boca.

'They put the poison in his mouth.'

I will temporarily refer to the final 3's of such clauses as "Inalienable Possessor Datives".

At first glance, the inalienable possessor construction would seem to be an instance of possessor ascension. A possessor ascension analysis would claim that an Inalienable Possessor Dative is a possessor modifying the possessed nominal, that it does not head an initial arc in the main clause, and that it heads a final 3-arc in the clause. (That is, it "ascends" to 3. See Davies (1981) and Harris (1980) for further discussion and arguments for this analysis in Choctaw and Georgian, respectively.) For example, (16)

would have the following stratal diagram:

(16)'

3 pl.

robar
'rob'

P

Poss

H

Guillermo

auto
'car'
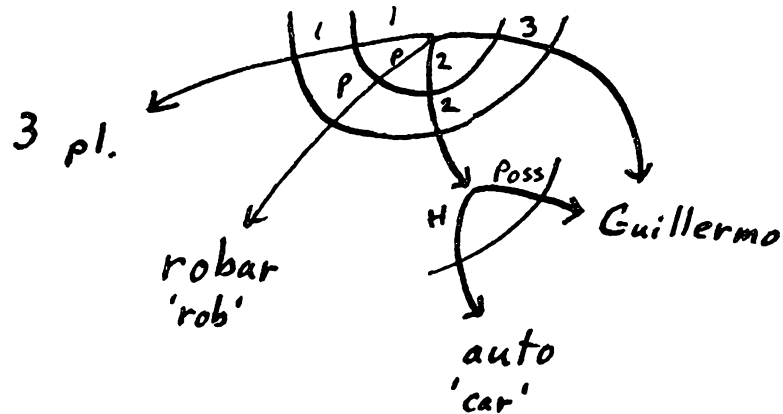
Tuggy (1980) argues that the inalienable possession construction in Spanish is not an instance of possessor ascension, but rather that Inalienable Possessor Datives are special cases of Ethical Datives, and should therefore be analyzed as instances of Obl_x to 3 Advancement. This difference in analysis is immaterial here; the phenomena discussed in this paper treat both types of final 3's alike, since neither is an initial 3. For ease of presentation, therefore, I will refer to Inalienable Possessor Datives as Ethical Datives.

2. Characteristics of Final 3's

Since it is generally non-controversial which nominals are indirect objects, I do not present the following arguments in great detail, but simply note those properties that are shared by all final 3's and which distinguish them from nominals bearing other final relations.

Final 3's in Spanish are most clearly identified by dative clitics and clitic doubling, which are discussed in section 2.1. In some dialects, the clitic facts tend to treat final 2's and 3's alike in many contexts, and in all dialects, the preposition a is often used for final 2's as well as final 3's. Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 present three less commonly mentioned tests for differentiating final 3's from final 2's: the omission of a with certain final 2's, the distribution of relative clauses introduced by que, and the inability to cliticize in certain Causative Clause Union structures. Section 2.5 presents characteristics that differentiate final 3's from certain Obliques that are semantically very similar to them.

2.1 Dative Clitics and Clitic Doubling

Final objects in Spanish, as in other Romance languages, can trigger clitics on the verb. Unlike French, cliticization is limited to objects. In the dialect presented here (the "loísta") dialect spoken in Latin America[6]), final 2's and 3's are distinguished in both genders in the third person by the form of the clitic.[7]

(20)

	Final 2 (accusative)			Final 3 (dative)	
	sing.	pl.		sing.	pl.
masc.⎫ neut.⎭	lo	los	(all genders)	le	les
fem.	la	las			

(21)a. Mario se <u>los</u> dió a su novia.

   '*Mario gave them to his girlfriend.*'

  b. Mario <u>le</u> dió unos regalitos.

   '*Mario gave her some little gifts.*'

The <u>se</u> in (21a) is the "spurious se", a variant of <u>le(s)</u> used when there is both an accusative and a dative third person clitic. (See Perlmutter 1971, and Aissen and Rivas 1975.)

In all dialects of Spanish, the dative clitic <u>le(s)/se</u> may cooccur with an independent nominal, as in (21a) and many previous examples. (This phenomenon of clitic doubling is discussed in more detail in section 3.2) In the standard dialect, the accusative clitics cannot do this when the final 2 is a postverbal noun.[8]

(22) *Juan <u>lo</u> vió a <u>Marcos</u>.

   '*Juan saw Marcos.*'

Final 3's are thus distinct from final 2's in the standard dialect with respect to two aspects of cliticization:

  (23)a. Final 2's and 3's require different forms of the clitic in the third person.

  b. Only final 3's allow clitic doubling with post-verbal nouns.

Final 3's are distinct from final 1's and Obliques in that only objects may cliticize.[9]

One can verify by glancing at the data in sections 1.1-6 that all the types of final 3's discussed in this paper show these characteristics.

2.2 Obligatory Prepositional Marking

Final 3's are marked with the preposition <u>a</u>, as can be seen in the previous examples. Final 2's are also marked with <u>a</u> under many circumstances, (See Isenberg 1968, Luján 1972, or Montalbetti 1981, for details beyond what is normally discussed in standard grammars) such as when they refer to a specific person.

(24) El niño busca a su mamá.

'*The child is looking for his mommy.*'

Su mamá is a final 2, not a final 3, since the clitic is la, not le, and clitic doubling is impossible.

(25) El niño la busca (*a su mamá).

'*The child is looking for her.*'

The a on final 2's may be omitted if the head noun is modified by a relative clause whose verb is in the subjunctive; this indicates that the referent is non-specific.

(26) Buscamos una secretaria que habla inglés.

'*We are looking for a secretary who speaks English.*'

However, modifying a final 3 with such a relative clause does not allow the a to be ommitted.

(27) Initial 3's
(Le) pagaremos un buen sueldo a/*∅ una secretaria que hable inglés.

'*We will pay a good salary to a secretary who speaks English.*'

(28) Inversion Nominals
María le gustaría a/*∅ un hombre que aprecie las mujeres cultas.

'*A man who appreciates cultured women would like Maria.*'

(29) Benefactive Datives
Le compraremos un nuevo escritorio a/*∅ una secretaria que sepa inglés.

'*We'll buy a new desk for a secretary who knows English.*'

(30) Ethical Datives
Le van a robar el auto a/*∅ cualquiera persona que lo deje con la puerta abierta.

'*They'll steal the car from any person who leaves it with the door unlocked.*'

(31) Clause Union: downstairs 1
Le haré tomar dictado en mis rodillas a/*∅ una secretaria
que tenga pelo rubio.

*'I'll have any secretary that has blonde hair take dictation
on my knees.'*

(32) Clause Union: downstairs 3
Le quiero regalar este premio a/*∅ una persona que lo
merezca.

'I want to give this prize to a person who deserves it.'

2.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses may be introduced by a relative pronoun or by que.[10]

The distribution of que may be characterized by the following statement
(based on González 1981):

(33) In a relative clause introduced by que, the relativized
nominal must head a final nuclear term arc (i.e., a 1-arc
or a 2-arc) in the relative clause.[11]

(34)a. La persona que vino, es de Pensilvania.

'The person who came is from Pennsylvania.'

b. La persona que Juan besó, es mi hermana.

'The person whom Juan kissed is my sister.'

Other [+human] nominals, including final 3's, may be relativized by the
relative pronoun quien(es), but may not be relativized in a clause introduced
by que.

(35) La persona $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quien le} \\ \text{*(a) que (le)} \end{Bmatrix}$ dí el libro, es tu amigo.

'The person to whom I gave the book is your friend.'

Que is ungrammatical when the final 3 is relativized regardless of whether
clitic doubling occurs or whether the preposition a appears.[12]

This test also works for the other types of final 3's:

(36) Inversion Nominals

La persona $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quien le} \\ \text{*(a) que (le)} \end{Bmatrix}$ gusta el hígado es mi hermano.

'*The person who likes liver is my brother.*'

(37) Benefactive Datives

Los niños $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quienes les} \\ \text{*(a) que (les)} \end{Bmatrix}$ baila el mono están aburridos.

'*The children for whom the monkey dances are bored.*'

(38) Ethical Datives

El hombre $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quien los ladrones le} \\ \text{*(a) que los ladrones (le)} \end{Bmatrix}$ robaron el auto

tendrá que andar a pie.

'*The man from whom the thieves stole the car will have
to walk.*'

(39) Clause Union: downstairs 1

¡La persona $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quien el gerente le} \\ \text{*(a) que el gerente (le)} \end{Bmatrix}$ hace tomar dictado

en sus rodillas es mi secretaria!

'*The person whom the manager makes take dictation on his
knees is my secretary!*'

(40) Clause Union: downstairs 3

La persona $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a quien le} \\ \text{*(a) que (le)} \end{Bmatrix}$ quiero regalar este premio es

mi novio.

'*The person to whom I want to give this prize is my
boyfriend.*'

2.4 Causative Clause Union

In section 1.3 I did not discuss the occurrence of a clause containing
a final 1, a final 2, and a final 3 in a Causative Clause Union construction.
This case is more complicated, and discussion was postponed until now because
it shows another difference between final 1's, 2's and 3's.

(41) El padre le hizo dar los juguetes a los bebés.[13]

'*The father made him give the toys to the babies.*'

This sentence can only mean "The father made him (someone identified in

context) give the toys to the babies", not "The father made the babies give the toys to him". That is, only the downstairs 1 can cliticize, not the downstairs 3. Other attempts to cliticize the downstairs 3 in addition to the downstairs 1 are impossible.

(42) *El padre se le(s) hizo dar los juguetes.

('The father made him give the toys to them.')

There is no such restriction when the downstairs clause contains only a 1 and a 3. One easy way to bring this situation about is to passivize the lower clause; this marks the agent with por, 'by', the usual marker for passive chômeurs. The clitic is determined by the downstairs 3 in this case.

(43) El padre les$_i$/*le hizo dar los juguetes a los bebés$_i$ por
       el hijo mayor.

*'The father made the toys be given to the babies by the
       oldest son.'*

Raposo and Gibson (in preparation) point out that this result is an automatic consequence of the stratal uniqueness law, if one assumes that only final objects can cliticize. If the downstairs 1 is an upstairs 3, the downstairs 3 cannot also be an upstairs 3; it must bear some other relation. Johnson and Postal (1980) propose that it bears the emeritus relation; Raposo and Gibson propose that it is a chômeur. This difference is immaterial with regard to cliticization; under either analysis the downstairs 3 is not an upstairs final object, and thus fails to cliticize.

(41b)'
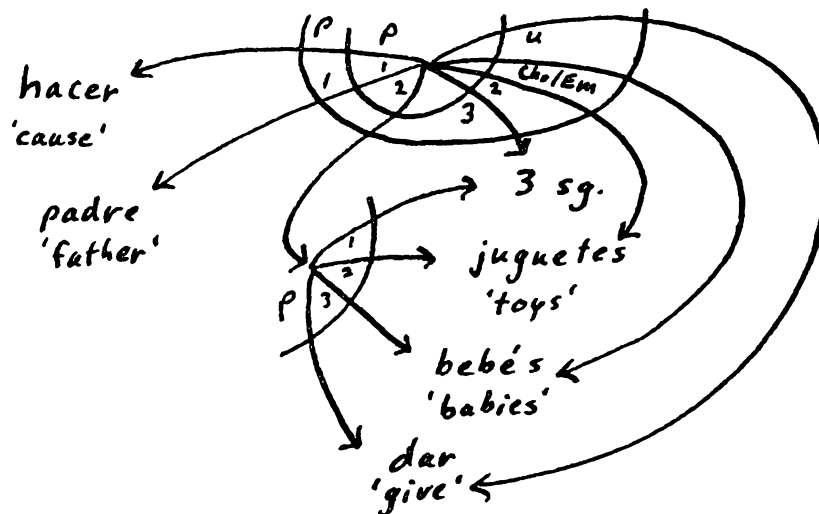
On the other hand, when there is no final 2 downstairs, the downstairs 1 is an upstairs 2, not a 3, so that the downstairs 3 is free to head a 3-arc upstairs, and consequently can cliticize.[14]

(43)'

hacer 'cause'

padre 'father'

hijo 'son'

juguetes 'toys'

bebés 'babies'

dar 'give'
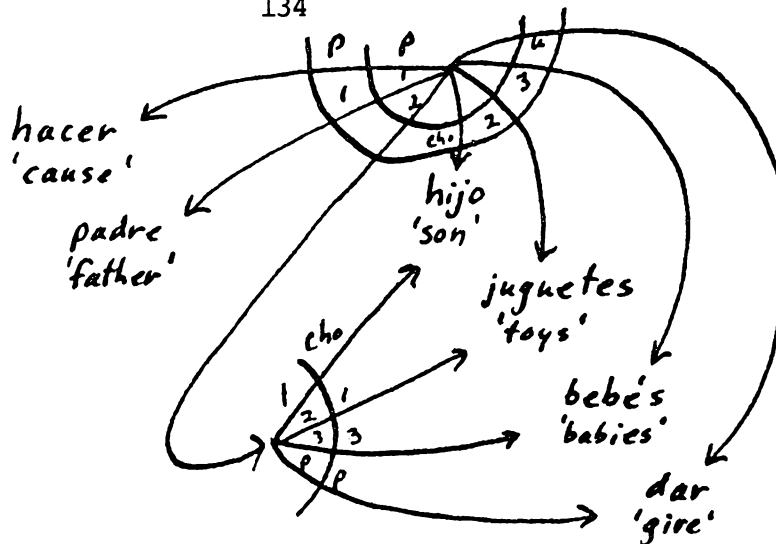
This provides a fourth test for final 3-hood, in addition to those in section 1. When a clause is embedded in a Causative Clause Union structure, a final 3 downstairs will be able to cliticize upstairs only if the downstairs clause is not transitive. In contrast, downstairs final 1's and 2's can always cliticize upstairs.

The following sentences show that other types of final 3's also show this behavior.[15]

(44)   Benefactive Datives

a. El rey les hizo tocar la sinfonía a la princesa.

'The king made $\begin{cases} them\ play\ the\ symphony\ for\ the\ princess.' \\ *\ the\ princess\ play\ the\ symphony\ for\ them.' \end{cases}$

b. El rey le$_i$/*les hizo tocar la sinfonía a la princesa$_i$ por los músicos.

'The king had the symphony played for the princess by the musicians.'

(45)   Ethical Datives

a. El torturador les hizo sacar las uñas al prisionero.

'The torturer made $\begin{cases} them\ pull\ out\ the\ prisoner's\ fingernails.' \\ *the\ prisoner\ pull\ out\ their\ fingernails.' \end{cases}$

b. El torturador le$_i$/*les hizo sacar las uñas al prisionero$_i$ por los soldados.

'The torturer made the prisoner's fingernails be pulled out by the soldiers.'

(46)   Clause Union: downstairs 3
   a.   El obispo le hizo empezar a decir misa a los feligreses.

'The bishop made $\begin{cases} him\ begin\ to\ say\ mass\ to\ the\ faithful.' \\ *the\ faithful\ begin\ to\ say\ mass\ to\ him.' \end{cases}$

   b.   El obispo les$_i$/*le hizo empezar a decir misa a los feligreses por el sacerdote.

'The bishop had mass begun to be said to the faithful by the priest.'

2.5 3's vs. Obliques

Indirect Objects are superficially similar to Directionals (i.e., Locational Goals) and Benefactives. A few comments about their differences are, therefore, in order.

Directionals and Recipients are semantically very similar. It would be tempting to conclude from (47) that, since Directionals are marked with a, like final 3's, there is therefore no syntactic difference between them.

(47) El chico trajo una rana <u>a la chica</u>.

'The boy brought a frog to the girl.'

However, clear cases of Directionals, those that occur with intransitive verbs of motion, do not use a with a person, only with physical locations. (This restriction may be dialectal.)

(48) El niño camina a $\begin{cases} *su\ madre. \\ la\ silla. \end{cases}$

'The boy walks to $\begin{cases} (his\ mother.)' \\ the\ chair.' \end{cases}$

Further, Directionals cannot cliticize, even under conditions that require clitic doubling with final 3's. (See section 3.2.1.)

(49) *Te voy a tí.

('I'm going to you.')

In contrast, <u>traer</u> does accept a clitic.

(50) El chico (le) trajo una rana a la chica.

For these reasons, it seems best to regard <u>la chica</u> in (47) as a final 3, not a Directional, despite superficial similarities between the two classes.

The existence of Benefactive Datives has apparently prompted at least one writer to suggest that Indirect Objects and Benefactives are syntactically identical. Gili y Gaya (1961), one of the many standard traditional grammars, states: "Los complementos indirectos...en español siempre llevan las preposiciones a o para..." ("Indirect Objects...in Spanish are always marked with the prepositions a or para...") He states earlier, "El complemento indirecto expresa la persona o cosa que recibe daño o provecho de la acción del verbo, o el fin a que dicha acción se dirige." ("The indirect object expresses the person or thing which receives the harm or benefit from the action of the verb, or the end to which that action is directed.") Apparently he is referring to the close semantic affinity of Recipients and Beneficiaries.

Such an analysis is clearly untenable. (Kayne 1975, argues against a similar analysis for French. Some of my arguments are based on his.)

Para is not interchangeable with a when there is a dative clitic present.

(51)   A/*Para tus amigos les construyó una casa.

'For your friends he built a house.'

(52)   El gitano les tocó el violín a/*para los dos.

'The gypsy played the violin for the two of them.'

However, sentences with para are fine without the dative clitic.

(53)   Para tus amigos construyó una casa.

(54)   El gitano tocó el violín para los dos.

This inability of para to cooccur with a dative clitic is evidence that phrases marked with it are not final 3's.

Furthermore, Gili y Gaya's analysis cannot account for the inability of para to mark the full range of final 3's discussed in this paper.

(55)   Initial 3's
   a.   Le dió el auto a Julia.
   b.   *Dió el auto para Julia.

   'He gave the car to/*for Julia.'

(56)   Inversion Nominals
   a.   Las rubias le gustan a Juan.
   b.   *Las rubias gustan para Juan.

   'Juan likes blondes.'

(57)   Causative Clause Union: downstairs 1
   a. El policía les dejó robar el banco a los ladrones.
   b. *El policía dejó robar el banco para los ladrones.

   'The policeman let the thieves rob the bank.'

(58)   Ethical Datives
   a. Le cortaron la mano a Manuel.
   b. *Cortaron la mano para Manuel.

   'They cut (off) Manuel's hand.'

Para is interchangeable with a only when marking Beneficiaries.[16]

Thus it seems best to distinguish between final 3's and Benefactives, despite occasional semantic similarities between the two classes.

2.6 Summary of Characteristics of Final 3's

The data in this section have demonstrated the following distinctions:

(59) Final 3's are distinct from final 2's in the following ways:

   a. The form of the clitic: Final 3's are cliticized with le(s). Final 2's are cliticized with lo(s) and la(s).

   b. Clitic doubling: Final 3's can be doubled by a clitic. Final 2's (with a few exceptions, discussed in section 3.2.1) cannot.

   c. Prepositional marking: Final 2's omit a under certain conditions. Final 3's cannot.

   d. Relative clauses: Only final nuclear terms (final 1's and 2's) can relativize with the que-strategy. Final 3's cannot.

   e. Causative Clause Union: A final 2 in a downstairs clause can always cliticize upstairs. A final 3 can do so only if not pre-empted by the downstairs final 1.

(60) Final objects are distinct from final 1's and final Non-terms in at least these ways (subject to some dialectal variation):

   a. Cliticization: Only nominals that head object arcs in a clause can cliticize in that clause. A nominal that does not head an object arc in a clause cannot do so.[17]

b. The preposition a can mark [+human] nominals only when they are final objects. Final Obliques cannot use a for humans.

c. Final 1's are never marked with any preposition.

The above tests are adequate to identify final 3's by syntactic criteria, although other tests probably exist. The data in the preceding sections verify that the traditional category 'indirect object' (made more precise in the present analysis by the concept 'final 3') is a single syntactic class with uniform behavior under the rules summarized in (59) and (60).

3. Arguments for Initial Relations

Notwithstanding the syntactic unity of the class of final 3's with respect to the phenomena presented in section 2, this class is not completely uniform. The main point of this section is the claim that a sub-division of this class must be recognized which is relevant to one of the rules governing clitic doubling, and that a natural way to characterize this sub-division is in terms of initial grammatical relations. This, in turn, provides evidence for the multi-stratal and multi-clausal analyses presented earlier.

The argument is dependent on the existence of independent evidence for initial relations for certain constructions. Some of this has already been presented by others, as discussed in section 1. Section 3.1 contains an independent argument for a multi-level analysis of Benefactive Datives. These relatively clear cases support a claim, presented in section 3.2, that doubling is obligatory if a final 3 does not head an initial 3-arc in the clause in which the final 3 determines a clitic.

3.1 The Double Benefactive Constraint

There is a constraint in Spanish that outlaws the presence of more than one nominal marked with para which could be interpreted as a Benefactive.

(61) *La banda tocó la marcha para los ministros para el presidente.

'The band played the march for the ministers for the president.'

This is not just a constraint against two occurrences of para. If one para has a temporal sense, a Benefactive para is also possible.

(62) Para diciembre compraré el regalo para mi madre.[18]

'By December I will buy the gift for my mother.'

The contrast between (61) and (62) suggests the following statement of the

constraint.

(63) The Double Benefactive Constraint

At most one nominal may head a Benefactive arc in a given clause.[19]

This constraint, together with the analysis of BD's as initial Benefactives, predicts that a BD will not cooccur in a clause with a nominal that is a final Benefactive.

On the other hand, an initial 3 should be able to occur freely with final Benefactives. Examples (64) and (65) substantiate this prediction.

(64) *La banda le tocó la marcha <u>al presidente</u> <u>para los ministros</u>.

(65) Carlos (le) envió dinero <u>a su esposa</u> <u>para sus hijos</u>.

'Carlos sent money to his wife for their children.'

The statement of the constraint in (63) captures a generalization about the behavior of BD's and Benefactives which could not be stated syntactically if BD's were not analyzed as heading initial Benefactive arcs. (Certain semantic analyses are also possible. One of these is discussed in section 4.)

3.2   Clitic Doubling

There is further evidence regarding initial relations from the facts of clitic doubling. As mentioned in section 2.1, final 3's may be doubled by a dative clitic in most circumstances.[20] This doubling is obligatory unless several conditions are met. One of them, as I show in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, makes reference to the initial relation of the final 3. The others are mentioned briefly in section 3.2.1, even though they are not directly relevant to the present discussion, because they represent variables which must be controlled in the arguments of the following two sections.

3.2.1 Miscellaneous Factors Affecting Clitic Doubling

Each of the clitic doubling rules in this section and the next is stated in the form of a necessary condition for the omission of a clitic; if one or more conditions are not satisfied, the clitic is obligatory.

Some of the following rules make reference to final objects, but the examples are confined to final 3's. Also, facts from some dialects may be different from those below.[21]

I am not making any claim that the following discussion represents a final analysis; there are many unanswered questions about clitic doubling.

In particular, I suspect that the rules which follow could be given a more unified treatment. These are included only to illustrate something of the range of variables that must be controlled in order to obtain valid tests of the rule which is presented in the next two sections.

Jaeggli (1980) notes that if an object is a personal pronoun, it must be doubled by a clitic.[22,23]

(66) Le/*Ø da corbatas a él cada navidad.

'*She gives neckties to him every Christmas.*'

When a final object is a noun, clitic doubling is optional (provided that it is not required by some other rule.)

(67) (Le) da corbatas a su esposo cada navidad.

'*She gives neckties to her husband every Christmas.*'

This, then, is the first necessary condition for the omission of a clitic: the final 3 must be a noun.

Interestingly enough, according to my principal consultant, dative clitics cannot be omitted if there is an accusative clitic. (Recall that the form of the dative clitic is se when an accusative clitic is present.)

(68) Cuando recibo más dinero del que necesito, siempre
se/*Ø lo doy a la iglesia.

'*When I receive more money than what I need, I always give it to the church.*'

(69)a. Manuel siempre quiere dar(les) limosna a los pobres.

'*Manuel always wants to give alms to the poor.*'

b. Manuel siempre quiere $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{dársela} \\ \text{*darla} \end{Bmatrix}$ a los pobres.

'*Manuel always wants to give it to the poor.*'

(70)a. (Le) dije estas mismas palabras al magistrado.

'*I said these same words to the magistrate.*'

b. Estas mismas palabras se/*Ø las dije al magistrado.

'*These same words I said to the magistrate.*'

That is, a second necessary condition for omitting the dative clitic is that there must not be an accusative clitic.

Perlmutter (1971) notes that when a final object is left-dislocated, a clitic copy is required.

> (71)   A su esposo, siempre le/*∅ da corbatas.
>
> *'To her husband, she always gives neckties.'*

Similarly, when a final 3 is relativized or questioned, clitic doubling is obligatory.

> (72)   La persona a quien le/*∅ da corbatas cada navidad es
> su esposo.
>
> *'The person to whom she gives neckties every Christmas
> is her husband.'*

> (73)   ¿A quién le/*∅ da corbatas cada navidad?
>
> *'To whom does she give neckties every Christmas?'*

One way to give a general treatment to these three cases of left-dislocation, relativization, and questioning, is this: a necessary condition for a clitic to be omitted is that the nominal which determines the clitic must appear to the right of the verb.[24]

Finally, a clitic is required if the sentence refers to a specific, as opposed to a general or habitual, event.[25] This often is reflected by tense/aspect marking on the verb, but the phenomenon is not linked directly to any one morphological form.

> (74)a. Siempre (les) dice palabras duras a sus hijas.
>
> *'He always says harsh words to his daughters.'*

>   b. En ese momento, les/*∅ dijo palabras duras a sus hijas,
> que después lamentó.
>
> *'In that moment, he spoke harsh words to his daughters,
> that he regretted later.'*

> (75)a. En las noches frías, (les) contaban muchas historias
> aburridas a las niñas.
>
> *'On cold nights, they told many boring stories to the
> girls.'*

>   b. Les/*∅ contaron muchas historias aburridas a las niñas
> esa noche.
>
> *'They told many boring stories to the girls that night.'*

(76)a. Muchas veces (le) hablo a María.

'I talk to Maria often.'

b. A las tres le/*∅ hablo a María.

'I'm talking to Maria at three o'clock.'

The data in this section can be summarized as follows:

(77) Dative clitics are optionally omitted if all of the
following conditions are met:

    a. the final 3 is a noun
    b. the final 3 appears to the right of the verb of
       which it is a dependent
    c. there is no accusative clitic in the clause
    d. the event referred to is non-specific

A fifth necessary condition for omitting the clitic is added to this list
in the next section. Arguments for this fifth condition are necessarily
based on sentences that satisfy all four conditions in (77).

3.2.2 Doubling of Non-initial 3's: single clauses

The examples in section 3.2.1 all involve dar, 'to give', which
uncontroversially takes an initial 3. As (67) shows, clitic doubling is
optional with initial 3's, providing that all the conditions in (77) are
satisfied. Similar examples could be given for other verbs that take
initial 3's. In clauses which contain non-initial 3's, however, clitic
doubling is always obligatory. The clitic cannot be omitted even if
the conditions stated in (77) are satisfied.

(78)   Inversion Nominals
    a. La música clásica le/*∅ gusta a Renato.

    'Renato likes classical music.'

    b. Muchas veces, las ideas creativas le/*∅ faltan a ese
       autor.

    'That author often lacks creative ideas.'

(79)   Benefactive Datives
    a. Les/*∅ pintaban las paredes a los dueños todos los
       veranos.

    'They painted walls for the owners every summer.'

    b. Mi esposa le/*∅ hace comida a muchas familias pobres.

    'My wife prepares food for many poor families.'

(80) Ethical Datives

    a. Antes de cenar, siempre le/*∅ lava las manos a su
        hija.

        *'Before dinner, she always washes her daughter's
        hands.'*

    b. Esos niños malos siempre le/*∅ ensucian mi auto a
        Jorge cuando se lo presto.

        *'Those bad boys always get my car dirty on George
        when I loan it to him.'*

    c. Los pacientes se le/*∅ mueren a ese médico casi
        siempre.

        'Patients almost always die on that doctor.'

This difference in behavior between initial 3's on one hand, and Inversion Nominals, Benefactive Datives, and Ethical Datives on the other, can be easily stated, given the analyses proposed earlier:

(81) Given a nominal a, a clause b, and an arc of the form
[3(a,b) $\langle c_i c_f \rangle$] (where "c_f" represents the final stratum of b) which meet all necessary conditions[26] for determining a clitic c in b, c may be omitted only if i=1.

Informally, this states that if a dative clitic is possible in a given clause but does not occur, then the nominal that determines it is an initial 3 in that clause. Conversely, if this nominal is not an initial 3, its clitic will be obligatory.

This proposal is reasonable inasmuch as there is independent evidence supporting the analyses given earlier. The evidence for Inversion in González (1982) is the strongest; the proposal of Benefactive-3 Advancement receives some support from the Double Benefactive Constraint in section 3.1.

Further, the syntactic unity of Inversion Nominals, Benefactive Datives, and Ethical Datives, as opposed to Initial 3's, needs to be stated in the grammar. Multi-stratal analyses provide a natural, general way to do this. Thus, the evidence from clitic doubling in single clauses favors a hypothesis that combines the multi-stratal analyses given earlier with the rule for clitic doubling given in (81).

3.2.3 Doubling of Non-initial 3's: clause union structures

The rule in (81) makes a prediction about clitics in Clause Union structures. Recall that in Clause Union, a nominal which heads a final 3-arc in the lower clause does not head an initial 3-arc in the upper clause.

(82) Los dueños les quieren alquilar estas casas a los
        generales.

'The owners want to rent these houses to the generals.'

(82)'
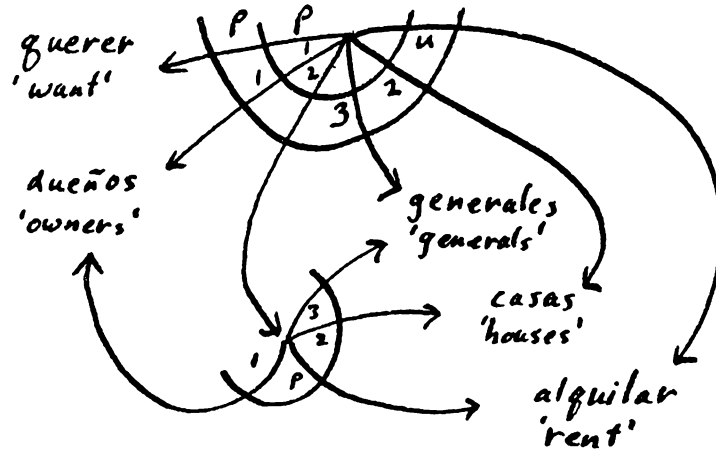
For instance, in (82), <u>generales</u> heads an initial 3-arc downstairs, but
not in the upstairs clause, the one in which it takes a clitic. Only
the upstairs relation is relevant to the rule in (81), since <u>generales</u>
determines a clitic in the upstairs clause. Therefore, (81) predicts
that dative clitics in clause union structures will not be optional.

This prediction is not as easy to test as it might seem at first.
One cannot simply rely on speakers' approval of sentences such as (83a),
since (83a) is structurally ambiguous; the clitic could have been
omitted from the lower clause without Clause Reduction, or from the
upper clause with Clause Reduction, as represented in (83b) and (83c).

(83)a. Los dueños quieren alquilar estas casas a los
          estudiantes por 3000 pesos.

   *'The owners want to rent these houses to the students
    for 3000 pesos.'*

   b. Los dueños quieren alquilar Ø estas casas a los
          estudiantes por 3000 pesos.

   c. Los dueños Ø quieren alquilar estas casas a los
   estudiantes por 3000 pesos.

It is not adequate to attach an accusative clitic in the upper clause
to make it clear that the sentence involves Clause Reduction, because of
the rule stated in (77c): the presence of an accusative clitic (for at
least some speakers) requires clitic doubling.

However, there is other evidence for clause reduction which is more subtle than clitic position. There are clause structures, notably passive[27], which can occur in the upstairs clause, and involve the nominal which heads the final 2-arc downstairs, only if this nominal also heads a 2-arc upstairs. Thus in(84), passive can occur in the upstairs clause (of the bracketted portion), resulting in passive morphology on the upstairs verb terminar, and allowing los premios, the downstairs 2, to be a final 1 upstairs, because the upper clause includes Clause Reduction.

(84)   Generalmente, cuando [los premios les/*∅ son termi-
        nados de dar a los ganadores], el público sale
        rapidamente.

        'Generally, when [the prizes have finished being given
        (lit., are finished of giving) to the winners], the
        audience exits rapidly.'

(84)'
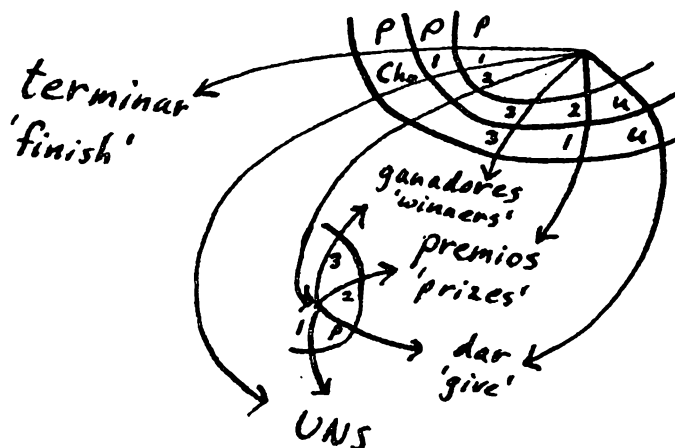
Crucially, Aissen and Perlmutter show that passive can not apply across two distinct clauses. Thus, the structure of (84) unambiguously involves Clause Reduction. In such a case, the dative clitic is in fact obligatory, even though the conditions in (77) have been satisfied, as evidenced by simpler structures that show the clitic to be optional, as in (85b).

(85)a. Apenas [los balones les/*∅ son terminados de entregar a
        los jugadores], ellos empiezan su entrenamiento.

        'As soon as [the balls are finished being delivered to
        the players], they begin their training.'

    b. Apenas [los balones (les) son entregados a los
        jugadores], ellos empiezan su entrenamiento.

        'As soon as [the balls are delivered to the players],
        they begin their training.'

Thus, the rule of clitic doubling in (81) correctly accounts for the fact noted above: a final 3 in the upstairs clause of a Clause Reduction structure acts like Inversion Nominals, Benefactive Datives, and Ethical Datives, as opposed to Initial 3's. Only Initial 3's allow the clitic to be dropped.

The same facts can be observed with the upstairs final 3 that heads a final 1-arc in the lower clause of Causative Clause Union.[28]

(86) Siempre le/*∅ hacía romper huevos a la niña.

'She always made the girl break eggs.'

Thus the evidence from Clause Union supports the claims that clitic doubling is sensitive to initial relations, and that Initial 3's are different from all other types of final 3's. This difference can be expressed in a principled way by a rule like (81), provided that multi-stratal and multi-clausal analyses such as those in section 1 are accepted. This result thus supports those analyses, in addition to any independent support they possess.

3.3 Summary

The data in sections 3.1 and 3.2 establish two generalizations which need to be recognized and stated in the grammar of Spanish, under any theoretical framework.

(87)a.   The Double Benefactive Constraint, which unites final Benefactives with Benefactive Datives, since both head Benefactive arcs.

b.   The rule of clitic doubling in (81), which distinguishes Inversion Nominals, Benefactive Datives, Ethical Datives, and upstairs final 3's in clause union from Initial 3's on the basis of initial relations.

4. Some Inadequate Proposals

The facts in this paper pose some requirements for descriptive adequacy in any grammar of Spanish. In this section I summarize these requirements, and briefly describe some hypotheses that are excluded by them.

The first requirement is that some mechanism must be available for stating the syntactic differences between final 3's and other final relations, notably final 1's, final 2's, final Benefactives, and final Directionals. I have already dismissed a proposal by Gili y Gaya (1961) that fails on this account. There have been several proposals in recent years that direct and indirect objects in various languages may be fused into a single homogeneous syntactic class called 'object'. (For example, Gary and Keenan 1977, and Anderson 1978). One might be tempted to argue this for Spanish, since, at first glance, there is little distinction

between direct and indirect objects, especially in certain dialects. However, there are actually several clear-cut rules that treat direct and indirect objects differently, as listed in (59). This suggests that more thorough investigation in the lesser known languages may undermine the claims that direct and indirect objects are syntactically indistinguisable in these languages. (For instance, Dryer (to appear) offers evidence that contradicts Gary and Keenan's analysis of Kinyarwanda.)

The second requirement is that some mechanism is needed with which to state the Double Benefactive constraint. Certainly, the semantic role Beneficiary will allow the generalization to be stated as easily as the syntactic relation Benefactive. However, the Double Benefactive constraint would be difficult to state in, for example, a proposal that posits only one syntactic level and claims that Benefactive Datives are syntactically 3's and semantically Recipients or Addressees, not Beneficiaries. This proposal would claim that BD's alternate with Benefactives marked with para because, in the real world, certain entities can be viewed as being either Recipients or Beneficiaries, and others can be viewed as being either Addressees or Beneficiaries.[29] For example, if something is bought for someone, then generally he will receive it; and at a musical performance, the audience is generally benefitting as well as being addressed. Such a proposal would not be able to state the generalization embodied in the Double Benefactive constraint, because it would regard BD's and Benefactives not only to be semantically distinct, but also syntactically, since BD's would be 3's, in contrast to 'true' Benefactives with para.

A third requirement is that there must be some way to distinguish between those indirect objects that always require clitic doubling and those for which it is optional under certain conditions. The hypothesis just mentioned would also fail on this account, since BD's would be semantically and syntactically indistinguishable from Initial 3's: both would be Recipients or Addressees, and both would be 3's. There would be no non-arbitrary way of distinguishing them,

There is another hypothesis that would posit only one syntactic level, which is similar to proposals in many theories today. In addition to positing the syntactic relation Indirect Object, it would try to capture key generalizations by using semantic notions such as Recipient, Addressee, Experiencer, Beneficiary, etc., instead of positing multiple syntactic levels. It would seem reasonable to try to state the clitic doubling rule under this hypothesis as follows:

> (88) Given a clause _b_ containing an indirect object _a_ which
>   can determine a clitic _c_ in _b_, _c_ can be omitted only
>   if _a_ bears the semantic role of Recipient or Addressee.

A semantically-based analysis like this could be criticized for its apparent failure to collapse the two notions Recipient and Addressee into a single class. Jaeggli (1980), in a footnote, hints that this could be remedied by using the thematic role Goal. However, it is difficult to define Goal in a way that will exclude Beneficiaries and Ethical Datives.

In fact, Jackendoff (1976), the most thorough attempt to define thematic roles, argues that 'Goal' should be extended to cover Benefactives and Ethical Datives. Thus Goal does not seem to be the right solution, and it is not clear that a solution is possible.

An even greater problem is posed by the upstairs 3's in clause union. Recall that these 3's are always doubled, regardless of their initial syntactic relations in the downstairs clause, and regardless of their semantic role. Recipients and Addressees act the same as Beneficiaries, Experiencers, and Ethical Datives. (See the data in (84) and (85).) The key criterion for clitic doubling is initial syntactic relation, not semantic role. Thus a hypothesis that does not posit initial syntactic relations which are distinct from semantic roles would seem unable to account for the data without ad hoc stipulations.

Functional Grammar (Dik 1978, 1980) encounters even more problems with this data. This theory recognizes a relatively standard collection of semantic functions (i.e., semantic roles), but only two syntactic functions: Subject and Object, corresponding to the notions 'final 1' and 'final 2' in Relational Grammar. Dik states "We have no evidence that in the framework we are developing here more than two syntactic functions, Subject and Object, are required." (1978, p. 73)

Distinguishing indirect objects from other surface classes in single clauses is no problem for Functional Grammar, since Expression Rules (which determine such things as case marking and clitic selection) are allowed to refer to semantic functions. However, there are two related problems. First, the semantic function which formally represents indirect objects, and to which the Expression Rules would have to refer, is 'Recipient', defined as 'the entity to which something is transferred' (1978, p. 37). This is clearly inadequate for Spanish, in which a much broader range of semantic functions can be final 3's. It is difficult to see how to stretch this definition without encroaching on the territory of other semantic functions in Functional Grammar, such as Beneficiary and Agent. Yet, if 'Recipient' is the only notion available to replace the notion 'Final 3', the definition of 'Recipient' must be expanded so as to include Benefactive Datives, Ethical Datives, Inversion Nominals, and Causees; otherwise there is no way to state the generalizations discussed in section 2. ('Causee' is the term Dik uses for the downstairs 1 which is an upstairs 3 in Causative Clause Union.) There seems to be no way to do this in a non-arbitrary fashion.

In his analysis of Dutch causatives, Dik (1980) does in fact use 'Recipient' to denote the Causee with certain verbs. These verbs optionally treat the Causee like an Object or a Recipient (i.e., a final 2 or a final 3). He justifies this use of 'Recipient' by saying that these nominals refer to entities that are 'receiving' an experience or perception, and by claiming that such Experiencers are often indistinguishable from Recipients in languages. However, even in Dutch this causes a problem "for which there is no natural solution ... within our approach" (p. 76). An extension of this analysis to Romance languages, in which Agents as well

as Experiencers are normally marked as indirect objects in causatives (if
the lower clause is transitive) would be hard to justify on semantic
grounds. As with the semantic analyses discussed earlier, semantic notions
are too vague and volatile to be the basis of reliable syntactic genera-
lizations.

Second, Functional Grammar has no way, as far as I can tell, to
capture the Double Benefactive Constraint or the rule of clitic doubling
in (81). Since 'Recipient' is the only theoretical notion available with
which to refer to indirect objects, there is in principle no way to refer
to more than one level of structure. What is needed in Spanish is some
sort of cross-cutting classification, such as that which is available in
Relational Grammar with the notions 'initial 3' and 'final 3', which define
two overlapping but distinct classes of nominals.

It would seem then, that Functional Grammar must formally recognize
a syntactic notion 'Indirect Object', distinct from the semantic notion
'Recipient', before it can provide an adequate analysis of Spanish indirect
objects.[30] Even if it does this, it faces the problem of formulating the
clitic doubling rule so as to account for obligatory doubling in clause
union, since it still does not posit a multi-clausal analysis of causatives.

In contrast to the above proposals, Relational Grammar provides a
rich enough set of theoretical notions to be able to capture the genera-
lizations noted in this paper. Positing initial syntactic relations which
are distinct from final relations and from semantics makes it possible to
capture generalizations such as the rule of clitic doubling in (81). The
analysis and data in this paper therefore argue for the validity of these
theoretical notions.

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FOOTNOTES

I would first of all like to thank my advisor, David Perlmutter, for his assistance in preparing this paper; also several native speakers, especially Renato Martínez, for discussing the data with me; and Desmond Derbyshire, Nora González, Steve Marlett, and Anne Stewart, for comments on this paper. Most of all, I wish to express my gratitude to God, who created us with this marvelous faculty called language, and who is ultimately responsible for opening my eyes to its enchanting beauty.

[1]   One thing that is notably missing from this paper is a discussion of reflexive indirect objects. See Rosen (1981) for a thorough RG analysis of this phenomenon in Italian.

[2]   This is not meant to be a complete list. Judging from semantics, the following suggest that Spanish allows various types of Oblique-3 Advancement:

María le tiene confianza.
María has confidence in him.

El ramo le sale al árbol.
The branch breaks off from the tree.

El trabajo manual le es difícil a Pablo.
Manual labor is difficult for Pablo.

Le pongo azúcar al café.
I put sugar in coffee.

However, these constructions have not been investigated sufficiently to make any claims about their structure here. The types given in the text are sufficient to establish the relevant theoretical points.

[3]   A precise definition of semantic terms such as these is beyond the scope of this paper.

[4]   The status of downstairs 3's in Causative Clause Union is discussed in section 2.4.

[5]   I use "Beneficiary" for the semantic role, "Benefactive" for the corresponding syntactic relation.

[6]   The "leísta" dialect common in Spain uses le in place of lo for masculine singular final 2's.

[7]   First and second person forms are identical for both 2's and 3's.

	sing.	pl.
1st	me	nos
2nd	te	os

8   The Río de La Plata dialect allows doubling of certain final 2's. See Jaeggli (1980) and Montalbetti (1981).

9   Raposo and Gibson (in preparation) have proposed that cliticization be limited to <u>final</u> objects, i.e., excluding object chômeurs. (See section 2.4)

10   The question of whether this <u>que</u> is a relative pronoun or a complementizer is irrelevant to this discussion.

11   Some dialects make a further restriction: they do not allow <u>que</u> with final 2's that are specific persons, i.e., with those that normally require the personal <u>a</u> discussed in the previous section. This may be evidence for analyzing the personal <u>a</u> as being required because of 2-3 retreat, although this would necessitate revising the rules for dative vs. accusative clitic selection and the rules given later for clitic doubling.

12   Testing with <u>a</u> and <u>le</u> is necessary if <u>que</u> is to be analyzed as a relative pronoun, like <u>quien(es)</u>. If <u>que</u> is a complementizer, the impossibility of using <u>a</u> or <u>le</u> follows directly from its status as a complementizer, and independently of the phenomenon discussed here.

13   Aissen (1979) notes that the downstairs initial 3 and the downstairs initial 1 (which is a final 3 upstairs) cannot both occur as full nominals with clause union.

   *El padre (le) hizo dar los juguetes a los bebés al hijo mayor.

She motivates a surface constraint that rules out the occurrence of more than one full nominal marked with <u>a</u> that could be interpreted as an object. This constraint also rules out the cooccurrence of a downstairs final 1 and final 2, if both are full nominals marked with <u>a</u>.

   *Mi mamá le hizo lavar al perro a Gloria.
   ('My mother made { 'Gloria wash the dog.' / the dog wash Gloria.' })

14   One speaker reported that, when the clitic and downstairs 3 are both singular or both plural, the clitic can also be interpreted as referring to the downstairs 3, in which case the downstairs 1 is unspecified. One possible analysis of this interpretation would posit that the lower clause doesn't contain a final 1, so that the downstairs 3 lacks a competitor for the upstairs 3-arc.

15   Embedding a Causative Clause Union structure in another Causative Clause Union structure was not acceptable to my consultants, so that I have been unable to apply this test to the claim that a downstairs 1 in Causative Clause Union heads a 3-arc upstairs. Further, Inversion structures do not contain final 2's, and thus do not show this alternation. Instead, this combination of structures involves extra complexities which are discussed

in González (1981).

[16]   This is not strictly true; para and a are interchangeable in sentences like

>   Trabajar duro le es difícil a Pablo.
>   Trabajar duro es difícil para Pablo.

>   *'Working hard is difficult for Pablo.'*

However, these sentences have not been studied in any great detail. Note that para Pablo does not seem to be a Beneficiary, and thus is probably not a Benefactive, since Obliques are assumed to correlate rather closely with semantics.

[17]   See footnote 9.

[18]   For some reason, both para's cannot follow the verb. Perhaps there is an additional stylistic constraint that accounts for this.

>   *Compraré el regalo para mi madre para diciembre.

Whatever this second restraint is, it is not responsible for the ungrammaticality of (61). If one of the para phrases is fronted, the sentence is still bad:

>   *Para el presidente la banda tocó la marcha para los ministros.

[19]   The similarity of this statement to the Stratal Uniqueness Law is obvious. Note, however, that the Stratal Uniqueness Law is limited to terms and stipulates that the restriction applies in a given stratum. The Benefactive Dative constraint need not refer to strata, since by the Oblique Law a nominal heading a Benefactive arc will head one in the initial stratum. No claim is being made that the Double Benefactive Constraint is universal. In Spanish, it seems to be limited to certain verbs; comprar does not show this restriction.

[20]   There seem to be at least two exceptions: In certain clauses with Object-to-Subject Raising, and with a small class of predicates including lisonjear, clitic doubling is impossible.

>   El éxito lisonjea a los vanidosos.
>   El éxito les lisonjea (*a los vanidosos).

>   *'Success flatters the vain.'*

>   Este tipo de trabajo es difícil de dar (*les) a los obreros no
>   calificados.

>   *'This type of work is difficult to give to unqualified workers.'*

The OSR facts have been noted previously by Aissen and Perlmutter (1976); lisonjear is mentioned in González (1981).

[21]   The data in this paper is consistent with Chilean speech, and (to some unknown extent) other dialects as well. However, one speaker (from Spain) allowed dative clitic doubling to be optional in virtually all circumstances. Dialectal variation is somewhat irrelevant here; the important point is to control for whatever significant variables exist in a given dialect.

[22]   Recomendar in some dialects seems to be an exception.

Lo recomendé a ella.

'I recommended it to her.'

[23]   The use of a free pronoun in addition to the clitic indicates contrastive focus on the object, as reflected by the underlining in the gloss. If a non-emphatic sense is desired, only the clitic appears.

Le da corbatas cada navidad.

[24]   This wording also accounts for the fact that the clitic is obligatory if the nominal doesn't appear at all, as in footnote 23.

[25]   Actually, this is more of a very strong statistical tendency, rather than a hard and fast rule. I suspect that all these "rules" may be special cases or consequences of a general rule of discourse or pragmatics.

[26]   These are not stated explicitly here, but would include the conditions that forbid doubling in the sentences in footnote 20, as well as the stipulation that a nominal determines a clitic only in the highest clause to which it bears a grammatical relation.

[27]   For various reasons, the other clause structures used as evidence for clause reduction in Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) and its postscript do not provide tests for clitic doubling.

[28]   One speaker I consulted has optional doubling in this case. It may be that in causative clause union in his speech, the downstairs final 1 does indeed head an initial 3-arc upstairs. Faucconier (1981) has proposed just such an analysis for French causatives on independent grounds.

[29]   I have nothing against this sort of analysis in principle; Tuggy (1980) uses a similar hypothesis in his analysis of the inalienable possession construction. However, for BD's, it doesn't seem to work.

[30]   Ironically, Dik (1978) spends a great deal of energy applying the same criticism to Relational Grammar with regard to subjects and objects because he is laboring under a misconception: "Relational Grammar ... acts on the assumption that there is only a single level of grammatical relations and that a shift from, let us say, active to passive will necessarily require

<u>changes</u> in the grammatical relations previously borne by the constituent <u>involved</u>." (p. 75, underlining his) He fails to recognize that Relational Grammar does not posit changes in grammatical relations, but rather the existence of different relations at different syntactic levels. Relational Grammar claims that rules may refer to grammatical relations at different levels. The data Dik discusses can be handled easily by referring to initial relations; Functional Grammar has no advantage over Relational Grammar at this point.

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