University of Venice

WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Vol. 4, n. 1

1994

edited by Laura Brugè and Roberto Dolci

Table of Contents:

Preface

The present volume collects the papers presented at a "Workshop on Spanish Grammar" held at the University of Venice on May, 14th 1993.
Each of the four contributions suggests new ways to account for different issues on Spanish Grammar.

Laura Brugè and Gerhard Brugger ("On the Accusative 'A' in Spanish") argue that the realization of the accusative a in Spanish is sensitive only to Accusative Case assignment and to the feature [+Animate] of the direct object. They propose that a occupies the head of a functional projection, considered an extension of the noun itself, and that Jaeggli's (1982) [+Specific] restriction is irrelevant for its presence: other scopal readings and interpretations are at work. Finally, in those cases in which a does not appear preceding animate direct objects because the ECP is violated or because its presence is optional, the direct object itself receives Partitive Case, which they assume can be received only by existential nominal expressions in Spanish.

Angeles Carrasco and Luis García ("Sequence of tenses in Spanish"), studying the phenomenon of tenses in complement clauses in Spanish, develop an hypothesis in line with the Reichenbach's (1947) relational theory of tenses and other recent theories. They move away from Hornstein's (1990) assumption that the "Basic Temporal Structures" (BTSs) of embedded verbs are the same in D-Structure and that, therefore, there are certain BTSs in D-Structure which correspond to more than one verbal form in S-Structure, and propose that the BTS of all tenses remains the same throughout all levels of derivation. Moreover, in order to account for the sequence of tenses phenomena, they substitute Hornstein's "Sequence of Tenses" (SOT) rule with the free coindexation between empty temporal phrases, and suggest a generalization about the way in which the BTS of the embedded verb is determined. This generalization states that, when the time of the event denoted by the main predicate precedes the moment of speech, the embedded tense must belong to the [+past] sphere.

Violeta Demonte ("Datives in Spanish") examines Spanish transitive sentences with two internal arguments, and assumes that Spanish has the dative alternation: those sentences with dative clitic doubling share the properties of Englih and German double object sentences. She presents the lexical-semantic characteristics which distinguish sentences with dative clitics doubling from those without it, and proposes that when the dative clitic is present, the dative [a DP] is interpreted as 'affected', because the occurrence of the clitic makes the sentence express the highest degree of culmination of the event described by the predicate. Therefore, Demonte provides an analysis for the 'affected' dative constructions: showing order constraints between DO and IO, binding and WCO effects, scope and passivization tests, and departing slightly from Larson's (1988) configuration, proposes that the dative clitic is the head of a "Beta Phrase" projection (BP) (cf. Marantz (1990)) occupying the higher position of a VP-shell-type structure, the associated 'double' [a DP] of the clitic is licensed either in Spec. BP position or in the adjunct-to-V' position, and the Theme occupies the sister node of V. As far as the structure of ditransitive sentences without clitics, Demonte, following Larson's configuration, proposes that the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO, and that, while the IO receives inherent case from the preposition a, the DO receives structural objective case from the V which moves up.

Finally, María Luisa Zubizarreta ("The Grammatical Representation of Topic and Focus: implications for the Structure of the Clause") extending and revising Cinque's (1990) and (1993) proposals, and combining them with other recent hypotheses, assumes that the Focus of a sentence must bear the prominent accent of the sentence itself, and that the unmarked focus position of a sentence, which is identified by the feature [+F], is the most embedded node of S. The feature [+F] must percolate upward only in the case of unmarked focus. She proposes, moreover, that if at LF an NP is [+F] it must be in the scope of the Asp. node, bound by an Event Operator which is contained in this projection. On the other hand, if an NP is Topic ([-F]) at LF it must be outside the scope of the Asp. node. Then, she formulates an algorythm for establishing focal accent and focus propagation which closely interacts with movement: in these constructions, syntactic movement applies only to avoid the violation of the Case Filter and the violation of the application of the focal accent. She examines Topic and Focus assignment in sentences with a different order of the elements and shows, through binding tests, that in languages such as Spanish and Italian a postverbal subject, unlike postverbal objects, must be either focus or part of the focus. In languages such as English and French, in which the preverbal subject can function as focus, she proposes that at LF this [+F] constituent must be 'reconstructed' to Spec. VP, namely within the scope of the Asp.node. She gives the same account for those cases of focalization which involve fronting.

The Editors

On the Accusative 'A' in Spanish. [1]

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0.*Introduction*.

In this paper we discuss the syntax and semantics of the Accusative particle **a** in Spanish.

In section 1 we propose that the Spanish Direct Object is dominated by a functional projection whose head can be filled by the particle **a**. We will show that its realization is obligatory when this functional projection receives Accusative Case and is marked with the feature [+Animate]. Moreover, discussing the behavior of **a** with respect to simple Bare Plurals we will show that this category cannot function as a proper governor for the empty D° immediately dominated by it.

In section 2, comparing the behavior of **a** with that of the other prepositions with respect to simple and modified Bare Plurals, we show that prepositions too are unable to properly govern the empty D°. Furthermore, we will show that the impossibility of realizing **a** with the wh-movement of genitive phrases modifing the Bare Plural is due to the fact that this type of modifier is unable to license the empty D°. At the same time we will try to give an explanation for some cases in which the realization of the Accusative **a** is incompatible with the presence of a Dative Phrase in the sentence.

In section 3, we discuss the semantic constraints for the realization of **a**, showing, in particular, that the distribution of **a** cannot be accounted for by a binary feature like [±Specific].

Finally, in section 4 we compare the distribution of **a** with the Turkish morphological Accusative and Partitive Case. We will assume that [+Animate] Direct Objects which are not introduced by **a** realize Partitive Case, and we will show that the Spanish Accusative Case, unlike the Turkish Accusative Case is compatible with existential nominal expressions. [2]

1. *The Hypothesis*.

1.1. *The feature [+Animate]*.

Spanish has the property of realizing the particle **a** immediately before Direct

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Objects. [3]

However, the presence of this element cannot be considered as a generalized phenomenon inside the language. In fact, the realization of **a** is subject to a series of restrictions related to the semantic properties of the nominal expression which occupies the Direct Object position.

Jaeggli (1982) proposes that one of these restrictions is represented by the animacy feature: the Direct Object must be specified for the feature [+Animate]. [4]

According to Jaeggli, we will also consider the feature [+Animate] on Direct Objects fundamental for the realization of **a**.

Therefore, with this property in mind, **a** in Spanish is obligatorily required in sentences such as (1a) and (1b), where the Direct Object is [+Animate], but it is completely impossible in sentences such as (1c), with an inanimate Direct Object:

(1) a. Esta mañana he visto *(a) Juan / la hermana de María.
  This morning I saw Juan / Maria's sister.

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3.   In Historical Linguistics there exist many works which propose interesting hypotheses about the way in which this particle has developed in the passage from common Proto-Romance to the different Romance Languages, given that this phenomenon affects, in a more or less extended way, vast areas of the Romance domain, in particular, Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, Franco-Provençal, Engandinese, Corsican, Sardinian, Southern Italian and Rumanian. Starting with Meyer-Lübke (1899) and other authors, the explanation for the origin of the "Prepositional Direct Object", in those Romance Languages which display it, would reside in a morpho-syntactic strategy to differentiate the Direct Object itself from the Subject in cases of ambiguity, namely in the domain of Animate Nouns. On the other hand, other authors such as Puşcariu (1921), Rohlfs (1971) and others, try to justify the appearance of this 'preposition' preceding the Direct Object on syntactic grounds: originally, still due to the loss of Case morphemes, it would have had the function of making the Direct Object recognizable when it was realized, in the sentence, in a different position from the basic post-verbal one, thus pointing out its emphatic function. An interesting explanation for the origin of the 'Prepositional Direct Object', which can be considered new with regard to the traditional one, was proposed by Carmen Pensado (1985). She shows that in Late Latin, namely before the loss of the inflectional system, the prepositional form AD+Dative (i.e. AD MIHI, etc.) developed inside the system of personal pronouns, and that this form was also extended to the Direct Object in those areas of 'Romania' which use the form AD+Dative for the Indirect Object - Sardinian, Ibero-Romance and Southern Italian -. She proposes, then, that the appearance of the Prepositional Direct Object must not be considered an isolated phenomenon in the syntax of Early Romance , but a general tendency of Common Romance to express topicalization and to distinguish 'high transitivity' from 'low transitivity', always using the form which corresponds with the Romance expression of the Indirect Object. As for the other areas of 'Romania' which use in a more or less partial way the Prepositional Direct Object - Rumanian, Engandinese, Franco-Provençal -, she proposes that this use has been acquired independently and later, but that its origin would in any case reside in topicalization and in the tendency to mark 'high transitivity'.

As many languages - not necessarily related to each other from the general point of view, as we will comment on later in the text - display a Direct Object marked with various morphological means, studies on this phenomenon have also been carried out in Typological Linguistics, where this phenomenon is considered an Empiric Universal - cf. Lazard (1984), which will be refer to later, and Nocentini (1987), where the author proposes the existence of four types with evolutive implications which are differentiated on the base of the markedness of the Subject and the Object-.

Nevertheless, for an exhaustive and detailed discussion of typological and historical hypotheses we refer the reader to Zamboni (1993), where the author discusses the interesting complementary distribution between the Prepositional Accusative and the Partitive Article in the Romance Languages.

4.   A second restriction that Jaeggli (1982) proposes for the realization of the particle **a** has to do with the Specificity feature, instead of the feature [+Definite] defended by the previous literature. This second aspect of the Jaeggli's analysis will be amply discussed in section 3 of our work.

b. Esta mañana he visto *(a) mi perro.
This morning I saw my dog.
c. Esta mañana he visto (* a) la nueva iglesia.
This morning I saw the new church.

1.1.2. Definite Objects [+Animate] without 'a'.

Examinig the cases presented in (1) with reference to the Animacy requirement, it is necessary to say that Spanish displays some counterexamples to this property, which we consider a general property; these were noticed by Jaeggli himself.

Let us observe in this respect the following sentence:

(2)   Llevaron (a) los heridos a un hospital cercano.   (Jaeggli, 1982)
They took the wounded to a nearby hospital.

As we can see, in (2) the Direct Object can appear without **a** even if the Noun is apparently [+Animate].

In order to give an explanation for these problematic cases, Jaeggli suggests that the feature [±Animate] is relevant for the realization or the omission of **a**, but not necessary (see footnote 15).

Our hypothesis, however, is to assume that the feature [+Animate] is always obligatory for the realization of the particle **a**.

Now, how could we explain the case in (2) and consequently justify that **a** is always associated with the feature [+Animate] ?

According to native speakers' judgements, the presence or absence of the particle **a** in contexts such as those we are examining produces a difference in interpretation.

Jaeggli, in his attempt to explain cases like this, proposes that in the case in which **a** is omitted "the sentence is understood with the Direct Object having almost an inanimate reading, as if 'the wounded' were nothing more than objects to be carried" (p.24). However, this explanation does not seem to solve the problem in the following sentences:

(3)   a. Ayer a las cinco de la tarde llevaron a los heridos a un hospital cercano.
Yesterday at 5 in the evening they took the wounded to a nearby hospital.
b. Llevaron a los heridos que empezaban a amontonarse en el campamento a un hospital cercano.
They took the wounded who began to accumulate in the camp to a nearby hospital.

In fact, if Jaeggli's proposal was correct, we would expect to find also in these sentences the same optionality of **a** as in the example in (2), because in principle in these cases nothing prevents the Direct Object from being interpreted as an inanimate object. Nevertheless, here, the presence of the temporal constituent *a las cinco de la tarde* in (3a), which forces the specific time reference, and the presence of a modifier of the Direct Object which contains the verb *amontonarse* in (3b) make the realization of **a** obligatory. The optionality of **a** in (2) and its obligatory presence in (3) show that the presence or absence of **a** in (2a) must be explained in a different way with respect to what Jaeggli proposed.

What we suggest to account for the behavior of **a** in (2) and in (3) is that the presence or absence of **a** with animate Direct Object is due to the *Object / Kind* distinction, which we propose to associate with the features [+Animate] and [-Animate]. [5]

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5. See Carlson (1977a) for an exhaustive explanation of the distinction between *Kind* and *Object*

So, we formulate the following generalization:

(4)   Associate the *Kind* interpretation of an animate Nominal Expression either with the feature [+Animate] or with the feature [-Animate]; associate the Object interpretation of an animate Nominal Expression only with the feature[+Animate].

Now, returning to the sentences in (3), we can explain why in these cases **a** must occur obligatorily.

In (3a) the presence of a temporal modifier prevents the predicate to express an *activity* : in this case it can only express an *event*. As the Kind interpretation is impossible when the verb which is not a Kind-level predicate expresses an *event*, the only possible interpretation for the Direct Object is the Object interpretation. [6] By (4), the Object interpretation is always associated with the feature [+Animate]. So, the presence of **a**, which, as we said, is sensitive to this feature, will be obligatory.

In (3b), on the other hand, the presence of **a** must be due to the verb *amontonarse* which appears in the relative clause. In fact, the property of accumulating cannot be considered as an intrinsic property of *heridos*, thus preventing the Direct Object from receiving a Kind interpretation. In this case, again, the only possible interpretation for the Direct Object is the Object interpretation, associated, by (4), only with the feature [+Animate], making **a** obligatory.

To support our proposal and the generalization we expressed in (4), consider the following examples:

(5)   a.   Antoñito buscaba la mujer rica.

   (P. Baroja, *El árbol de la ciencia*, p.91)
   Antoñito was looking for the rich woman.

   b.   ....una fuente de vida nueva que purifica el hombre moral. [7]

   (M.Menéndez Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas*, VII, p.227)
   ...a source of new life which purifies the moral man.

   c.   ? Las enfermedades y la guerra han exterminado el hombre.
   Illnesses and war exterminated man.

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interpretations for nominals.

6.   Another argument which proves that this assumption is correct is given by the contrast we can observe in (i):

i.   a.   Durante la guerra mis padres escondían (a) los heridos en el sótano.
       During the war my parents hid (Imperfect) *the wounded in the basement.*
       b.   Mis padres acaban de esconder *(a) los heridos en el sótano.
       My parents have just hidden the wounded in the basement.

Here, *esconder*, such as *llevar*, is not a Kind level predicate. So, when this predicate appears expressing an *activity*, as in (ia) -note the presence of the temporal constituent *Durante la guerra* and the use of the Imperfect Tense *escondían*-, the Direct Object can receive either the Object interpretation, which realizes through the presence of **a**, or the Kind interpretation, which disallows **a** (cf. (4)). This case can be compared with the one in (2).

On the other hand, if the same predicate expresses an *event*, as in (ib) -note the use of the verbal periphrasis *acabar de*-, the presence of **a** preceding the Direct Object is obligatory. This shows that the only possible reading is the Object one.

7.   The examples in (5a) and (5b) are taken from Fernández Ramírez (1986), which we refer the reader to for a discussion of a large number of cases of this type.

In all of them, we have for the Direct Object nominals a Kind reading: *la mujer rica*, *el hombre moral* y *el hombre* are interpreted as types rather than as syntactic elements with a specific reference, and this characteristic is particularly evident in the first case, (5a). [8]

However, in all of the three senteces the same Direct Objects can be preceded by **a** giving grammatical results, as (6) shows:

> (6)   a.   Antoñito buscaba a la mujer rica.
>   *Antoñito was looking for the rich woman.*
>   b.   ...una fuente de vida nueva que purifica al hombre moral.
>   *...a source of new life which purifies the moral man.*
>   c.   Las enfermedades y la guerra han exterminado al hombre.
>   *Illnesses and war exterminated the man.*

but this possibility yields different results.

In fact, while in (5a), where **a** is omitted, the Direct Object can only receive the Kind interpretation, as we showed, in (6a), where **a** appears, the Object interpretation becomes obligatory: here, *la mujer rica* is always associated with a specific referent, namely it always denotes an individual.

On the other hand, in (6b) and (6c), where **a** appears, the interpretation of the resulting nominals is still the Kind one, just as in the cases (5b) and (5c). The only possibility for the Direct Objects of these last two pairs of sentences to be interpreted as Kind, independently of the presence or absence of **a**, is due in the first case to the nature of the Direct Object *el hombre moral*, which can never denote an individual, and in the second case to the nature of the predicate *exterminar*, which is a predicate that can select only Kind nominal expressions. [9] So, since **a** is possible in these cases without any change in the interpretation of the Direct Object nominal expressions, we have to assume that Kinds can be associated either with the feature[+Animate], which requires the presence of **a**, or with the feature [-Animate] which, on the other hand, prevents its realization, as the generalization (4) states.

A piece of empirical evidence which proves that Kind interpretation can be associated with the feature [-Animate] is given by the fact that if we wh-move the Kind Direct Object, we can choose, besides the pronominal *Quién*, also the pronominal *Qué*, which bears in Spanish the feature [-Animate], as the examples in (7) show:

> (7)   a.   - ¿ Qué purifica un fuente de vida nueva ?
>   *What does a source of new life purify?*

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8.   Note that in (5a) one could propose that the Direct Object la *mujer rica* is not interpreted as a Kind but as 'nonspecific Object'. However, this does not seem to be the case because, when a Nominal Expression in Direct Object position receives the 'non-specific Object' interpretation, the realization of **a** is always obligatory in Spanish, as the following sentence shows:

> i.   Antoñito buscaba *(a) la mujer más alta del mundo.
>   *Antoñito was looking for the tallest woman in the world.*

9.   The fact that the verb *exterminar* is a Kind level Predicate is confirmed by (i):

> i.   * Las enfermedades y la guerra han exterminado a Juan.
>   *Illness and war exterminated Juan.*

whose ungrammaticality depends on the presence of the Noun *Juan* as Direct Object; in fact, a Proper Name, can never be interpreted as a Kind.

- El hombre moral.
  The moral man.
b.- ¿ Qué han exterminado las enfermedades y la guerra ?
  What did illnesses and war exterminate?
- El hombre.
  Man.

With these considerations in mind, let us return to the case in (2). We proposed that here the realization of **a** and its absence corresponds to the Object interpretation and to the Kind interpretation: when the Direct Object *los heridos* receives the Object interpretation, it denotes individuals and is analysed as [+Animate], hence **a** must realize obligatorily. On the other hand, when the same Direct Object is assigned the Kind interpretation, it does not denote individuals but a type of person and can be categorized as [-Animate], hence **a** cannot appear. [10, 11]

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10. As we showed in the cases (6b-c) and as the generalization (4) expresses, namely that the Kind interpretation can be associated also with the feature [+Animate], we should expect that in (2), when **a** appears, the interpretation of the Direct Oject is ambiguous between a Kind and an Object reading. Nevertheless, according to native speakers' judgments, we propose that here the presence of **a** is associated only with the Object interpretation.

How could we explain, thus, that in cases such as those in (2) and (6a) the presence of **a** implies only the Object interpretation for the Direct Object ?

We suggest that the Conversational Implicature -a Discourse Principle which states: "Be informative", namely not ambiguous- operates in cases like these. So, given that the Kind interpretation for the Direct Object is expressed in (2) and in (5a) through the absence of **a**, by the Conversational Implicature, the presence of **a** specializes here for the Object interpretation, excluding the other reading.

11. Other data which appears problematic for the hypothesis proposed by Jaeggli (1982 and 1986), and which the author himself discusses, are represented by those cases in which a basically inanimate Direct Object is preceded by the Accusative **a**, as the following examples show:

i.   a. Las aves saludan a la aurora.   (Jaeggli, 1986)
         Birds greet the dawn.
     b. El entusiasmo vence a la dificultad.   (Jaeggli, 1986)
         Enthusiasm wins over difficulty.
     c. Los ácidos atacan a los metales.   (Jaeggli, 1986)
         Acids attack metals.

To give an account of these cases, mantaining the proposal that **a** occurs when the Direct Object is [+Animate], we suggest that here *la aurora, la dificultad* and *los metales,* even if basically inanimate, are categorized as [+Animate] through a personification process, and that for this reason **a** appears.

As for the personification process, we say that its application depends on a series of different linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

One of these is represented by the nature of the verbs themselves. In fact, *saludar, vencer y atacar,* such as *ayudar, asesinar, despedir, seguir* -with the meaning of *perseguir-,* etc., are verbs which primarily select [+Human] internal arguments.

However, inanimate Direct Objects can appear preceded by **a** in certain literary or metaphoric contexts also with verbs which do not belong to the class of the verbs we have just mentioned, as (ii) shows:

ii. a. Los niños vieron al sol.
         The children saw the sun.
     b. Sus amigos vieron a la tristeza en sus ojos.
         His friends saw the sadness in her eyes.

So, we say that another factor which makes possible the personification process is due to the class of the Noun it belongs to: atmosferical Nouns and abstract Nouns are more sensitive to this process than other Nouns, as (iii) shows:

1.2. Bare Plurals and the accusative 'a'.

Let us observe, now, the behaviour of Bare Plurals in Direct Object position with respect to the semantic property we have enunciated.

We can notice, as did Torrego (1984) and Lois (1989), that they are completely incompatible with a in those environments in which the Bare Plural appears specified for the feature [+Animate], as the grammaticality of the sentence in (8a) and the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (8b) show:

(8) a. Esta mañana he visto hombres en la calle.
         This morning I saw men in the street.
     b. * Esta mañana he visto a hombres en la calle. [12]

A way to justify this strange behavior was proposed by Jaeggli (1982 and 1986). According to Jaeggli's hypothesis, the particle a couldn't appear in these contexts because a Bare Plural is always specified for the feature [-Specific], while the realization of a implies for the Direct Object also the [+Specific] feature (see footnote 4).

However, we will not adopt his hypothesis, because, as we will see in section 3, there exists a large number of significant data which proves that his hypothesis cannot be considered entirely correct.

What we propose, instead, is to assume that the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (8b) depends on an ECP violation, and hence, that in general, the presence or absence of a in Spanish is due to syntactic reasons.

This syntactic hypothesis, which we will defend here, is in line with the one proposed by Contreras (1986), but especially with the proposal suggested by Longobardi (1991), who, studying the behavior of Proper Nouns in Italian and in other languages among which Spanish, adopts the "DP Hypothesis" proposed by Abney (1987). [13] According to Longobardi's proposal, we will assume that Bare

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iii. a. * Los niños vieron al suelo.
          The children saw the floor.
      b. * Sus amigos vieron al polvo en sus ojos.
          His friends saw the dust in her eyes.

In (ii) *sol* and *tristeza* can easily undergo the process of personification, and a can appear. In (iii), on the other hand, this possibility seems not to be feasible, and for this reason a cannot appear, even if in principle, and probably under stronger constraints than in (ii), we would expect that also in these cases the personification process can apply.

12. It is interesting to notice here that constructions like (8b) can appear completely grammatical to some native speakers, as Luis Sáez has pointed out to us. We must say that the well-formedness of these sentences is due to the fact that they can have another structure; to make the judgements concordantly ungrammatical it is necessary to specify that the locative PP *en la calle* must be interpreted as a phrase modifying the whole sentence, and not as a modification of the nominal expression, which, as we will see later, gives the possibility to make the Bare Plural compatible with the particle a. In fact, the following sentence is considered by every native speaker ungrammatical:

i.   * En la calle he visto a hombres.
         In the street I saw men.

13. Contreras, in his article also provides an account of the possibility or impossibility of the Bare Singulars and the Bare Plurals in the different positions inside the sentences based on the Empty Category Principle. The difference between his proposal and the one we adopt here depends on the

Plurals have an empty D°, and that a DP can appear in an A-position with an empty D° only if there exists some lexical element in the structure that can lexically govern this empty head D. Longobardi in his work assumes for Bare Plurals the structure in (9a) and the universal principle in (9b):

(9) a. [DP [D [D° e] [NP [N° Bare Plural]]]]   (cf. p.11)
    b. An empty head must be lexically governed.   (p.39)

In this way, it is possible to explain the grammaticality and at the same time the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

(10) a. * Bombones están en la cocina.
        There are chocolates in the kitchen.
     b. * Profesores hablaron en el congreso.
        Professors spoke at the congress.
     c. Los niños han comido bombones.
        Children ate chocolates.

In (10a-b) the empty determiner of the preverbal subject is not lexically governed: the ungrammaticality of the two sentences is determined by a violation of the principle (9b); on the contrary, (10c) does not violate (9b) because here the empty determiner is lexically governed. So, with these theoretical assumptions in mind, we say that also in cases like (8a), in which the Bare Plural is specified for the feature [+Human] and hence [+Animate], it can appear because the Verb can properly govern the empty D°.

Let us return, now, to the sentence in (8b). What we would like to propose is that the ungrammaticality of such a construction is due to the fact that the head D appears in a configuration which violates ECP: this empty category is not properly governed by any element which can lexically govern it, exactly as in the cases in (11):

(11) a. * El director ha devuelto los documentos a empleados.
        The director gave back the documents to clerks.
     b. * El mes pasado Mercedes pensó en árabes.
        Last month Mercedes thought of Arabians.

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structural position of the empty category with the value of existential Quantifier that must be properly governed. In Contreras (1986) it occupies the position of Spec. NP: [NP [QP e] N]. Moreover, we consider our account, as well as Contreras's under a previous theoretical framework, superior, from empirical and theoretical point of view, than the 'Naked Noun Constraint' proposed by Suñer (1982a), which states: " * [NP Nu] V ...... unless Nu is a contrastive focus." .

Another analysis to explain the behavior of the Bare Plurals was proposed by Torrego (1984). This proposal differs from Contreras's and ours since it is not based on ECP but on the Case Theory. In fact, Torrego, in her work, proposes for these Nouns a structure in which no Determiner node is projected. As these NPs appear lacking in a Determiner and at the same time do not have an adjectival determination, they must receive their Case directly, namely through strict adjacency, by the Verb or by AGR. For an interesting comment on Torrego's hypothesis, we refer the reader to Lois (1989).

Lois (1989) puts forth a different proposal to explain the cases we are treating. According to Abney (1987), Lois proposes that in Spanish the NPs without Determiner must be incorporated to an X° element, P° or V° in these cases, to satisfy functional selection, because the NP, lacking the Determiner which naturally selects it, would remain unlicensed. So, Incorporation is considered to be the only possibility to escape the Case Filter. With these considerations in mind, the realization of the particle a in these cases is impossible because the NP, whose head N has been incorporated, will receive Case twice at PF : by Incorporation and from the Accusative marker a.

In the present paper, for reasons we will not discuss, we will not adopt the Incorporation approach for the phenomena we are studying.
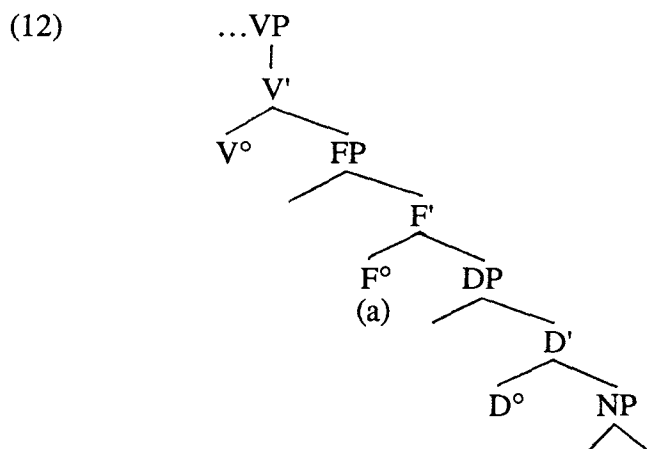
According to Contreras and Longobardi, the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (10b), a case of Bare Plural in preverbal Subject position specified for the feature [+Human] and consequently [+Animate], is due to the fact that the Bare Plural appears in an ungoverned position, as we pointed out before. The same explanation we would like to propose for the cases in (11a) and (11b), namely for those cases in which a Bare Plural appears as the complement of a Preposition, as we will discuss in the next section.

The similar behavior of (10b), (11) and (8b), combined with the grammaticality of sentences such as (8a), leads us to propose that **a** is incapable of properly governing the empty category in D°; moreover, the same comparison suggests that the presence of **a** prevents the Verb from properly governing the empty head D.

1.3. *The Structure.*

Keeping these considerations in mind, and following Jaeggli (1982 and 1986) and Demonte (1987), who demostrate that **a** is a dummy preposition, namely that it is the realization of the Accusative Case assignment by the Verb to its internal argument, we propose that **a** occupies the head of a Functional Projection, FP, conceived of as a Case Projection, which can select a DP.

So, the structure we propose for the Direct Objects in Spanish is the one presented in (12):

(12)

```
        ...VP
          |
          V'
         /  \
       V°    FP
            /  \
           F'
          /  \
        F°    DP
        (a)  /  \
            D'
           /  \
         D°    NP
              /\
```

What could we say about this Functional Projection ?

We propose that this Functional Projection is always projected in Syntax as the realization of the Case assignment by the Verb to its internal argument. [14]

We assume, moreover, that this Projection has to be conceived of as an extension of the Noun itself, and that, for this reason, the head F contains some Nominal features, such as [±Accusative] and [±Animate], underspecified for its positive or negative values (cf. Grimshaw (1991)).

The value [+Accusative] in F° will be chosen when the Verb will assign the Accusative Case to its internal argument. The value [+Animate] will instead be chosen when the head Noun appears specified for this feature, assuming that every feature of the N° is projected through all the functional heads which dominate the N° itself, in order to make them compatible with it.

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14. For a different proposal, see Giusti (1992 and 1993), who assumes, that the DP itself must be considered as a Case projection in which the article in D° represents the abstract realization of Case, bringing the possible morphological manifestations of Case as it occurs in Rumanian.

Keeping this proposal in mind, **a**, which we assume is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate], will obligatorily occur in F° if and only if this position chooses the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate] simultaneously. [15]
Moreover, we propose that **a** is not a [+V] element, according to the definition of ECP given in Cinque (1990):

> (13)   *Definition of ECP:*
> " A nonpronominal empty category must be properly head-governedby a head nondistinct from [+V]. "   (p.49)

At the same time, in order to make **a** compatible with the Nominal Projection, we propose that it is an element unspecified for the feature [N].
We will make, then, the following assumptions:

> (14)   a.   Realize **a** in F° iff F° carries the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate].
>   b.   **a** is a [-V] [UN] element.

Now, the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (8b) can be explained: **a** in F°, whose presence is expected because this position is specified for the feature [+Animate], cannot properly govern the empty D° of *hombres*, because it is distinct from **a** [+V] element. At the same time, the presence of **a** prevents the Verb from properly governing the empty D° for the Minimality Condition, and the direct result is an ECP violation.

On the contrary, in cases such as those in (8a) it seems that the Verb is able to properly govern the empty category in D° because no lexical head intervenes between the Verb and the D°.

Looking at the structure proposed in (12), how is it that the Verb can properly govern the empty head D ?

What we propose is that the empty category in D° moves to the F° position, which is also empty, and that in this position it can be properly governed by the Verb which

---

i. $\phi \rightarrow$ **a** / __ [NP, + accusative]   (p.24)

and assumes that it applies freely after D-Structure. Moreover, to mantain an autonomous view of Syntax, Jaeggli avoids mentioning the features [±Animate] and [±Specific] in the rule, because in some cases it seems that it is the meaning of the verb, or of a whole complex of semantic aspects which require the presence of **a**, (cf.(2)). It seems that the realization of **a** in those cases in which it appears takes place at PF, and occupies a structural position that Jaeggli does not specify.
An attempt to give an independent position to the particle **a** in Deep Structure was proposed by Schroten (1972). The different hypothesis he defended was that **a** in the cases we are examining was not an Accusative assigner but a Dative assigner. However, it is not difficult to prove the inadequacy of this proposal. The more consistent argument against it is represented by the fact that the presence of **a** is, in general, obligatory in Spanish even when a dative phrase appears in the structure:

ii.   a.   Mi madre presentó a su hermana a María.
                 My mother introduced her sister to Maria.
          b.   Los padres entregaron a sus hijos a buenos profesores.
                 The parents entrusted their sons to capable professors.

We will discuss these particular structures in relation with the presence or absence of the Accusative **a** in section 2.3.

governs the FP projection.

But how is the movement of the empty category in D° to the F° position justified? There seem to be two different ways.

The first possibility is to assume the existence of some requirement in the Grammar which states that if in F° no unbound Case morpheme appears, then the category X° subjacent to F° must move to this position in order to absorb and make visible its features in some way.

We consider this as a proposal which we would like to defend, but which cannot be justified through empirical data, because, as we know, Spanish doesn't have a system of morphological Case visible on the Determiner, unlike other languages such as Rumanian. [16]

The second possibility to justify the movement of the empty category in D° to the F° position is that the empty D° must move only in this case, in order to be properly governed by the Verb.

1.4. *Empirical consequences.*

At this point, we can justify the presence or absence of **a** in all the sentences in (15):

(15) a. Juan saludó a la dueña del piso.
   Juan greeted the landlady.
   b. La madre llamó a María desde la ventana.
   Her mother called Maria from the window.
   c. Pilar y Francisco vieron a muchos extranjeros en Sevilla.
   Pilar and Francisco saw many strangers in Seville.
   d. El médico buscaba a su mujer.
   The doctor was looking for his wife.
   e. Nunca he visto a ese profesor.
   I have never seen this professor.
   f. Mi hermano compró (* a) el viejo coche de nuestro tío.
   My brother bought our uncle's old car.

In (15a) D° is not empty because the Definite Article *la* appears in this position. So it doesn't have to be properly governed by the Verb. Moreover, the F° position is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate] and, by (14a), the presence of **a** is obligatory.

In (15b), the presence of **a** is necessary for the same reasons we have seen above, namely that the F° is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate].

---

16. In Rumanian, we have only a morfological Case represented by the bound element **-ui** which is always realized on the Determiner, and which expresses both the Genitive and Dative Case, as the following example shows:

i.   portretul   regelui   (cf. Grosu, 1988)
   'portrait-the- φ   king-the-ui'
       NOM./ACC.   GEN.
   The portrait of the King.

According to our proposal, we could assume that in these cases the morpheme **-ui** occupies the F° position of the FP projection (12). So, the form *regelui* can be considered as the result of two different movements, perhaps applying in LF: the first one is the movement of the Noun *rege* to D° positon to be incorporated to the article *-ul* ; the second one is the movement of the resulting form *regel* to F°, to be incorporated to **-ui** which is, differently from the Spanish **a**, a Case bound morpheme.

Moreover, we say that even in this case the D° is not empty, because, following Longobardi (1991), we propose that this position is occupied in Syntax by the Proper Noun *María*, which, in Spanish too, moves to D°.

In (15c) the presence of **a** is possible [17] because the existential Quantifier *muchos* occupies the D° position, if we assume Longobardi's (1991) hypothesis. So, this functional position appears filled, and consequently does not need to be properly governed. F° in this case too is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate], and as a result of the application of (14a), we will have the realization of **a**. [18]

With a possessive pronoun, moreover, the presence of **a** is always obligatory in Spanish when the Direct Object is [+Animate]. Consider in this respect the example in (15d). If we assume the proposal suggested by Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), which says that the determiner-like possessive pronoun occupies the Spec. of DP, we can account for the realization of **a** in the context we are examining. According to these two authors, in this case the possessive pronoun transmits its own features to D° by Spec.-Head agreement, licensing a definite interpretation on D° and so giving it the possibility of escaping the effect of any proper government requirement. Therefore in (15d), as F° receives the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate], **a** must appear. If, on the other hand, we adopt the hypothesis suggested by Picallo (1992 and 1993), who proposes that in Spanish, possessive pronouns move to D° position, in cases such as those we are commenting on D° will not be empty, and **a**, by (14a), must occur because F° is marked with the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate].

In (15e), however, the presence of **a** is necessary because the F° position is marked with the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate]; in this case, moreover, D° does not need to be properly governed because, adopting Giusti's (1992 and 1993) proposal about the position of Demonstratives, *ese* in Spec. of DP can license the empty D°.

Finally, in (15f) we can say that the impossibility of realizing **a** in the F° position is due to the fact that this position, in this particular case, is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [-Animate]. Thus, (14a) cannot apply. Moreover, according to one of the proposals we suggested earlier, the Determiner *el* possibly moves to F° to absorb and to make the abstract features of the Case 'visible'. [19]

Now, if , as we proposed, **a** has not the capacity of properly governing the empty

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17. Note that in this case, namely when an existential Quantifier appears modifing the Direct Object, the presence of **a** is optional. We refer the reader to section 4 of our work for an explanation of this optional variation.

18. Cardinaletti e Giusti (1991) propose a different analysis for quantified nominals. They assume that Q is a functional head which selects the maximal projection NP, as the following structural representation shows:

i. [QP [Q' [Q° [NP]]]]

We will not discuss here the theoretical validity of this proposal. The only thing we want to note here is that it does not interfere with our hypothesis. In fact, here, as the sentence (15c) shows, the head Q of the QP projection selected by our functional category of Case would not be empty either; hence, no ECP violation would occur, and the realization of **a** would be possible.

19. Note that under this proposal a movement of this sort extends also to cases in which an inanimate Direct Object is preceded by a Quantifier, a possessive pronoun and a demonstrative. In the first two cases it will be the Quantifier in Q° and the possessive Pronoun in D° - assuming Picallo's hypothesis - to move to F°; while in the last case, given that the Demonstrative occupies, as we propose, the Spec.DP position, it will be the empty D° to move to F°.

D° and at the same time its realization functions as a blocking head for the proper government by the Verb, we have to add that its presence doesn't prevent a genitive complement of the NP from moving to higher positions. In fact, sentences such as (16) are fully grammatical in Spanish:

(16)   ¿ De quién has encontrado a la hija _ ?
        ' Of whom did you meet the daughter ?'

To explain this possibility we will propose that the functional category **a** is inert for the Spec. to Spec. movement of those maximal projections that can be extracted from the NP.

In fact, we can say that our FP has a Spec. position which functions as a landing site for the trace of the genitive, and that in this position the trace can be head-governed by the Verb.

Then, following Rizzi's (1990) hypothesis for the extraction from NP, this trace in the Spec. of the FP could trigger abstract agreement on the head, namely **a**, turning it into an appropriate governor for the trace in the Spec. of DP.

2. *Some apparent counterexamples to our hypothesis .*

2.1. *The presence of the Accusative 'a' with Bare Plurals and the case of Prepositions.*

Earlier in the paper we said that Bare Plurals are incompatible with the particle **a** when they appear in Direct Object position. However, there exist some cases in which they may be preceded by **a**. This possibility occurs in the following cases:

a. When they are modified, as shown in (17a).
b. When they enter a Coordination Relation with another Bare Plural, as in (17b).
c. When they are focalized, as (17c) shows:

(17) a. ¿ Sabes que Juan ha conocido (a) hombres que tenían menos de 40 años ?
          Do you know that Juan met men who were less than 40 years old?
      b. Han conocido (a) hombres y mujeres.   (Lois, 1989)
          They met men and women.
      c. María ha conocido (a) HOMBRES (y no a mujeres).   (Lois, 1989)
          Maria met MEN (and not women).

It is important to note that the same sentences without **a** are correct in Spanish, but the interesting point here is that **a** can appear in these contexts, as Torrego (1984) and Lois (1989) point out. [20]

If, according to our hypothesis, the realization of **a** causes an ECP violation when the D° is empty, how can we explain these phenomena ?

Earlier, we saw that Bare Plurals can appear neither in preverbal Subject position nor in the complement position of a Preposition (cf. (10a-b) and (11)).

Following Contreras and Longobardi, we said that the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (10a-b) is due to the fact that the preverbal Subject position is not governed.

At the same time, observing the data in (11), it seems that the complement position of a Preposition is also ungoverned.

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20. As we said before, an explanation for the possibility of the absence of **a** in all these cases will be given in section 4 of the text.

Is it possible to consider this hypothesis to be true ?

The fact that, in general, in Spanish, Prepositions are not proper governors for D°
is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (18):

(18) a. * El profesor ha entregado su último artículo a estudiantes.
          The professor gave back his latest work to students.

      b. ?* Para terminar su trabajo, Carlos ha confiado en arquitectos.
          In order to finish his work, Carlos trusted in architects.

      c. * Juan ha comido sin colegas. [21]
          Juan ate without colleagues.

      d. ?* Mi hermano ha contado con albañiles para restaurar el piso.
          My brother counted on bricklayers in order to restore the appartment.

      e. * El portero ha comprado mucha leche para profesores.
          The door-keeper bought a lot of milk for professors.

      f. * Durante el pasado gobierno no hicieron nada por campesinos.
          During the last government they did nothing for farmers.

      g. * La tía María se ha sentado entre mujeres. [22]
          Aunt Maria sat down among women.

      h. * Victoria tiene mucho dinero porque se casó dos veces con viudos.
          Victoria has a lot of money because she twice married widowers.

However, it is important to notice that the judgments of native speakers are fairly
controversial for the cases in (18b) and (18d), which are not considered completely
ungrammatical. In our opinion, these judgments could be connected with the fact that
in the two sentences the Preposition is strictly selected by the Verb: *confiar en* and
contar con.

Nevertheless, there seem to exist some cases in Spanish, with certain Prepositions,
in which a Bare Plural can appear as its complement.

---

21. It is interesting to say that if in this sentence we replace the Bare Plural *colegas* with *amigos*,
producing the following sentence:

      i.   ?? Juan ha comido sin amigos.
                Juan ate without friends.

the acceptability improves. A tentative explanation for such an improvement will be given in
footnote 23.

22. Let's observe that this sentence is not considered completely ungrammatical by a certain number
of native speakers. This judgment, as Bosque suggested to us - p.c. -, should be determined by the
fact that Bare Plurals immediately dominated by the Preposition **entre** are interpreted with the value
of 'a (certain) type of persons'. In fact, if we replace *mujeres* with *abogados*, for example, the
sentence improves:

      i.   Decidí sentarme entre abogados.   (= Decidí sentarme entre este tipo de personas:
                                                     los abogados.)
                I decided to sit down among lawyers.   (= *I decided to sit down among this
                                                          type of person: lawyers).*

But, if we realize in the same contexts a nominal expression which cannot be interpreted as a
Predication, as it is the case with personal pronominals, the corresponding sentence is always
ungrammatical:

      ii.   * Decidí sentarme entre ellos.
                I decided to sit down between them.

Let us observe in this respect the sentences in (19):

(19) a. Ayer salí con amigos.   (Lois, 1989)
          Yesterday I went out with friends.
      b. Expuso su programa ante multitudes.   (Lois, 1989)
          He exposed his program before multitudes.
      c. La cosecha fue destruida por langostas.   (Suñer, 1982)
          The harvest was destroyed by locusts.

The well-formedness of these sentences led Lois (1989) to propose that Bare Plurals could be incorporated also to Prepositions (see footnote 13). However, what we should do here, mainly to render our hypothesis plausible, is to demonstrate that the cases in (19) are special cases, and that not even in these contexts are Prepositions able to properly govern the empty D°.

Crucial evidence in favour of our hypothesis comes from replacing the Direct Object head Noun with another one. The same sentences become ungrammatical for every native speaker, as (20) shows:

(20) a. Ayer salí con * porteros / * pobres / * marineros. [23]
          Yesterday I went out with door-keepers / (the) poor / sailors.

---

23. To explain the well-formedness of the example in (19a) compared with the ungrammaticality of (20a), Bosque suggested to us -p.c.- that the Preposition con in the first case probably should not be considered as a real Preposition. In Spanish, strings such as *con amigos / parientes, con suerte*, etc., seem to behave for some reason, more like adjectival-type forms rather than PPs. In fact, they can coordinate with APs, as the contrast in (i) shows:

i.   a. ¿ Saliste solo o con amigos ?
          Did you go out alone or with friends?
      b. * ¿ Saliste solo o con jueces ?
          Did you go out alone or with judges?

Moreover, when such strings appear as modifiers of a Noun, the plural Noun can never appear preceded by Demonstratives or Determiners nor can it be modified:

ii.   a   .... gente con amigos ...
          ... people with friends...
      b. * ... gente con estos amigos ...
          ... people with these friends...
      c. * ... gente con amigos del 5° piso ...
          ... people with friends from the 5th floor...
      d   * ... gente con amigos enfadados ...
          ... people with angry friends...

This proposal can explain the ungrammaticality of the sentence (20a) and also the one of (18h). Furthermore Bosque suggests the same explanation for some cases with the Preposition sin, as (iii) shows :

iii.   ... gente sin dinero ...
          ... people without money...

    b. Expuso su programa ante * jueces / * estudiantes / * trabajadores. [24]
He exposed his program before judges / students / workers.

    c. La cosecha fue destruida por * mujeres / * enemigos / * terroristas.
The harvest was destroyed by women / enemies / terrorists.

So, it seems that also these latter Prepositions show, in general, the same behavior of those presented in (18).

Let us return, now, to the cases of preverbal Subject position and to the cases of complement position of Prepositions such as those given in (18).

We can observe that if, in these contexts, the same plural nominal element is modified, appears in a coordinate construction or receives Focus, all the resulting sentences are fully grammatical in the case of the preverbal Subject position and in the case of the Dative Preposition, as the examples in (21) and (22) show:

(21) a. Estudiantes que no veía desde hacía mucho tiempo han venido a visitar al profesor.
Students I hadn't seen for a long time came to visit the professor.

    b. Niños y mujeres no fueron aceptados.
Children and women were not accepted.

    c. ESTUDIANTES (y no profesores) fueron a hablar con el director.
STUDENTS (and not professors) came to speak with the director.

(22) a. Mi padre ha regalado todos sus libros a amigos que nunca le hacen caso.
My father gave all his books away to friends who never take care of him.

    b. La editorial Taurus ha enviado una copia del libro a estudiantes y profesores.
The publishing house Taurus sent a copy of the book to students and professors.

    c. Juan ha dado su dinero a INVÁLIDOS (y no a ciegos).
Juan gave his money to INVALIDS (and not to blind men).

The well formedness of the cases in (22) compared with the cases in (17) , moreover, leads us to conclude that the Dative **a** and the Accusative **a** show the same behavior in this respect.

Conversely, as for the other cases in (18), we have to say that , if we apply the same tests, we can observe a different behaviour pattern.

In fact, in those sentences in which Bare Plurals appear as a complement of prepositions strictly selected by the verb, the resulting constructions improve greatly, and can be considered grammatical, as (23) shows:

(23) a. Para terminar este trabajo, Carlos ha confiado en arquitectos que habían estudiado en Estados Unidos.   (cf. (18b))
In order to finish his work, Carlos trusted in architects who had studied in the U.S.A.

---

24. To justify the contrast between (19b) and (20b) better, Sáez makes us notice that *ante multitudes* can be considered in Spanish as an idiomatic string with certain adverbial-type connotations, as the coordination in the following sentence shows:

i.   Se presentó en público y ante multitudes.
He presented himself in public and before multitudes.

    b. Para terminar este trabajo, Carlos ha confiado en arquitectos e ingenieros.
       In order to finish his work, Carlos trusted in architects and engineers.

    c. Para terminar este trabajo, Carlos ha confiado en ARQUITECTOS (y no en ingenieros).
       In order to finish his work, Carlos trusted in ARCHITECTS (and not in engineers).

On the contrary, in the complement of all other Prepositions, the resulting sentences are always ungrammatical, as the examples in (24) illustrate:

(24) a. * Juan ha comido sin colegas que trabajan en su misma planta.
                                           (cf. (18c))
         Juan ate without colleagues who work in his own floor.

    b. * Juan ha comido sin colegas simpáticos.
         Juan ate without nice colleagues.

    c. * Juan ha comido sin colegas ni padres.
         Juan ate with neither colleagues nor parents.

    d. * Juan ha comido sin COLEGAS (y no sin padres).
         Juan ate without COLLEAGUES (and not without parents).

    e. * Durante el pasado gobierno no hicieron nada por campesinos que viven cerca de Sevilla.   (cf. (18f))
         During the last government they did nothing for farmers who live near Sevilla.

    f. * Durante el pasado gobierno no hicieron nada por campesinos enfermos.
         During the last government they did nothing for sick farmers.

    g. * Durante el pasado gobierno no hicieron nada por campesinos ni obreros.
         During the last government they did nothing for farmers nor workers.

    h. * Durante el pasado gobierno no hicieron nada por CAMPESINOS (y no por obreros).
         During the last government they did nothing for FARMERS (and not for workers).

    i. * La tía María se ha sentado entre mujeres que llevaban sombreros.
                                           (cf. (18g))
         Aunt Maria sat down among women who were wearing hats.

    j. * La tía María se ha sentado entre mujeres jóvenes.
         Aunt Maria sat down among young women.

    k. * La tía María se ha sentado entre mujeres y niños.
         Aunt Maria sat down among women and children.

    l. * La tía María se ha sentado entre MUJERES (y no entre niños).
         Aunt Maria sat down among WOMEN (and not children).

    m. * Victoria tiene mucho dinero porque se casó dos veces con viudos que eran abogados.   (cf. (18h))
         Victoria has a lot of money because she twice married widowers who were lawyers .

    n. * Victoria tiene mucho dinero porque se casó dos veces con viudos alemanes.
         Victoria has a lot of money because she twice married German widowers.

o. * Victoria tiene mucho dinero porque se casó dos veces con viudos y abogados.
Victoria has a lot of money because she twice married widowers and lawyers.

p. * Victoria tiene mucho dinero porque se casó dos veces con VIUDOS (y no con abogados).
Victoria has a lot of money because she twice married WIDOWERS (and not lawyers).

Putting aside the cases in (23) and (24), whose grammaticality and ungrammaticality we are unable to explain at this point of our investigation, we can observe, again, that the behaviour we can notice in (21) - the preverbal Subject case - and in (22) - the Dative case - is the same as the one we notice in the Accusative **a** environments, as (17) shows.

To give an explanation for the modified Plural Nouns in (17a) and in (22a) we can mention what Longobardi (1991) suggested for cases such as (21a), namely that the grammaticality of these constructions could be due to the fact that here, the $D°$ is not considered an empty category, because the presence of a modification of the head Noun could supply some abstract features into the same empty $D°$ position, making it possible for the $D°$ itself to escape from the proper government requirement. [25]

As for the cases in (17b-c) and in (22b-c) we can offer no interesting explanation, such as occurs in the literature for the cases in (21b-c).

So, as we have tried to illustrate, the examples in (17), where a can appear, must not be considered as real counterexamples to our hypothesis, but simply cases in which for some syntactic reasons ECP is not violated, as happens in (21). Moreover, regarding the cases of Bare Plurals as complements of Prepositions, we showed that in Spanish, Prepositions cannot be considered as proper governors for the empty $D°$, and, at the same time, that in the same environments neither modification, nor coordination, nor Focus render Bare Plurals possible. The only exceptional cases in this respect are those in (22) -Dative examples- and in (23), which should be treated by the Grammar like the cases in (17) and in (21).

2.2. The Accusative 'a' and the wh-movement of genitive phrases.

Let us now return to the case of wh-movement we presented in (16), here repeated as (25):

(25)   ¿ De quién has encontrado a la hija _ ?
        'Of whom did you meet the daughter ?'

Observing the grammaticality of sentences such as (25), we proposed that the presence of a does not block the extraction of a genitive phrase modifing the Direct Object.

Given this assumption, we would expect that in contexts with Bare Plurals it is possible for a genitive phrase modifing them to be extracted, and at the same time, that it is possible for **a** to occur in $F°$, because the empty $D°$ in this case would be licensed by the genitive modifier itself.

However, this does not seem to be the case, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (26) shows:

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25. Another possibility is to appeal to the hypothesis proposed by Delfitto and Schroten in (1991), according to which the modification makes it possible for the head Noun to move to $D°$ at LF, escaping from ECP.

(26) a. *¿ De quién has visto a ⌈ admiradores ?
          'Of whom did you see | fans ?'
                                   | parientes ?
                                   ⌊ parents ?'

      b. *¿ De quién has conocido a ⌈ enemigos ?
          'Of whom did you meet | enemies ?'
                                      | hermanos ?
                                      ⌊ brothers ?'

How can we explain this fact ?

First of all we have to notice that the extraction of a genitive phrase in sentences with Bare Plurals Direct Objects is always possible if **a** does not appear.

In fact, the same sentences with the absence of **a** are totally well-formed, as shown in (27):

(27) a. ¿ De quién has visto ⌈ admiradores ?
          'Of whom did you see | fans ?
                                | parientes ?
                                ⌊ parents?'

      b. ¿ De quién has conocido ⌈ enemigos ?
          'Of whom did you meet | enemies ?'
                                   | hermanos ?
                                   ⌊ brothers ?'

Given these contrasts, however, we cannot say that **a** is not transparent for the Spec. to Spec. movement of a genitive maximal projection, since (25) is perfectly correct.

One way of solving this problem is to assume that in general a genitive phrase does not have the capability in Spanish of licensing an empty D°, following the role that in Longobardi's (1991) proposal modifiers have in DPs with Bare Plurals (see paragraph 2.1).

Therefore, the only [+V] element which in these structures could properly govern the empty head D would be, again, the verb itself, which in (26) can not because of the presence of **a**, thus giving rise to an ECP violation.

In (27), on the other hand, it could do that, precisely as occurs in the cases of simple Bare Plurals we saw in section 1. This proposal, however, if correct, would imply that even in those contexts in which genitive PPs occur 'in situ', the corresponding sentences should be excluded by the Grammar. This seems to be the case, as the examples in (28) show:

(28) a. He visto (* a) ⌈admiradores de Madonna.
          I saw |*Madonna's fans.*
                         | parientes de Madonna.
                         ⌊*Madonna's parents.*

b. He conocido (* a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{enemigos de González.} \,^{26} \\ \textit{González's enemies.} \\ \text{hermanos de González.} \\ \textit{González's brothers.} \end{array}\right.$
    I met

Nevertheless, modifiers of different types for Bare Plural Direct Objects seem to allow the presence of **a** in the same contexts without creating problems. Let us observe, in this respect, the sentences in (29):

(29) a. He visto (a) admiradores $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{delirantes.} \,^{27} \\ \text{'wild'.} \\ \text{con ropas informales.} \\ \textit{with informal clothes.} \\ \text{que venían de todas partes de España.} \\ \textit{who came from all parts of Spain.} \end{array}\right.$
    I saw fans

   b. He conocido (a) enemigos $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{crueles.} \\ \text{'cruel'.} \\ \text{con complejos de inferioridad.} \\ \textit{with inferiority complexes.} \\ \text{que deseaban su muerte.} \\ \textit{who wanted his death.} \end{array}\right.$
    I met enemies

Given these facts, we formulate for Spanish the following Generalization:

(30)   In Spanish the arguments of the Noun are unable to license an empty D°.
       Modifiers, on the other hand, are able to do so.

If the Generalization in (30) is correct, it would predict two types of behaviour .

The first one would be that Bare Plurals modified by a genitive PP could not appear in preverbal Subject position either, while Bare Plurals modified by any other constituent of the type presented in (29) could.

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26. If in these contexts the Direct Object constituent receives an intonational stress, the particle **a** can appear:

   i.   a. He visto (a) ADMIRADORES DE MADONNA.
          I saw MADONNA'S FANS.
       b. He conocido (a) ENEMIGOS DE MARÍA.
          I met MARIA'S ENEMIES.

In these cases, however, the presence of a genitive phrase is irrelevant for the realization of **a** because, as we saw in (17c), **a** can appear even without it.

Moreover, we have to say that the same behaviour we are examining with respect to Bare Plurals modified by a genitive PP and the impossibility of the presence of **a** takes place, as expected, also in those contexts with Prepositions which allow the realization of modified Bare Plurals:

   ii.   * La editorial envió un libro a hermanos de González.   (cf. (18a) and (22))
           The publishing house sent a book to González's brothers.

27. Notice, moreover, that **a** can also appear in those cases in which an AP that modifies the Bare Plural occurs in prenominal position:

   i.   El director contrató (a) vulgares empleados.
           The director engaged vulgar clerks.

This prediction holds, as the ungrammaticality of (31) and the well-formedness of (32) show:

(31) a. * Admiradores de Madonna arrojaron un clavel al escenario.
       Madonna's fans threw a carnation onto the stage.
      b. * Enemigos de González pegaron al policía.
       González's enemies beat the policeman.

(32) a. Admiradores ⎡que venían de toda España⎤ arrojaron un clavel
                                                      al escenario.
          Fans   *who came from all over Spain*   *threw a carnation*
                                                      onto the stage.

                       con ropas informales
                       with informal clothes
                       delirantes
                       ⎣'wild'   ⎦

      b. Enemigos ⎡que deseaban la muerte del presidente⎤ pegaron al policía.
          Enemies *who wanted the president's death*   *beat the policaman.*
                     con complejos de inferioridad
                     with inferiority complexes
                     crueles
                     ⎣'cruel'   ⎦

The second one would be that if Bare Plurals appeared modified by a genitive PP and simultaneously by another modifier of the type presented in (29), we would expect that a may occur either when this complex Direct Object appears 'in situ', or in the case in which the genitive PP is subject to wh-movement.

Also this prediction seems to be satisfied, as we can notice in (33) and (34) respectively:

(33) a. He visto (a) admiradores delirantes de Madonna.
       I saw Madonna's wild fans.
      b. He conocido (a) enemigos crueles de González.
       I met González's cruel enemies.

(34) a. ¿ De qué cantante / De quién has visto (a) admiradores delirantes ?
       'Of which singer / Of whom did you see wild fans?'
      b. ¿ De qué policía / De quién has conocido (a) enemigos que no paraban de acusarle?
       'Of which policeman / Of whom did you meet enemies who didn't stop to accusing him?'

Nevertheless there exist in Spanish cases of PPs introduced by the preposition **de** which allow the realization of **a** when they appear modifiyng a [+Animate] Bare Plural in Direct Object position, and that, for this reason, they seem invalidate, at a first look, the Generalization proposed in (30).
One of these cases is represented by examples such as those in (35):

(35)   Hemos conocido (a) ⎡estudiantes de medicina.
         We met   *medical students.*
                             escritores de Ibiza.
                             writers from Ibiza.
                             niños de sangre azul.
                             ⎣*children of blue blood.*⎦

As for these cases, we say that they cannot be considered counterexamples to the Generalization (30), because all of these PPs can be conceived only as modifiers of the Noun, rather than arguments of it.

In fact, as (36) shows, Bare Plurals modified by this type of PPs can appear in the preverbal subject position, contrary to what happens with Bare Plurals modified by argumental genitive PPs (31):

(36) a. Estudiantes de medicina ocuparon la Universidad.
   Medical students occupied the University.
   b. Escritores de Ibiza se reunieron en casa de Cela.
   Writers from Ibiza gathered at Cela's.
   c. Niños de sangre azul fueron recibidos por el rey.
   Children of blue blood were received by the king.

A second case which could be considered a counterexample to (30) is represented by the sentences in (37), in which the PPs seem to be arguments of the Noun and in which a can occur:

(37) a. He visto (a) defensores del orden público.
   I saw defenders of the public order.
   b. He conocido (a) ganadores del premio Nobel.
   I met Nobel prize-winners.

As for these examples, however, we have to say that the PPs *del orden público* and *del premio Nobel* are interpreted, again, as modifiers, rather than arguments of the Nouns *defensores* and *ganadores*. Note, in fact, that if in the same contexts we replace them with PPs of the same type but with a referential content, the presence of a is always excluded, as (38) shows:

(38) a. He visto (* a) defensores de esta mujer.
   I saw defenders of this woman.
   b. He conocido (* a) ganadores de este último premio literario.
   I met winners of this last literary award.

We propose that in these cases the impossibility of realizing a has to be due to the fact that its presence gives rise to an ECP violation, because the genitive PPs are interpreted here as arguments of the Noun, just as in (28), thus confirming the correctness of (30).

This proposal is also supported by the contrast we can observe in (39), which has to be compared with (32) and (31) respectively:

(39) a. Defensores del orden público ⎤   se presentaron en la comisaría.
   Defenders of the public order ⎥   *reported at the police station.*
   * Defensores de esta mujer   ⎥
   Defenders of this woman ⎦

b. Ganadores del premio Nobel ⎤ asistieron al debate. [28]
   Nobel prize-winners | *attended the debate.*
   * Ganadores de este último premio literario |
   Winners of this last literary award ⎦

Taking into consideration all the contrasts we have presented so far, we can thus conclude that in Spanish a genitive PP is unable to license an empty D° via transmission of its own features freeing it from any proper government requirement.[29]

This property, as (30) indicates, can be satisfied only by other types of modifiers, which, with their presence, prevent ECP from being violated; in these contexts - (29), (35) and (37) - **a** will occur obligatorily by (14a), in the case in which F° appears marked with the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate] simultaneously.

Therefore, the data in (26), and in (28) and (38) when **a** is present, compared with the data in (27), and in (28) and (38) when **a** is absent, show that the empty D° in these cases must find its proper governor outside the DP and for this reason **a** cannot appear, as in the cases with simple Bare Plurals (8), which we commented on in section 1.2. [30]

On the other hand, as for the case in (25), the presence of the genitive PP is irrelevant for the realization of **a**: here **a** is always necessary because the D° is not empty, and the F° is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate].

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28. It is interesting to observe, moreover, that in those cases in which the PP[de DP] modifying a Bare Plural gives the possibility of realizing **a** when it appears 'in situ' and has the property to be extracted from the DP, **a** can never occur when the PP itself is subject to wh-movement, as the following contrasts show:

    i.   a.   Hemos visto (a) estudiantes del profesor Hernández.
                 We saw professor Hernández 's students.
            b.   Hemos conocido (a) estudiosos de la obra de Cervantes.
                 We met scholars of Cervantes's work.

    ii.   a.   ¿ De qué profesor habéis visto (* a) estudiantes ?
                 'Of which professor did you see students ?'
            b.   ¿ De qué obra habéis visto (* a) estudiosos ?
                 'Of which work did you see scholars ?'

To account for these phenomena, at first glance problematic for the proposal we are defending, we suggest that here PPs can receive two different interpretations: as modifiers, which allow the presence of **a**, and as arguments, which does not. In this way, the impossibility of realizing **a** in (ii) is rendered clear: in fact, if only arguments can be extracted from DPs, and arguments cannot license an empty D° in the case of Bare Plurals -as (30) proposes-, we expect that **a** can never appear.

29. We would like to suggest that in Spanish the impossibility for a genitive PP argument of the Noun to license an empty D° has to do with the different position it occupies in the structure with respect to modifiers. Nevertheless, we will leave the question open here.

30. It is interesting to note that we encounter the same effect with cleft-sentences and relative clauses:

    i.   a.   Es de Madonna de quien ayer vimos (* a) admiradores.
                 'It is of Madonna that yesterday we saw fans'.
            b.   Parece que Madonna, de quien ayer vimos (* a) admiradores, está embarazada.
                 'It seems that Madonna, of whom yesterday we saw fans, is pregnant'.

2.3. Definite Nouns without the Accusative 'a': the case of the possessive relationship.

In contrast to what was proposed by Schroten (1972), (see footnote 15), in Spanish, at least in the Peninsular Spanish, with those verbs which also select a Dative argument, the Direct Object must be preceded by a if all the conditions on its realization discussed in section 1 are met:

(40) a. Los profesores dieron (* a) el último artículo de Chomsky a los estudiantes de doctorado.
The professors gave Chomsky's latest paper to the post-graduate students.

b. La señora del 5° piso (le) presentó *(a) su hija al portero. [31]
The lady from the 5th floor (le -clit.doubl.) introduced her daughter to the door-keeper.

In (40a) a cannot appear because the condition (14a) would be violated; in fact, F° in this case is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [-Animate].

In (40b), on the other hand, the presence of a is obligatory because the F° is specified for the features [+Accusative] and [+Animate]. ECP is respected. In fact, according to Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), the head D, even if empty, would be licensed by Spec.-Head agreement with the possessive pronoun, whereas according to Picallo (1992 and 1993), the D° position would not be empty, because it is occupied by the possessive pronoun itself.

Nevertheless, there do exist some cases in which the presence of a in Peninsular Spanish is impossible even if all the conditions imposed on its realization are respected.

These cases are presented in (41):

(41) a. El portero le violó (* a) la hija / la hermana a María.
The door-keeper le (clit.doubl.) violated Maria's daughter / Maria's sister.

b. Juan le robó (* a) la novia / el hijo a Paco.
Juan le (clit.doubl.) stole Paco's girl-friend / Paco's son.

How can we justify the obligatory absence of a in these contexts ?

If we compare case (40b) with cases (41), we are able to establish a substancial difference concerning the interpretation of the Dative complement in relation to the Direct Object. In the sentences in (41), in contrast with what occurs in (40b), we are dealing with a structure in which the Dative complement is interpreted as a Dative of

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31. Demonte notes (p.c.) that in sentences such as (40b), when we have the dative clitic doubling, optional in this case, the sentence becomes ungrammatical if a appears, and she suggests that the presence or absence of a is sensitive to the doubled dative clitic. Nevertheless, this judgment does not seem to be shared by peninsular native speakers, who tend to consider a obligatory in these contexts. However, it is important to add that in Argentinian Spanish the absence of a with a Dative complement seems preferable and even obligatory for the majority of native speakers, independently of the presence of the doubled clitic *le*. Moreover, they do not admit the presence of a even in those cases in which the Direct Object is a Proper Noun:

i.   Juan (le) presentó (?*a) María al portero.   (= Argentinian)
     Juan (le - clit.doubl.) introduced Maria to the door-keeper.

For Peninsular Spanish native speakers, however, a is always obligatory in cases such as (i). Here we will leave the question about this variation open.

inalienable possession.

Adopting the suggestion given to us by Bosque (p.c.) , namely that a Dative of possession always implies that the Object, with which this type of relationship is established, is interpreted as "a part of the whole", we can easily account for the absence of **a** inside our hypothesis. In fact, through this interpretation, we can propose that in those cases in which the Direct Object establishes a relationship of inalienable possession with a Dative constituent, the Direct Object itself must be specified for the feature [-Animate].

A piece of empirical data, which proves that this proposal is correct, is given by the fact that if, in these environments, we wh-move the Direct Object, the pronominal category which is chosen is *Qué*, which bears the feature [-Animate] in Spanish, and never *Quién*, which is the pronominal form corresponding to human, and therefore, animate nominal expressions.

Let us observe, in this respect, the contrasts in (42):

(42)   a.   - ¿ Qué le robó a Paco ?
          What did he le *(clit.doubl.) steal from Paco?*
        - La novia / El hijo.
          His girl-friend / his son.
   b.   - * ¿ A quién le robó a Paco ?
          Whom did he le *(clit.doubl.) steal from Paco?*
        - A la novia / Al hijo.
          His girl-friend / his son.

On the other hand, if the realization of the same type of possession is established in Spanish inside the DP itself, namely through the occurrence of a genitive PP which expresses the possessor, then **a** must appear in the same contexts:

(43)   a.   El portero violó *(a) la hija de María.
          The door-keeper violated Maria's daughter .
   b.   Juan robó *(a) el hijo de Paco.
          Juan stole Paco's son.

Now, bearing in mind the structure proposed in (12), what will happen in cases such as those in (41) is that the F° position of FP will be marked with the features [+Accusative] and [-Animate]. Then, if **a**, which is marked [+Accusative] and [+Animate], occurs in this position, we would have a violation of the condition (14a), and the resulting sentences will always be ungrammatical, as the data demonstrate.

3.   The interpretation of 'a'-Objects.

3.1.   Specificity.

The Indefinite Object in (44a) is introduced by Accusative **a** and modified by a relative clause in the indicative. The Indefinite Object in (44b) on the other hand is not introduced by **a** and is modified by a relative clause this time in the subjunctive mood:

(44)   a.   Juan busca a un estudiante que habla francés.
          Juan is looking for   a student who speaks (Ind.) *French.*
   b.   Juan busca un estudiante que hable francés.
          Juan is looking for a student who speaks (Subj.) *French.*

Jaeggli (1982) notes that the sentences in (44) differ in meaning. According to Jaeggli the Indefinite Object in (44a) has a specific interpretation: there is a specific

student Juan is looking for. The Indefinite Object in (44b) on the other hand, has a nonspecific interpretation. Jaeggli therefore proposes the following generalization on the distribution on Spanish Accusative **a**: a nominal expression which is specific must be introduced by **a**:

(45)   **a** ↔ [+Specific]

In the linguistic literature, the feature [±Specific] has sometimes been considered a semantic primitive (e.g. in Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973)). In this view, indefinites carry either the feature [+Specific] or the feature [-Specific]. But hardly any of the arguments that, at one time or the other, have been used to motivate the specific/nonspecific distinction hold up to closer scrutiny. Many of the contrasts that have been attributed to this distinction have a perfectly natural explanation in terms of scope ambiguities. In addition, there are plenty of arguments that show that a binary distinction is insufficient to account for the variety of ambiguities indefinites exhibit. For example, indefinites in an environment of more than one operator can have more than two scopal interpretations, i.e. widest scope, narrowest scope and intermediate scope. More commonly the notion of specificity is used as a descriptive term, rather than as a primitive. For instance, Hellan (1981) characterizes an NP as specific, when the speaker has an individual in mind as its referent. This view is similar to Kripke's (1977) proposal that indefinites can refer to a *speaker referent*. Interpreting (45) in this way, (44a) expresses that the speaker has a certain individual in mind that Juan is looking for. But this does not seem to be necessarily the case: the speaker, uttering (44a) may know that Juan is looking for a certain person without knowing who in particular. Saarinen (1981) equates specific readings with *de re* readings. Although this characterization of specificity may give the right result in (44a), we will see below (cf. (46)) that Accusative **a** can introduce indefinites that are *de dicto*. Many other assumptions have been made regarding the notion of specificity, some of which we will discuss in this section. But as we will see, none of them is sufficient to explain the distribution of Accusative **a** in Spanish.

3.2. D-linked interpretation.

Let us return to the examples in (44). (44a) and (44b) differ with respect to two properties: the presence of Accusative **a**, and the mood of the relative clause. What is really responsible for the different interpretations of the indefinites: the presence of Accusative **a** or the indicative mood?

Following Russell (1919), we will treat indefinite nominal expressions as existential quantifiers. Quantificational expressions take scope in logical form. In this view, the ambiguity in (44) is a result of different positions of the indefinite in logical form. Indefinites can be interpreted with wide scope or with narrow scope with respect to intensional predicates such as *buscar*. In (44a) the indefinite is interpreted in a position with wide scope over the intensional predicate, in (44b), with narrow scope. According to Brugger & D'Angelo (1994), we assume that an indefinite modified by a restrictive relative clause in the indicative mood cannot stay inside the scope of an intensional predicate like *buscar* at logical form. Hence the indefinite in (44a) has to raise at LF taking scope over the intensional predicate. The indefinite in (44b), on the other hand, has to be interpreted in the scope of *buscar* because of the subjunctive mood of the relative clause. In this view it is the nature of the relative clause that is responsible for the semantic contrast in (44), rather than the presence of Accusative **a**. Hence we may expect Accusative **a** to introduce indefinites in the scope of intensional predicates as well. This is correct, as shown in (46):

(46)   Juan busca a un estudiante que hable francés.
         Juan is looking for a student who speaks (Subj.) *French.*

Because of the subjunctive mood, the indefinite in (46) is interpreted in the scope of *buscar*. Just like (44b), (46) does not express that Juan is looking for a specific student. Still, (44b) and (46) differ in meaning. The indefinite in (46) can have a presuppositional interpretation (Partee (1988), Enç (1992)), i.e. it is D-linked in the terms of Pesetsky (1987). (46) presupposes the existence of a contextually established set of students, e.g. 'the students of Linguistics 101'. The use of **a** in (46) is appropriate if Juan is looking for a student who speaks French among this set of students. (44b), on the other hand, does not presuppose the existence of such a set.

The same contrast shows up in (47), where no intensional predicate is present. The indefinite in (47a), which is introduced by Accusative **a**, but not the one in (47b), can be interpreted as D-linked. (47a) can be paraphrased as: *Juan saw many of the students*. (47b), on the other hand, simply asserts the existence of many students such that John saw them:

(47) a. Juan ha visto a muchas chicas.
          Juan saw many girls.
      b. Juan ha visto muchas chicas.

The interpretational contrasts between (44b) and (46), and between (47a) and (47b) lead to a first generalization regarding the distribution of Accusative **a**:

(48) A *D-linked* Direct Object must be introduced by Accusative **a**.

This fact is further illustrated with an overt Partitive. Overt Partitives, as *de estas chicas* in (49), are linked to a contextually established set. (48) correctly predicts that Direct Objects of this kind must be introduced by Accusative **a**:

(49) Juan ha visto *(a) muchas de estas chicas.
      Juan saw many of these girls.

Wh-elements like *Qué* (which), *Cuántos* (how many) can optionally be introduced by Accusative **a** (50):

(50) a. ¿ (A) qué chicos has visto en casa de María ?
          Which boys did you see at Mary's?
      b. ¿ (A) cuántos chicos has visto en casa de María?
          How many boys did you see at Mary's?

The same holds for the wh-phrase in (51a), which, as the ones in (50) can reach its surface position by successive cyclic movement. (51b), on the other hand, being an instance of a weak island, namely a factive island, does not allow for the wh-phrase to move cyclically to its surface position. In this case the wh-phrase must be introduced by Accusative **a**: [32]

(51) a. ¿ (A) cuántos / qué chicos dicen que han visto ?
          How many/which boys did they say that they saw?
      b. ¿ *(A) cuántos / qué chicos lamenta Pedro que no haya visto María ?
          How many/which boys does Pedro regret that Mary did not see?

The same holds for wh-phrases extracted from extraposed clauses (52a), negative islands (52b) and wh-islands (52c). In all these cases the wh-word must be

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32. Note that Accusative **a** can be omitted if (51b) is interpreted as an echo question.

introduced by Accusative **a**:

(52) a. ¿ *(A) cuántos / qué chicos está claro que debemos ver ?
How many/which boys is it clear that we must see?
b. ¿ *(A) cuántos / qué chicos no has visto ?
How many/which boys did you not see?
c. ¿ *(A) cuántos / qué alpinistas sabe Pedro cómo ver ?
How many/which alpinists does Pedro know how to see?

According to Cinque (1990) only D-linked wh-phrases are allowed to move long distance, while the latter have to move cyclically and therefore cannot escape from weak islands. In this view, the wh-words in (51b) and (52) have to be analyzed as D-linked, because they have escaped from weak islands. Hence the obligatory presence of Accusative **a** in these contexts is predicted by (48). [33]

3.3. Scope.

Let us now consider cases of scopal interaction between quantifiers and indefinite Direct Objects. (53a) is ambiguous: the indefinite can be interpreted with wide scope (53c) or with narrow scope (53b) with respect to the universally quantified Subject *todos los chicos* :

(53) a. Todos los chicos han visto (a) una chica.
All the boys saw a girl.
b. For every boy there is a girl such that he saw her.
c. There is a girl such that every boy saw her.
d. Todos los chicos han visto *(a) una chica. Era hermosísima.
All the boys saw a girl. She was very pretty.

If the indefinite is interpreted with wide scope, it must be introduced by Accusative **a**. This is shown in the text (53d). The null subject of *Era hermosísima* can be anaphoric to the indefinite in the preceding sentence only if the latter is introduced by Accusative **a**. Hence, we generalize:

(54)   A Direct Object with *Wide Scope* must be introduced by Accusative **a**.

(54) accounts for the obligatory presence of Accusative **a** in (44a), repeated below. Because of the indicative in the restrictive relative, the indefinite raises at logical form, taking wide scope over the intensional predicate *buscar* . [34]

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33. Dobrovie-Sorin (1993) assumes that it is not D-linking which allows an element to escape from a weak island, but rather the possibility of having wide scope. Since weak islands block the narrow scope interpretation of the extracted wh-phrase, a constituent can be extracted from a weak island only if it is able to have wide scope. In section 3.3 we will see that only Direct Objects which are introduced by Accusative **a** can take wide scope (see (54)). Hence the contrasts in (50), (51) and (52) can be accounted for also under Dobrovie-Sorin's proposal of long movement.

34. Fodor and Sag (1982), Rullmann (1989), a.o. assume that indefinite nominal expressions can be ambiguous between a quantificational and a referential expression. Therefore the sentences (53a), (55) and (56a) have an additional interpretation in which the indefinite is construed as referential (but see e.g. Neale (1990), who argues against this proposal). When they are construed as referential they must be introduced by Accusative **a**, just like referential nominal expressions such as proper names:

i.   Juan ha visto (*a) María.
Juan saw Mary.

(55)   Juan busca *(a) un estudiante que habla francés.
        Juan is looking for a student who speaks (Ind.) *French.*

Having wide scope must not be understood as *having widest scope*. Also, Indefinite Objects with intermediate scope, i.e. which have scope over one operator but not over all, realize obligatorily Accusative **a**. This is illustrated in (56). The indefinite in (56a), because of the indicative mood, takes wide scope over *buscar*, but it may either have narrow scope (56b) or wide scope (56c) with respect to the quantified subject.

(56) a. Todos los profesores buscan *(a) un estudiante que habla francés.
          All the professors are looking for a student who speaks (Ind.) French.
      b. For every professor **p** there is a student who speaks French **s** such that **p** is looking for **s**.
      c. There is a student who speaks French every professor is looking for.

3.4. Function interpretation.

The examples in (57) are identical to the ones in (53), except for the use of the universal quantifier *cada* instead of *todos*. Just as in (53a), also in (57a), Accusative **a** is optional. But differently from (53a), the Indefinite Object in (57a) cannot be interpreted with wide scope with respect to the quantified subject. (57a) can only be paraphrased with (53b), but not with (53c). This fact is further illustrated by the infelicity of the text in (57b). Since the indefinite cannot have wide scope, it cannot function as the antecedent of an anaphoric pronoun outside its scope:

(57) a. Cada chico ha visto (a) una chica.
          Each boy saw a girl.
      b. Cada chico ha visto a una chica. * Era hermosísima.
          Each boy saw a girl. She was very pretty.

The universal quantifier *cada* can only be used if a distributive interpretation is possible, i.e. there must be another operator it can take scope over. Since the sentences in (58) do not contain any other operator different from *cada*, they are ungrammatical exactly for this reason: [35]

(58) a. * Cada chico es inteligente.
          Each boy is intelligent.
      b. * Cada chico ha visto a Juan.
          Each boy saw Juan.

Let us go back to (57a). Since the indefinite can only be interpreted with narrow scope, the question arises whether the presence or absence of Accusative **a** makes a semantic difference. It is often assumed that in English, indefinite nominal expressions modified by *certain, specific,* and *particular* have wide scope (e.g. Hornstein (1984)). However, as shown by Hintikka (1986), this is not necessarily the case. (59a) is ambiguous. Obviously the indefinite *a certain girl* can be interpreted with wide scope over the quantified subject.

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35. (58b) is grammatical when the event expressed by the predicate is interpreted as distributive with respect to the quantified Subject (M.L. Zubizarreta p.c.).

(59) a. Every boy saw a certain girl.
      b. E(f) A(x) (x is a boy x saw f(x)).
      c. Every boy saw a girl.

But there is also a second reading, where the indefinite is interpreted distributively: for every boy there is a certain girl such that he saw her. Hintikka (1986) suggests that NPs with *certain* can be interpreted with a function that relates them to other objects and argues that a sentence like (59a) can be represented as in (59b). In this example the function f assigns a value to the variable y according to some - pragmatically recoverable - relation between y and f(y): every boy is related to a particular girl by the function *f*. For instance a function of this type can be the relation *girl-friend of*. By this function, every boy is assigned a certain girl: his girlfriend. If we interpret (57a) with a function interpretation, Accusative **a** must be present. This fact is illustrated in (60). If we add to (57a) *su hermana* (his sister), which relates every boy to a particular girl, Accusative **a** cannot be omitted:

(60)   Cada chico ha visto *(a) una chica: su hermana.
          Each boy saw a girl: his sister.

This leads to the third generalization about the distribution of Accusative **a**:

(61)   A distributive Indefinite Object with the *Function interpretation* must be introduced by Accusative **a**.

We saw that there are three different interpretations of indefinite Direct Objects which require the presence of Accusative **a**: Indefinite Objects which are D-linked (48), which have wide scope (54) or which have the function interpretation (61) must be introduced by Accusative **a**. [36]

(62)   A Direct Object preceded by **a** can have:
        a. D-linked interpretation.
        b. Wide Scope interpretation.
        c. Function interpretation.

Since it is sufficient for a Direct Object to have only one of the interpretations in (62) in order to be obligatorily preceded by Accusative **a**, no binary feature such as *specificity* can be appropriate to account for the distribution of Accusative **a**. In the following section we will see, whether there is any unitary notion that can account for it.

4. Partitive Case.

4.1. Existential nominal expressions.

English *there*-insertion constructions are characteristically used to assert the nonemptyness of a set. (63), for instance, asserts that the set of actors on the street is not empty:

(63) a. There is an actor on the street.
      b. There are actors on the street.

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36. Remember that also referential Direct Objects must be introduced by Accusative **a**.

As discussed by Milsark (1974), *there*-insertion constructions are sensitive to semantical properties of nominal expressions. Proper names, personal pronouns and definite nominal expressions are incompatible with *there*-insertion constructions (see (64)). Indefinites in the singular and Bare Plurals (63), as well as nominal expressions introduced by *many, few*, numerals, *some, no*, etc. (cf. (65)) can occur in these contexts:

(64)   * There is John / the man / he on the street.

(65)   a. There are many / few / two / some... men on the street.
        b. There is no man on the street.

The class of quantifier-like elements does not behave homogeneously. Contrary to the ones in (65), quantifiers like *every* and *all* are not compatible with *there*-insertion constructions:

(66)   a. * There is every man on the street.
        b. * There are all the actors on the street.

Various tests have been developed in order to characterize semantically the class of nominal expressions which can appear in this construction (Milsark (1974), Barwise & Cooper (1981), Keenan (1987), a.o.). Following Keenan (1987) we will refer to them as *existential nominal expressions*. [37]
It is precisely the class of existential nominal expressions which can lack Accusative **a** in Object function: indefinites in the singular [38], Bare Plurals, and nominal expressions introduced by *muchos* (many), *pocos* (few) and numerals (67a), by *algún* (some) (67b), by *ningún* (no) (67c), and the plural article *unos* (some)(67d). Proper names, personal pronouns, definite nominal expressions, as well as quantifers like *todos* and *cada*, on the other hand, must be introduced by Accusative **a** (68):

(67)   a. Vi (a) muchos / pocos / dos hombres en la calle.
            I saw many/few/two men in the street.
        b. Vi (a) algunos hombres en la calle.
            I saw some men in the street.
        c. No vi (a) ningún hombre en la calle.
            I saw no man in the street.
        d. Vi (a) unos hombres en la calle
            I saw some men in the street.

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37. Keenan (1987) proposes the following test in order to determine whether a nominal expression is existential or not. A nominal expression of the form 'Det N' is existential only if the proposition 'Det N is P ↔ Det P N exists' is a tautology.
So for instance the nominal expression *some children*, but not the nominal expression *every child*, can be existential because only (i), but not (ii), is a tautology:

i.   some children are cranky ↔ some cranky children exist.
ii.   every child is cranky ↔ every cranky child exists.

38. Indefinite Direct Objects with generic interpretation are incompatible with *there*-insertion and must be introduced by Accusative **a**. The same holds for indefinites that are bound by overt adverbial quantifiers such as *siempre* (always). As shown in (i) they must realize **a**:

i.   Siempre Pilar fotografía *(a) un chico cuando es guapo.
        Always Pilar takes a picture of a boy when he is handsome.

(68) a. Olga ha visto *(a) Juan / él / los niños.
Olga saw Juan/him/the children.
b. Olga ha visto *(a) todos los niños.
Olga saw all the children.

Nominal expressions in *there*-insertion constructions cannot have any of the interpretations listed in (62). Let us first consider the D-linked interpretation. (69a) is ambiguous (cf e.g. Partee (1988)). It can be uttered to assert that the number of actors on the street is high. But it can also have a D-linked interpretation: Many actors of a contextually established set are on the street. In *there*-insertion constructions only the first, but not the D-linked interpretation is available (69b). This is further illustrated by the incompatibility of overt Partitive with these contexts (69c):

(69) a. Many actors are on the street.
b. There are many actors on the street.
c. * There are many of the actors in the street.

Second, nominal expressions in *there*-insertion constructions cannot have wide scope, nor intermediate scope. The indefinite in (70a) can be interpreted in three distinct scopal positions: first, with wide scope with respect to both operators, the quantified subject and the intensional predicate *think*; second, with narrow scope with respect to *every*, but with wide scope with respect to *think*; and third, with narrow scope with respect to both operators. The indefinite in the *there*-insertion construction in (70b), on the other hand, can only have the third reading. Third, the function interpretation is also excluded.

(70) a. Everybody thinks that an actor is on the street.
b. Everybody thinks that there is an actor on the street.

In this section we have seen that *there*-insertion constructions and the distribution of Spanish Accusative **a** have two properties in common. First the nominal expressions which are compatible with *there*-insertion constructions can lack Accusative **a** in Spanish. Second, both nominal expressions in *there*-insertion constructions and Direct Objects without Accusative **a** lack the interpretations in (62). Therefore we generalize:

(71)   A Direct Object that lacks Accusative **a** is *Existential.*

Turkish marks nonexistential nominal expressions not by an Accusative preposition, but by a special Case morpheme. (Lazard (1984), Enç (1991)). Turkish Direct Objects can be realized in two ways: either by Accusative morphology, **-i/-yi,** or by zero morphology. All definites in Turkish carry Accusative Case in Object position. Proper names, pronouns, definite descriptions, and nominal expressions preceded by demonstratives which are not marked Accusative are ungrammatical (the Turkish examples are taken from Enç (1991)):

(72) a. Zeynep Ali-yi / on-u / adam-i / o masa-yi gördü.
'Zeynep Ali-ACC / he-ACC / the-man-ACC / that table-ACC saw'.
Zeynep saw Ali/him/the man/that table.
b. Zeynep *Ali / *o / *adam / *o masa gördü.

Nominal expressions introduced by *many, few*, numerals, etc. have both options: they can be marked with the Accusative morpheme (73a) or by the zero-morpheme

(73b):

> (73) a. Ali Zeyneb-e   birkaç kitab-i   postaladii.   (Enç, 1991)
> 'Ali Zeyneb-DAT some book-ACC   mailed'.
> *Ali mailed some of the books to Zeynep.*
> b. Ali Zeyneb-e   birkaç kitap postaladii.
> 'Ali Zeyneb-DAT some book mailed'.
> *Ali mailed some books to Zeynep.*

Enç notes that (73a) and (73b) differ in meaning. If the Direct Object is marked with Accusative Case it is interpreted as D-linked. The Direct Object *some books* in (73a) can be paraphrased with *some of the books*. The Direct Object in (73b), which is marked with f-Case cannot have this interpretation. Similarly overt Partitives must be marked with Accusative Case:

> (74) a. Ali kadin-lar-in   iki-sin-i   taniyordu.
> 'Ali woman-Pl-GEN two-Agr-ACC knew'.
> *Ali knew two of the women.*
> b.*Ali kadin-lar-in iki-si taniyordu.

Quantifiers like *every* have to be marked with Accusative morphology (75a). Zero morphology gives rise to ungrammaticality (75b):

> (75) a. Ali her kitab-i   okudu.
> 'Ali every book-ACC read'.
> *Ali read every book.*
> b.*Ali her kitap okudu.

The distribution of Accusative and Partitive Case in Turkish leads to the following generalization. Just as Spanish Direct Objects that are not introduced by Accusative **a** are interpreted as existential nominal expressions, so Turkish Direct Objects that do not realize Accusative Case are interpreted as existential nominal expressions:

> (76)   A Direct Object that lacks Accusative morphology is *Existential.*

We assume that Spanish Direct Objects can be marked either with Accusative Case, or with Partitive Case. In section 1 we assumed that nominal expressions which are marked with Accusative Case are dominated by a functional expression the head of which is filled by the particle **a** if the head Noun carries the feature [+Animate]. Direct Objects which are not introduced by **a** are either [-Animate] or marked with Partitive Case. Since the Direct Object in (77b) carries the feature [+Animate], the absence of **a** indicates that it is marked with Partitive Case. We further assume that, just as in Turkish, Partitive Case can only be realized by existential nominal expressions (77c) (cf. Belletti (1988) for Italian).

> (77) a. encontrar a un albañil ...... Accusative Case.
> *to meet a bricklayer ...*
> b. encontrar un albañil ...... Partitive Case.
> c. only existential nominal expressions can be marked with Partitive Case.

There is, however, an important difference between Turkish and Spanish regarding the use of Accusative Case. Turkish Accusative Case is incompatible with existential nominal expressions. But, as we will see in the following section, Spanish existential nominal expressions can be introduced by Accusative **a**.

4.2. *Existential nominal expressions in the Accusative.*

In sections 1 and 2 we saw that simple Bare Plurals differ from modified Bare Plurals in that only the latter can be introduced by Accusative a:

(78) a. * Juan ha buscado a hombres.
           Juan looked for men.
      b. Juan ha buscado a hombres calvos.
           Juan looked for bald men.

Bare Plurals cannot have any or the interpretations listed in (62). They can not be interpreted as D-linked, they cannot have wide scope, nor can they have the function interpretation. They can only be existential, and therefore differ from indefinites in the singular in this respect. Assuming that Spanish Accusative Case is incompatible with existential nominal expressions, the ungrammaticality of (78a) follows. But (78b), with the modified Bare Plural, would be excluded, too.

Torrego (1984) suggests that modified Bare Plurals differ from simple Bare Plurals semantically. She claims that modified Bare Plurals are "more specific" than unmodified ones. Following Jaeggli's generalization (45), they can therefore be preceded by Accusative a. However, Torrego (1984) leaves the question of the exact nature of the semantic contrast between modified and simple Bare Plurals unexplained. Additionally, our informants did not detect any semantic difference between (78a) and (78b). Modified Bare Plurals do not differ from simple Bare Plurals regarding the interpretations in (62). Modified Bare Plurals can not be interpreted as D-linked, nor can they have wide scope. (79a) cannot be paraphrased with (79b) or (79c). Third, the function interpretation is also impossible (79d):

(79) a. Juan ha buscado a hombres calvos.
           Juan looked for bald men.
      b. # Juan looked for some of the bald men.
      c. # There are certain bald men such as Juan looked for them.
      d. * Cada chico ha buscado a hombres calvos.
           Each boy was looking for a bald men.

We conclude therefore that modified Bare Plurals do not differ semantically from simple Bare Plurals, and assume that Spanish Accusative Case is compatible with existential nominal expressions, and that Spanish Partitive is not:

(80)   Spanish Accusative Case is compatible with existential and nonexistential nominal expressions.
         Spanish Partitive Case is incompatible with nonexistential expressions.

If (80) is correct, we also expect existential nominal expressions, differently from modified Bare Plurals, to occur with Accusative a. This seems to be the case at least in certain contexts.

Let us first consider the examples in (81), which only differ in the presence of Accusative a. The indefinite introduced by a in (81b) must be interpreted with narrow scope with respect to *Es muy difícil*, which is used as an intensional predicate, because of the subjunctive in the relative clause. Second, it cannot have the function interpretation, since no quantifer is present. Hence, if Spanish Accusative Case were incompatible with existential nominal expressions, the only remaining interpretation for (81b) would be the D-linked interpretation. However, although it may have this interpretation, it can also be used in contexts where (81a) can be used, i.e. in

situations without any contextually established set:

(81) a. Es muy difícil encontrar un albañil que sepa arreglar este agujero.
        It's very difficult to find a bricklayer who is able (Subj.)*to repair this hole.*

      b. Es muy difícil encontrar a un albañil que sepa arreglar este agujero.
        It's very difficult to find a bricklayer who is able (Subj.)*to repair this hole.*

The verbs in (82a) differ from verbs like *ver, buscar,* etc. in that nominal expressions introduced by *muchos, pocos,* etc. have also to be realized with Accusative **a** (82b) (cf: section 1):

(82) a. Asesinar, despedir, invitar, matar...
        Murder, fire, invite, kill,...

      b. Han asesinado *(a) muchos / pocos / algunos / unos /... policías.
        They murdered many/few/some/some/... policemen.

In the following we will show that **a**-Objects of these predicates are compatible with the existential interpretation. Let us first consider the sentences in (83), which differ in meaning. As discussed in section 3.3, Direct Objects with wide scope must be introduced by Accusative **a**. Therefore only the **a**-Object in (83a), but not the Object without **a** in (83b) can be interpreted with wide scope with respect to negation:

(83) a. No vi a mucha gente.
        I did not see many people.

      b. No vi mucha gente.

Because of the predicate *asesinar,* the Direct Object in (84) must be introduced by **a**. Both the **a**-Objects in (83a) and (84) can be interpreted with narrow scope with respect to negation. But crucially, while in this case the Direct Object in (83a) must be interpreted as D-linked, this is not the case in (84):

(84)   No han asesinado *(a) mucha gente.
        They did not murder many people.

Different from *mucho,* nominal expressions introduced by *poco* tend to be interpreted with narrow scope with respect to negation (Bosque p.c.). Consequently we predict Accusative **a** to be absent in contexts like (85a).

Again, Direct Objects of predicates like *asesinar* behave differently. Although the Direct Object in (85b) tend to be interpreted with narrow scope, the presence of Accusative **a** is obligatory: [39]

(85) a. No han visto (??a) pocas personas.
        They did not see few persons.

      b. No han asesinado *(a) pocas personas.
        They did not murder few persons.

In (86a) the Direct Object is modified by a relative clause in the subjunctive mood. Hence it must be interpreted in the scope of the intensional predicate *querer* (want).

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39. The Direct Objects in (85) can be interpreted as D-linked if it is introduced by Accusative **a**. In the text, we do not consider this interpretation.

Because of the predicate *matar* the Object must be introduced by a. Nevetheless it need not to be interpreted as D-linked. Analogously in (86b). Although the element *cualquiera* does not favor the D-linked interpretation, the Direct Object must be introduced by Accusative a:

(86) a. María quiere matar *(a) un policía que tenga más de 60 años.
Mary wants to kill a policeman who is over 60.
b. Pepa quiere matar *(a) un policía cualquiera.
Pepa wants to kill any policeman.

These examples show that a-Objects of predicates like the ones in (82a) need not to be interpreted with wide scope or as being D-linked. Hence they constitute a further argument for generalization (80) that Spanish Accusative Case cannot be considered incompatible with existential nominal expressions. [40]

Further examples in favor of generalization (80) are bare quantifiers such as *nadie* (nobody) and *alguien* (somebody). These expressions are typically existential. Nevertheless they must be introduced by Accusative a in Object position: [41, 42]

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40. The question arises why the Direct Object of a predicate like *asesinar, despedir, invitar, matar,* etc. must be introduced by a. One could suppose that these predicates cannot assign Partitive Case. However, this assumption cannot be correct. First, Bare Plurals can lack Accusative a:

i. a. La SEAT despidió obreros.
SEAT fired workers.
b. Su padre asesinó policías.
His father murdered policemen.
c. El día de su cumpleaños Juan invitó chicas a la fiesta.
At his birthday Juan invited girls to his birthday party.

Second, in the following contexts, Accusative a is excluded for predicates like *ver,* as well as for predicates like *asesinar.*

ii. a. Mujeres, asesinasteis (*a) muchas, ¿ no ?
'women (you) murdered many, no? '
You murdered many women, didn't you?
b. Pero, en París, extranjeros, visteis (*a) muchos, ¿ no ?
'but in Paris foreigners (you) saw many, no? '.
But you saw many foreigners in Paris, didn't you?

The impossibility of a in (ii.a) and (ii.b) is due to the presence of the Bare Nouns *mujeres* and *extranjeros* rather than to the absence of a phonetically realized head Noun in Object position. This is shown in the examples in (iii) in which Accusative a is possible:

iii. a. Asesinaron (a) muchos.
They murdered many.
b. Vieron (a) muchos.
They saw many.

For simplicity we will assume in the following that predicates like *asesinar* do not assign Partitive Case, although, as shown by these special contexts, this assumption is problematic.

41. Note that *ninguno* differs form *nadie.* Only (i) but not (87a) can be interpreted as D-linked:

i. No ha visto a ninguno.
He saw nobody.

42. Turkish Direct Objects differ in their syntactic distribution according to whether they are marked

(87) a. No ha visto *(a) nadie.
          He saw nobody.
      b. Ha visto *(a) alguien.
          He saw somebody.

These bare quantifiers cannot precede head Nouns. Strings of the form *Nadie hombre* and *Alguien hombre* are ungrammatical. They differ from numerals, from *mucho, poco, ningún* and *algún*, which can precede head Nouns, in that they must be introduced by Accusative **a**. The particle **a** in the examples in (87) cannot be omitted. Hence we assume that these expressions cannot realize Partitive Case and must be introduced by Accusative **a**. [43] Although we do not have any explanation for this fact [44] we want to note that the Turkish equivalents to *nadie* and *alguien* behave in the same way. In contrast to *hiç bir* (no) (88a) and *bir kaç* (some, litt: a few) (89a), which can be followed by a head Noun and which can be marked with both Accusative and Partitive morphology, the bare quantifiers *kimse* (nobody) (88b), *birisi* (somebody) (89b) and *biri* (somebody) (89c) can only be marked with Accusative Case. Just as *nadie* and *alguien*, these elements cannot realize Partitive Case. (We thank Murat Kural for these data.)

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with Accusative Case or with Partitive Case. Direct Objects with Partitive morphology, but not the ones with Accusative morphology, are required to be adjacent to the verb (Enç (1991), fn.7). A similar effect can be observed e.g. in Mandarin Chinese. Non-specific Direct Objects are placed after the verb (ia), whereas specific ones are introduced by the preposition **ba** and precede the verb (ib):

i.   a. Ta diu le ge pibao.   (Lazard,1984)
          'he lost-ASP CLASS wallet'.
          He lost a wallet.
      b. Ta ba ge pibao diu le.
          'he PREP CLASS wallet lost-ASP'.
          He lost his wallet.

In Spanish no position can be detected which can only be occupied by Direct Objects which are not introduced by **a**. For instance the Direct Object in (ii.a) can (but need not to) be preceded by **a**. However, if the Direct Object is shifted to the right (ii.b), Accusative **a** becomes obligatory.
This contrast indicates that the distribution of Direct Objects which are marked with Partitive Case is more restricted than the one of Accusative Direct Objects.

ii.   a. Juan ha cogido (a) un niño de la mano.
          Juan took a child at the hand.
      b. Juan ha cogido de la mano *(a) un niño.

In addition, while the Direct Object in (ii.a), if it is introduced by Accusative **a**, lacks the existential interpretation, the **a**-Object in (ii.b) is compatible with an existential interpretation. Hence, (ii.a) is a further example in favor of the generalization (80).

43. Bare wh-element like *quién*, just like the bare quantifiers *nadie* and *alguien*, must be introduced by Accusative **a**. Hence they differ from wh-elements like *cuántos* and *qué*, which can lack **a** (cf. section 3.2):

i.   ¿ *(A) quién has visto en el cine ?
           Who did you see in the cinema?

44. Rumanian (cf. Dobrovie Sorin, (1993)) and Persian (cf. Lazard (1982)) bare quantifiers show the same behavior.

(88) a. hiç bir kadin-i /   kadin   görmedim.
           'no a woman-ACC/-PART   see-Neg-Past-Agr'.
           I saw no woman.

        b. kimse-yi / *kimse   görmedim.
           'nobody-ACC/-PART   see-neg-past-agr'.
           I saw nobody.

(89) a. Ali bir kaç kadin-i /   kadin   gördü.
           'Ali a few woman-ACC/-PART saw'.
           Ali saw few women.

        b. Ali birisi-ni / *birisi   gördü.
           'Ali somebody-ACC/-PART saw'.
           Ali saw somebody.

        c. Ali biri-ni /   biri   gördü.
           'Ali somebody-ACC/-PART saw'.

5. Conclusions.

We assumed that Spanish Direct Objects can realize Accusative Case or Partitive Case.

If a Direct Object that is marked with the feature [+Animate] realizes Accusative Case it is introduced by Accusative **a**. Partitive Case, on the other hand, has no morphological realization.

Existential Direct Objects of predicates like the ones in (82a), the bare quantifiers *nadie* and *alguien*, and modified Bare Plurals can be introduced by Accusative **a**. Hence we assumed that Spanish differs from Turkish in that existential as well as nonexistential Direct Objects can be marked with Accusative Case in Spanish [45]; whereas Partitive Case can only be assigned to existential Direct Objects.

Being nonexistential, the proper name in (90a) can only realize Accusative Case, therefore it must obligatorily be introduced by Accusative **a**. The Direct Object in (90b) can either realize Accusative Case or Partitive Case, since it can be construed as an existential nominal expression. While the Direct Object in (90b) can be construed as existential or as nonexistential, the modified Bare Plural in (90b) is necessarily existential. Since existential nominal expressions can realize both Accusative Case and Partitive Case in Spanish, Accusative **a** is optional in (90c). In principle the unmodified Bare Plural can also realize both Cases. But if it is assigned Accusative Case (14a), a violation of the ECP arises since the Accusative particle a in F° does not properly govern the empty D°. Hence it can only realize Partitive Case (90d).

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45. Spanish Accusative **a** behaves more like the Persian Accusative postposition -ra, than Turkish Accusative Case. As noted by Lazard (1982) Persian [+Animate] Direct Objects can be introduced by the postposition -ra, even if they are non-specific (i). Non-specific [-Animate] Direct Objects, on the other hand, are incompatible with -ra (ii):

i.   sa-e tork nazd-e emperatur-e rum   qased-i-??(ra)   ferestad ta ba u hamdasi savad.
                               ...messenger-INDEF-ra...
        The king of the Turks sent a messenger to the emperor of Rome in order to form an alliance with him.

        sah-e tork nazd-e emperatur-e rum   payam-i (*ra)   ferestad ta ba u hamdasi savad.
                               ...message-INDEF...
        The king of the Turks sent a message to the emperor of Rome in order to form an alliance with him.

(90) a. Ayer vimos *(a) Juan.
          Yesterday we saw Juan.
      b. Ayer vimos (a) muchos hombres.
          Yesterday we saw many men.
      c. Ayer vimos (a) hombres calvos.
          Yesterday we saw bald men.
      d. Ayer vimos (*a) hombres.
          Yesterday we saw men.

Note that we predict Direct Objects that are introduced by Accusative **a** to be systematically ambiguous between an existential interpretation and a nonexistential interpretation. However, this ambiguity is not detectable in all cases. The possible range of the interpretations of **a**-Objects depends on the type of predicate. While **a**-Objects of predicates like *asesinar* can be interpreted as existential (91b), a nonexistential interpretation of **a**-Objects of predicates like *ver* is preferred (91a).

(91) a. Han visto a un policía.
          They saw a policeman.
      b. Han asesinado a un policía.
          They murdered a policeman.

We suppose that this difference is due to the fact that these predicates differ with respect to their ability to assign Partitive Case to their Direct Object. The Direct Object of predicates like *ver* can be marked with Accusative Case or with Partitive Case. According to our assumptions, the Direct Object can be interpreted as existential in both cases. We suppose that the absence of the existential interpretation in (91a) is due to the fact that this interpretation can be expressed by using Partitive Case, which is specialized for the existential interpretation. Using Accusative Case the speaker conversationally implicates that he does not want the Object to be interpreted as existential. The Direct Object of predicates like *asesinar*, on the other hand, can only be marked with Accusative Case. Hence, the **a**-Object in (91b) can be interpreted as existential, since this interpretation cannot be expressed by Partitive Case. While the Direct Object in (91a), by conversational implicature (cf. Grice (1975)), is interpreted as nonexistential, the modified Bare Plural introduced by **a** in (90c) is interpreted as existential. This contrast is due to the fact that (modified) Bare Plurals can only be interpreted as existential nominal expressions. By the use of Accusative or Partitive Case no meaning difference can be expressed.

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Sequence of Tenses in Spanish. [1]

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The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the Sequence of Tenses phenomenon can be explained from the perspective of a relational theory of tenses similar to the one proposed by Reichenbach (1947), and adopted by Hornstein (1990). Furthermore, we will adopt the results of recent theories on verb syntax and sentence structure (see among others: Giorgi and Pianesi (1991), Grimshaw (1991), Stowell (1993), and Zagona (1990, 1992)).

The main conclusions we have arrived at are that the syntactic structure of tenses is the same throughout all the derivation levels; secondly, that by means of the free coindexation between empty temporal phrases we can account for the sequence of tenses phenomena that Hornstein (1990) explains with a mechanism of association of temporal points. It seems to be the case, finally, that whenever the time of the event denoted by the main predicate precedes the speech time, the embedded tense must belong to the [+past] sphere.

This paper is structured as follows: we will first briefly describe the behaviour of Hornstein's (1990) Sequence of tenses rule, and we will point out some of the problems that such a rule poses. In the second section, we will give our analysis of the Spanish tenses. To conclude, we will propose a solution to the problems mentioned in the first section.

We will concentrate on the phenomenon of Sequence of tenses in complement clauses and on the contribution of tenses to temporal deixis; the contribution of temporal adverbs to temporal deixis is not going to be addressed here.

1. Sequence of tenses (SOT) is the name that is traditionally given to the fact that the tense of the complement clause [2] verb varies according to the tense of the matrix clause verb. For instance, in (1a), where the matrix tense is present, we choose the verbal form <u>asistirá</u> for the expression of a future event; in (1b), where the matrix verb is in the simple past, we choose instead the verbal form <u>asistiría</u> for the expression of the same content:

(1)   a.   Juan asegura que Pilar <u>asistirá</u> a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirms that Pilar will attend the party"
       b.   Juan aseguró que Pilar <u>asistiría</u> a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirmed that Pilar would attend the party"

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2.   For the behaviour of tenses in relative clauses see, among others, Abusch (1988), Dowty (1982), Enç (1987), Ladusaw (1977), and Ogihara (1989).

In many languages there are not any morphological differences between the verbal forms embedded under the simple past [3] and the verbal forms embedded under a tense which does not denote anteriority with respect to the speech time. At the same time, sentences like (1b) are very often considered indirect speech versions of sentences like (1a). Due to this fact, many scholars have proposed that in D-Structure, both asistirá and asistiría are not different tenses. That is what Hornstein (1990) does. In 1.1, and 1.2, we will briefly describe his proposal, and we will point out some of the facts that it does not account for.

1.1. Following Reichenbach (1947) [4], Hornstein (1990) conceives tenses as expressions of the relation between three temporal points [5]: the point of speech (S),

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3.   See Comrie (1985, 1986) and Ogihara (1989).

4 .   The following is the inventory of tenses of Reichenbach (1947:297):

Structure	New Name	Traditional Name
E-R-S	Anterior past	Past perfect
E,R-S	Simple past	Simple past
R-E-S		
R-S,E	Posterior past	- - - - - - - -
R-S-E		
E-S,R	Anterior present	Present perfect
S,R,E	Simple present	Present
S,R-E	Posterior present	Simple future
S-E-R		
S,E-R	Anterior future	Future perfect
E-S-R		
S-R,E	Simple future	Simple future
S-R-E	Posterior future	- - - - - - - - -

For some observations about the theory of tenses of Reichenbach (1947), see, among others, Acero (1990), Bertinetto (1986), Bouchard (1984), Comrie (1981, 1985), Declerck (1986, 1991), Hamann (1987), Hornstein (1990), Ogihara (1989), and Vikner (1985).

5.   As Hornstein (1990:92-97) points out, a Reichenbachian theory of tenses is superior to the ones provided by the temporal logic or by the generative semantics due to its restrictive character. In temporal logic, tenses that are not basic, such as the past perfect or the future perfect, are built up from the basic tenses by iteration of the primitive operators; in generative semantics, temporal predicates serve for the same purpose. As an illustration, we give the analysis of the sentences (ia-b) according to the temporal logic (look at (iia-b) and according to the generative semantics (look at (iiia-b)); P is the symbol of the past tense operator; F is the symbol of the future tense operator.

(i)   a.   Juan había hablado.
            "Juan had spoken."
       b.   Juan habrá hablado.
            "Juan will have spoken."

(ii)   a.   P(P(a))
        b.   F(P(a))

which refers to the utterance time; the point of the event (E), which represents the time of the event denoted by the predicate of the clause; and the point of reference (R)[6], which corresponds to the relevant time with respect to which the speaker situates the point of the event on the time line. The Basic Temporal Structures (BTSs) that Hornstein proposes are the following (points separated by a comma are interpreted as contemporaneous; if two points are separated by a line the leftmost point is interpreted as temporally earlier than the other):

(2)						
	a.	S,R,E	present	d.	E-S,R	present perfect
	b.	E,R-S	past	e.	E-R-S	past perfect
	c.	S-R,E	future	f.	S-E-R	future perfect

According to Hornstein (1990), both the verbal form asistirá of (1a), and the verbal form asistiría of (1b) have the BTS of a future tense in D-Structure. The temporal interpretations of (1a) and (1b) are not the same, though. In order to explain this, Hornstein devises a SOT rule which consists of reproducing the BTS of the embedded verb below the BTS of the matrix verb and associating the speech point of the former with the event point of the latter. Consider (3a-b) [7, 8]:

(3) a. S1,R1,E1   SOT ⟶   S1,R1,E1

         S2-R2,E2   S2-R2,E2


(iii) a.

b.
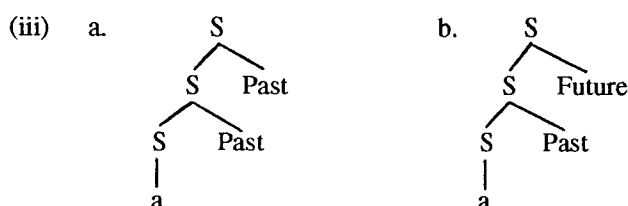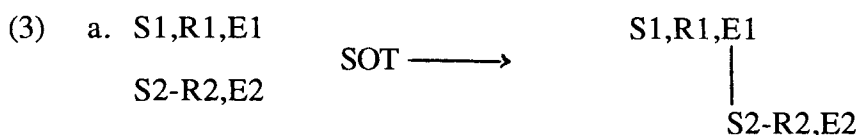
This way of dealing with the past perfect and the future perfect carries the implication that there is an infinite number of possible tenses within natural language because there is nothing to prevent the iteration of operators or temporal predicates from continuing indifinitely. However, in a Reichenbachian theory complex tenses are not formed by recursion of primitive sentences. Rather, the full ordering of the R point, the E point, and the S point defines a set of possible tenses.

6. Reichenbach (1947) takes from Jespersen (1924:262-263) the idea that the interpretation of the past perfect and the future perfect requires a third temporal point different from the speech point and the event point. However, Reichenbach makes use of what he calls point of reference for the interpretation of all tenses.

7. In what follows, with the number 1 we will indicate that we are referring to the main clause or to a phrase higher in the tree, and with the number 2 that we are referring to the embedded clause or to a phrase lower in the tree.

8. As stated by Hornstein (1990:169-170), this mechanism is the mirror image of the syntactic relation of government that exists between the positions that provide the temporal points E1 and S2, namely, V1 and FLEX2.

b. E1,R1-S1

S2-R2,E2

SOT ————→

E1,R1-S1

|

S2-R2,E2
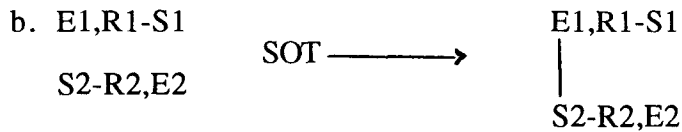
The temporal structures on the left are the BTSs of <u>asegura</u>, <u>asistirá</u>, <u>aseguró</u> and <u>asistiría</u> in D-Structure. The temporal structures on the right are their Derived Temporal Structures, that is, the temporal structures that account for the specific relation that exists between the BTS of a main tense and the BTS of an embedded tense in S-Structure.

If two temporal points are associated, they are interpreted as contemporaneous. That is why, although the BTS of <u>asistiría</u> and <u>asistirá</u> is the same in D-Structure, the association of S2 and E1 means that E2 is understood as in the future relative to the speech time in (1a), and as in the future relative to an event which is situated in a time prior to the moment of utterance in (1b). In addition, the presence in (1b) of an event which is situated in a time prior to the moment of utterance causes the morphological change that the embedded verb undergoes between D-Structure and S-Structure. In languages such as Russian and Japanese this is not the case, though.

Finally, given that there are sentences like (4), in which the embedded verb does not change between D-Structure and S-Structure even though E1 is prior to the speech time, Hornstein claims that the SOT rule is optional.

(4)   (*)Juan aseguró que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta [9].
       "Juan affirmed that Pilar will attend the party."

If the SOT rule does not apply, S2 denotes the speech time.

1.2. We do not agree with Hornstein on the assumption that the BTSs of the verbs embedded to a past tense or to a tense that does not denote anteriority with respect to the speech time are the same in D-Structure.

Coming back to our sentences of (1a-b), notice that the verbal form <u>asistiría</u> can also appear in independent sentences, where the SOT rule does not apply. Consider (5):

(5)   Eran las nueve de la mañana de un domingo lluvioso del mes de Abril.
       Pilar asistiría [10] poco después a un acontecimiento memorable.
       "It was nine in the morning on a rainy Sunday in April. Pilar would attend a memorable event a bit later."

So, if the BTSs of the embedded verbs of (1a) and (1b) were the same, we would have to claim not only that one BTS in D-Structure can correspond to more than one verbal form in S-Structure (that is what happens in (1a-b), according to Hornstein), but also that one verbal form in S-Structure can correspond to more than one BTS in

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9.   Not all Spanish speakers think that this sentence is grammatically correct. That is what the asterisk in parenthesis means.

10.   We agree with Ignacio Bosque (personal communication) that most Spanish speakers would use <u>asistió</u> ("attended") in (5) instead of the verbal form <u>asistiría</u> due to the simplification that is so frequent in narrative texts as regards temporal deixis. Nevertheless, we still have to account for the fact that <u>asistiría</u> is not excluded from (5).

D-Structure, as we may deduce from (1b) and (5) [11],[12].

Moreover, the strongest argument of Hornstein in support of the fact that the embedded verb undergoes a morphological change between D-Structure and S-Structure when E1 is prior to the speech time is that in S-Structure the embedded verb keeps the properties that it had in D-Structure. One property of the future is that it can be modified by the adverb mañana. Asistiría is possible in (6b), then, because it has the same BTS as the embedded verb of (6a).

(6)   a.   Juan asegura que Pilar asistirá mañana a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirms that Pilar will attend the party tomorrow."
      b.   Juan aseguró que Pilar asistiría mañana a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirmed that Pilar would attend the party tomorrow."

Given the contrast that we observe in (7a-b), however, it appears that asistirá and asistiría have different properties with respect to which temporal adverbs they can be modified by. In terms of Hornstein's theory, those different properties would mean that the embedded tenses do not have the same BTS.

(7)   a.   * Juan asegura que Pilar asistirá ayer a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirms that Pilar will attend the party yesterday."
      b.   Juan aseguró que Pilar asistiría ayer a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirmed that Pilar would attend the party yesterday."

---

11. That is what Hornstein's proposal seems to convey, but he is not clear about which BTS corresponds to the verbal form would attend in independent sentences. In the second chapter, he puts together would and the English modal verbs and says that they have the BTS of the simple present. In the third chapter, however, he makes a list of the possible tenses within natural language in which there is a tense that indicates posteriority with respect to a point in the past. He does not say whether that temporal structure corresponds to would attend, though. In any case, our argument remains the same.

12. The sentence of (i) is even more problematic than the one of (1b) because, in terms of Hornstein's theory, there is not just an unique BTS to which the embedded verbal form can be related. In fact, (i) can be the indirect speech version of either (iia) or (iib). As we show in (iii), whether we suppose that the embedded verbal form of (i) has the BTS of (2b), or whether we suppose that it has the BTS of (2d), the result is the same, that is, E2 is prior to E1.

(i)   Juan aseguró que Pilar había asistido a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirmed that Pilar had attended the party."

(ii)   a.   Juan asegura que Pilar asistió a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirms that Pilar attended the party."
      b.   Juan asegura que Pilar ha asistido a la fiesta.
           "Juan affirms that Pilar has attended the party."

(iii)   a. $E1,R1$-$S1$ $E1,R1$-$S1$
                    SOT $\longrightarrow$
         $E2,R2$-$S2$ $E2,R2$-$S2$

      b. $E1,R1$-$S1$ $E1,R1$-$S1$
                    SOT $\longrightarrow$
         $E2$-$S2,R2$ $E2$-$S2,R2$

Thirdly, if the morphological change that the embedded verb undergoes were a parametric option, we would expect to find the verbal form <u>asistirá</u> in (8) instead of the verbal form <u>asistiría</u>. In effect, the event of Juan's affirming that Pilar would attend the party a bit later is not situated in a time prior to the moment of utterance, so the morphological change is not motivated.

(8)　　　El doctor aconsejó a Pilar$_i$ que no saliera, pero Juan asegura que poco después <u>pro</u>$_i$ asistiría a la fiesta.

　　　　"The doctor advised Pilar$_i$ not to go out, but Juan affirms that she$_i$ would attend the party a bit later."

Finally, we should not go on claiming that the futures of (1a) and (1b) have the same BTS and ignoring the semantic differences which have to do with the fact that a future has or does not have its point of reference in the past. As an illustration, only the verbal form <u>asistiría</u> of (9b) receives a temporal interpretation whereas <u>asistirá</u> in (9a) is an example of what some of our grammarians call future of probability (that is, (9a) really means "Juan affirms that probably Pilar is with Ana at this moment"). That is why (9a) with the verb <u>asegurar</u>, which means that the subject is certain about the content of the communication, is odd from a semantic point of view (cfr. <u>Juan dice que Pilar estará con Ana en este momento</u>, "Juan says that Pilar will be with Ana at this moment").

(9)　　a.　?? Juan asegura que Pilar estará con Ana en este momento.
　　　　　　"Juan affirms that Pilar will be with Ana at this moment."
　　　　b.　Juan aseguró que Pilar estaría con Ana en este momento.
　　　　　　"Juan affirmed that Pilar would be with Ana at this moment."

The facts pointed out so far seem to us important enough to doubt that the futures of (1a) and (1b) have the same BTS. According to the proposal that we will present in the next section, the BTSs of all tenses remain the same throughout all the derivation levels. Thus, the BTS of the futures of (1a) and (1b) is different from D-Structure.

We do not agree with Hornstein either on the assumption that the SOT rule is optional. We will give another explanation to the fact that not all Spanish speakers consider (4) as grammatically correct because there are sentences with a past perfect in the main clause that are agrammatical. Consider (10):

(10)　　　* Juan había asegurado que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
　　　　　"Juan had affirmed that Pilar will attend the party."

In Hornstein's system, it is not evident how to relate the claim that the SOT rule is optional and the fact that (10) is agrammatical without the application of the SOT rule. We will say that (10) is agrammatical because the embedded verb does not belong to the [+past] sphere as it is required when the matrix event is situated in a time prior to the speech time (see the generalization of (25) below). We will suggest instead that (4) is possible for some Spanish speakers because the simple past can be reinterpreted as a present perfect at LF. As a result, the embedded verb is allowed to belong to the [-past] sphere.

2. In the first part of this paper, we have presented the explanation of the

sequence of tenses phenomena given by Hornstein (1990), and we have pointed out some of the problems that it poses. Among them, we have pointed out the problem of having to accept that there are BTSs in D-Structure which correspond to more than one verbal form in S-Structure and that there are verbal forms in S-Structure which correspond to more than one BTS in D-Structure. We have also suggested that it is not sufficient to postulate that the SOT rule is optional in order to explain the fact that a future tense can be embedded under a simple past since it is not possible to embed a future tense under a past perfect. We will come back to these problems in subsections 3.1, and 3.2. In the present section, we will give our analysis of the Spanish tenses. In 2.1, we will postulate the existence of four different temporal phrases the syntactic category of which will be precised in 2.2. In 2.3, we will concentrate on the temporal interpretation of complement clauses.

2.1. Like Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1989), and Belletti (1990), we assume, on the one hand, that the temporal morphemes head their own projections. Following also the common point of view that different morphemes head different projections, we postulate that there are two temporal phrases [13]. The morphological information which has to do with the two temporal spheres differentiated in Spanish [14], that is, the past sphere and the non-past sphere, projects in our T1P. The verbal morphemes that provide the temporal contents of "simultaneity", "posteriority", and "anteriority" project in our T2P. Like Stowell (1993) and Zagona (1988, 1990), on the other hand, we think that the predicative content of tenses can have a syntactic manifestation. By saying that tenses have predicative content we mean that tenses express a relation of temporal ordering holding between times. For example, the future tense of (11) situates the event denoted by the verbal predicate in a time posterior to the speech time:

(11)   Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
        "Pilar will attend the party."

What we propose is that T2 has an internal argument, which we will call time of the Event Phrase (tEP), and an external argument, which we will call time of the Reference Phrase (tRP) [15]. The first one refers to the time in which we situate the event [16] denoted by the verbal predicate; the second one refers to the time with respect to which the tEP express simultaneity, anteriority, or posteriority. Thus, the syntactic structure we propose is the one in (12):

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13.   See Giorgi and Pianesi (1991) for a similar proposal.

14.   See Bull (1967), Otero (1975), Rohrer (1986), and Vet (1980, 1981), among others.

15.   The use of the capital letter **T** for T1 and T2, and the use of the small letter **t** for tRP and tEP has to do with the difference that exists between tense and time, that is, between the phrases where temporal morphemes project and the empty categories which denote points of the time line.

16.   We understand *event* in the broad sense. Thus, states will be referred to as events as much as actions.

(12)　　T1P

　　　　T1'

　　　　T1
　　　　{[+past], [-past]}　　　　T2P

　　　　　　　　　　　tRP　　T2'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　T2　　　　　　　　tEP
　　　　　　　{anteriority, simultaneity, posteriority}
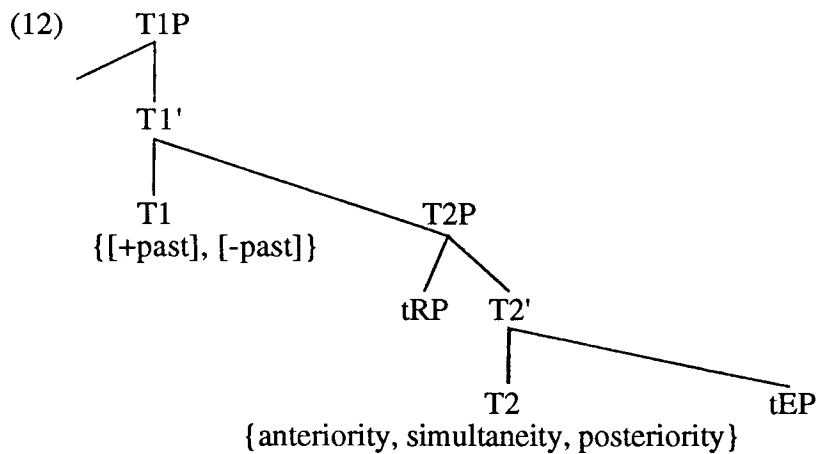
In terms of the theory of tenses of Reichenbach (1947), the temporal information in T1 and T2 provides the comma or the line, that is, two temporal points are contemporaneous or one comes after the other depending on the verbal morphemes. Our tEP can also be seen as equivalent to the E point of Reichenbach (1947) and Hornstein (1991), but our tRP is not the same as their R point. The R point and the S point of Reichenbach (1947) and Hornstein (1991) are two theoretical entities which are present in the representation of all tenses. For us, as for Stowell (1993), the time of the speech is just one of the possible denotations of the tRP (see subsection 2.2.3).

We will try to determine now the syntactic category of the temporal phrases just introduced.

2.2. Fukui and Speas (1986) postulated the existence of two types of categories, the lexical and the functional. Inflection, in which the morphological information related to tense and agreement projected, was between the functional categories, so it was supposed to have the characteristics given in (13):

(13)　a.　It is not specified with respect to the (lexical) features [±N,±V].
　　　b.　It has only one (i.e. non-iterable) specifier and always selects a unique complement.
　　　c.　Its specifier is (usually) moved from within its complement.
　　　d.　It does not have a theta grid.
　　　e.　It assigns a functional feature (i.e. Kase) leftward.
　　　f.　It does not govern or Case-mark into its complement.

However, since papers as Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989), in which Agreement and Tense were considered two independent projections, the functional character of T has been called into question, particularly, as regards the property in (13d). In *Barriers*, Chomsky had already suggested that VP was theta-marked by Inflection. In (14), for example, the trace of the verb is properly governed by its antecedent as long as VP is not a barrier to government:

(14)　　[InflP　NP　[V$_i$ + Infl　[VP ...t$_i$...]]]

Chomsky (1986:144) proposes that VP is not a barrier because it is theta-marked by Inflection, and once movement takes place, VP is L-marked, so it is not a Blocking Category, hence not a Barrier to antecedent government. Zagona (1988,

1990) makes use of this explanation and adds some further data to claim that VP receives a temporal role from T and, consequently, to postulate that the head which contains the temporal information is a lexical category. The same point of view is adopted in the paper by Giorgi and Pianesi (1991), where the notion of T-role is meant to capture the subcategorization properties of T, which must always have a VP complement.

We are going to follow the classical assumption that T1 and T2 are not lexical in the sense that their heads are not nouns, verbs, etc. Neverthe-less, in accordance with Poletto (1992), we consider that T1P and T2P are different from AgrPs because they have semantic content related to the predicate; AgrPs on the contrary bear only structural information: they connect a certain argument to a predicate. If we suppose moreover that the possibility of having a theta grid has to do with the fact of being a category with predicative content, not with the fact of being lexical or functional, we can state that T2 is different in this respect from other functional categories with semantic content related to the predicate.

To consider T1 and T2, on the one hand, as functional categories and, on the other hand, as not sharing the same properties has two important theoretical consequences. In opposition to Giorgi and Pianesi (1991), T1 and T2 will be present in the syntactic structure of a language even if the temporal morphemes are null, provided that T1 and T2 are part of the inventory of functional categories of that language. Secondly, we do not think that it is necessary to postulate the existence of an AgrP between T1P and T2P, contrary to Poletto (1992), because T1P itself is a kind of AgrP in a sense. In fact, the features of T1P, as those of the AgrPs, are related to the referential properties of the argument of one predicate, namely, T2. However, the condition established by Poletto (1992:18) according to which Agreement saturates a word does not apply to T1P. It seems to us that this condition has to do with the agreement heads whose features are related to the referential properties of the arguments of lexical predicates.

Regarding tEP, we assume, with Stowell (1993), that it is equivalent to another referential phrase, the DP. As D, tE is a functional head which enables the tEP to refer, and it saturates the external argument position of its complement, the VP. We suppose that in such an external position of the complement of tEP there is another tP, and that the traditional subject of the sentence is in a lower position. The idea that the external argument of the VP is not the traditional subject of the sentence is in Kratzer (1989), but she calls that argument "event argument" or "argument of spatio-temporal location". Like Stowell (1993), we are going to consider it instead a temporal argument [17] which behaves syntactically as a variable bound [18] by the

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17. As Stowell (1993) points out, however, if the notion of "event argument" turns out to be theoretically necessary, it would be necessary either to postulate the existence of a temporal argument in addition to the event argument, or to stipulate that event arguments carry a temporal index and that event arguments with the same index are interpreted as being contemporaneous or overlapping in time.

18. We understand the binding and c-command relations as follows:

    (i) α binds β iff
        (a) α c-commands β.
        (b) α and β are co-indexed.

    (ii) α c-commands β iff
        (a) α does not dominate β.
        (b) β does not dominate α.
        (c) the first branching node dominating α also dominates β.

referential head of tEP. Let us consider an example. The interpretation of the abstract structure in (15) is: "the [19] time X such as the event denoted by VP is situated in X".

(15)   [tEP tEi [VP tPi [VP DP [V' V DP]]]]

Finally, following with the paralellism between categories referring to individuals and categories referring to times, we suggest that the syntactic behaviour of the tRP is similar to that of pro. tRP generates in the Spec position of T2P, where the formal conditions for its licencing are met (it is assigned a theta-role by T2) and moves to the non-thematic position of Spec of T1P, where it gets by agreement with T1 the features necessary for its identification [20]. Thus, we complete the syntactic representation of (12) as follows (tRP indicates the constituent which leaves the trace):

(16)

{anteriority, simultaneity, posteriority}
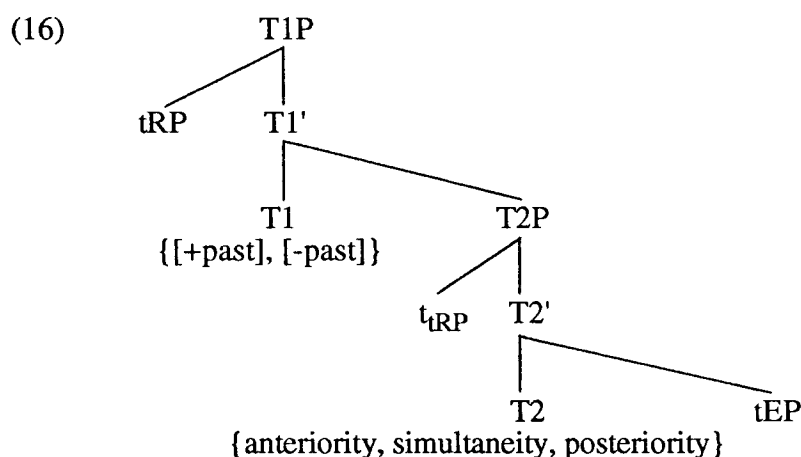
The tenses that we obtain from (16) are, on the one hand, the preterit (aseguró "affirmed"), the present (asegura "affirms") and the future (asegurará "will affirm"), which denote, respectively, anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority in the [-past] sphere; on the other hand, we get the co-preterit (aseguraba "affirmed") and the post-preterit [21] (aseguraría "would affirm"), which denote, respectively, simultaneity and posteriority in the [+past] sphere. In Spanish, there is no simple verbal form for the

---

19.   As suggested by Stowell (1993), the tEP can have definite or indefinite reference (look at (ia) and (ib)), analogous to the situation with DPs in languages which lack overt definite and indefinite articles.

(i)   a. Pilar no asistió a la fiesta.
            "Pilar did not attend the party."
        b. Juan asegura que Pilar encontró la solución al problema.
            "Juan affirms that Pilar found the solution to the problem."

The time of the event is definite in (ia). In (ib), instead, the time at which Pilar found the solution to the problem may not be familiar in the discurse setting.

20.   See Rizzi (1986) for these different conditions regarding the licencing and the identification of empty categories.

21.   We take the terms *co-preterit* and *post-preterit* from Bello (1841).

expression of anteriority in the [+past] sphere. Such information is conveyed by the co-preterit perfect (había asegurado "had affirmed"). We call this tense co-preterit perfect instead of anterior co-preterit, in terms of the theory of tenses of Reichenbach (1947), because, like Zagona (1992), we think that the difference between the simple verbal forms and the verbal forms with the auxiliary verb have is not one of tense, but one of aspect. What the compound tenses mean is that just one aspect of the event, namely, the one which corresponds to the resulting state of a prior situation, is located on the time line with respect to a point of reference. The syntactic structure that we propose for the compound tenses is the following (the asterisk on the right of E indicates that both VPs denote the same event):

(17)

```
          AgrP
           |
          Agr'
         /    \
       Agr    T1P
            /    \
          tRP    T1'
                /    \
              T1      T2P
        {[+past],[-past]}   /   \
                         tRP    T2'
                               /   \
                             T2     tEP
                      {ant., simul., post.}  |
                                            tE'
                                           /   \
                                         tEi    VP(E*)
                                               /   |
                                             tPi   V'
                                                  /   \
                                                 V    AgrP
                                               have    |
                                                       Agr'
                                                      /    \
                                                    Agr    AspP
                                                            |
                                                           Asp'
                                                          /    \
                                                        Asp    VP(E*)
                                                     [perfect]   |
                                                                 V'
                                                                /   \
                                                               V
```
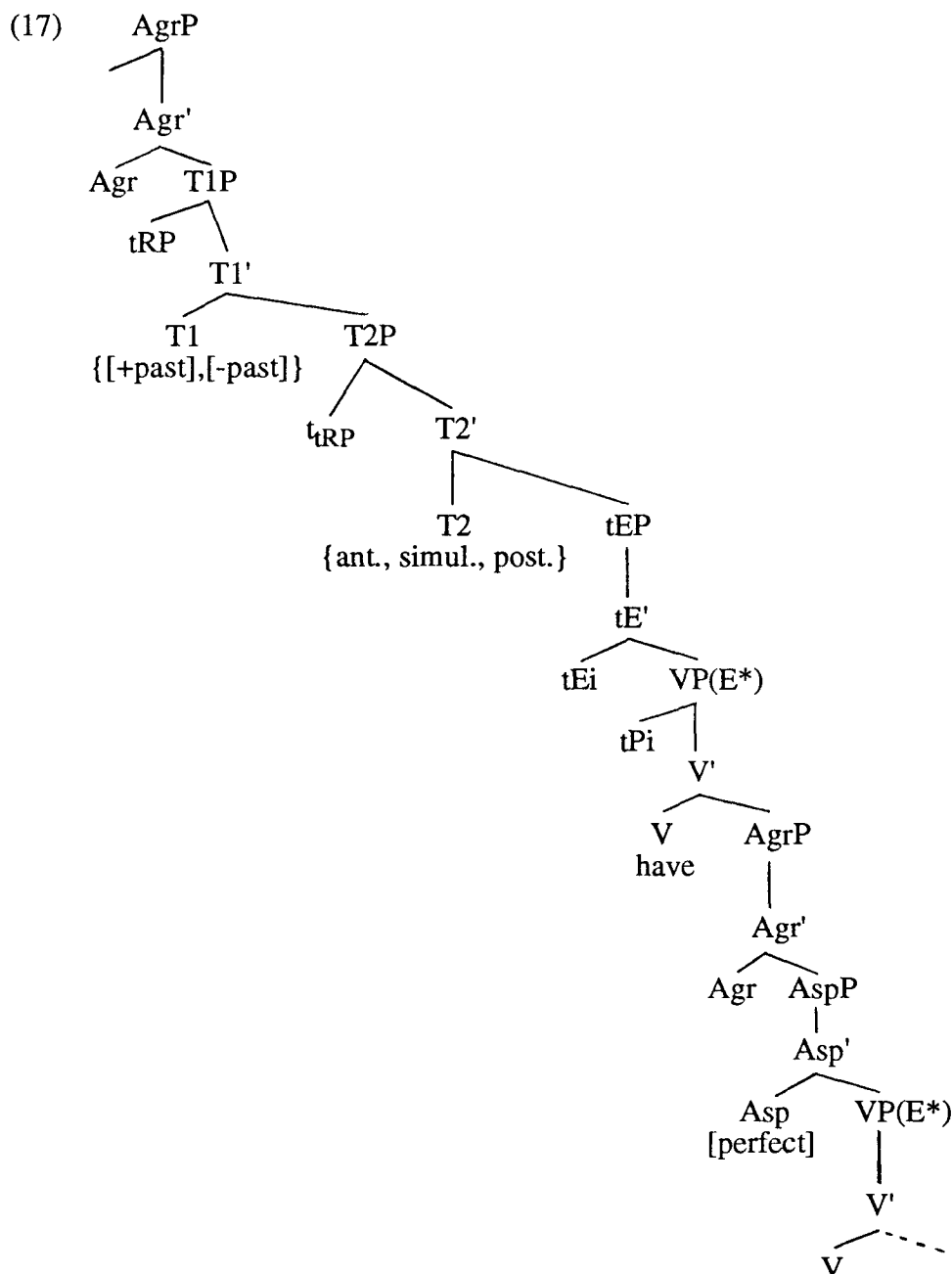
Notice that our system, similar to Reichenbach's (1947) [22], is restrictive in the sense that it predicts that the number of possible tenses is twelve. In (18) we have tried to assign a BTS to each of them (the comma indicates simultaneity between temporal points; the line that one point comes after the other. tE, tR and tS stands for time of the Event, time of Reference and time of Speech, respectively. In parenthesis we give the values that tR acquires by means of agreement, and in angle brackets the perfective content, as in Zagona (1992)):

(18) a. Present   tE,tR(=tS)
      b. Future   tR(=tS)-tE
      c. Preterit   tE-tR(=tS)
      d. Co-preterit   tE,tR(-tS)
      e. Post-preterit   tR(-tS)-tE
      f. Ante-preterit   tE-tR(-tS)
      g. Present perfect   E*<perfect>tE*,tR(=tS)
      h. Future perfect   tR(=tS) E*<perfect>tE* [23]

                                       |_____|

      i. Preterit perfect   E*<perfect>tE*-tR(=tS)
      j. Co-preterit perfect   E*<perfect>tE*,tR(-tS)
      k. Post-preterit perfect   tR(-tS) E*<perfect>tE*

                                         |_____|

      l. Ante-preterit perfect   E*<perfect>tE*-tR(-tS)

As we have already said, no simple form for the expression of anteriority in the [+past] sphere exists in Spanish. Consequently, we lack the corresponding perfect form. That the co-preterit perfect can be used with this meaning has to do, in our opinion, with the fact that the perfectivity can be reinterpreted as temporal anteriority (we will see more examples in section 3.2). This fact provides us with another explanation for the ambiguity often pointed out in the literature of a sentence such as (19):

(19)   Pilar (ya) se había marchado a las tres.
         "Pilar had (already) left at three."

(19) means either that Pilar left before three o'clock or that three o'clock is the time at which Pilar left, depending on whether *a las tres* modifies the R point (look at (19'a)) or the E point (look at (19'b)):

(19') a. E_____R_____S

                           |

                     a las tres

---

22. See footnote (5).

23   Notice that there is a comma or a line only between tR and tE(*). There is no comma or line between tR and E* because E* is the part of the event that is not situated on the time line. Due to this fact, the line in (18h) and (18k) is a bit longer.

```
b.  E_____R_____S
    |
    a las tres
```
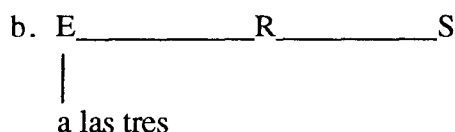
We are of the opinion that, in the first reading a las tres would modify the part of the event which is relevant from a temporal point of view (look at (19"a)). In the second reading, a las tres would modify the part of the event which can become relevant from a temporal point of view (look at (19"b)):

(19") a. E*<perfect>tE*,tR(-tH)

```
           |
           a las tres
```

      b. E*<perfect>tE*,tR(-tH)

```
           |
           a las tres
```
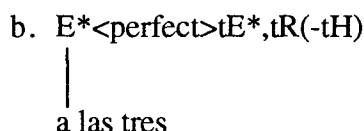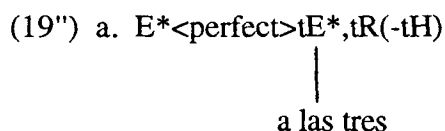
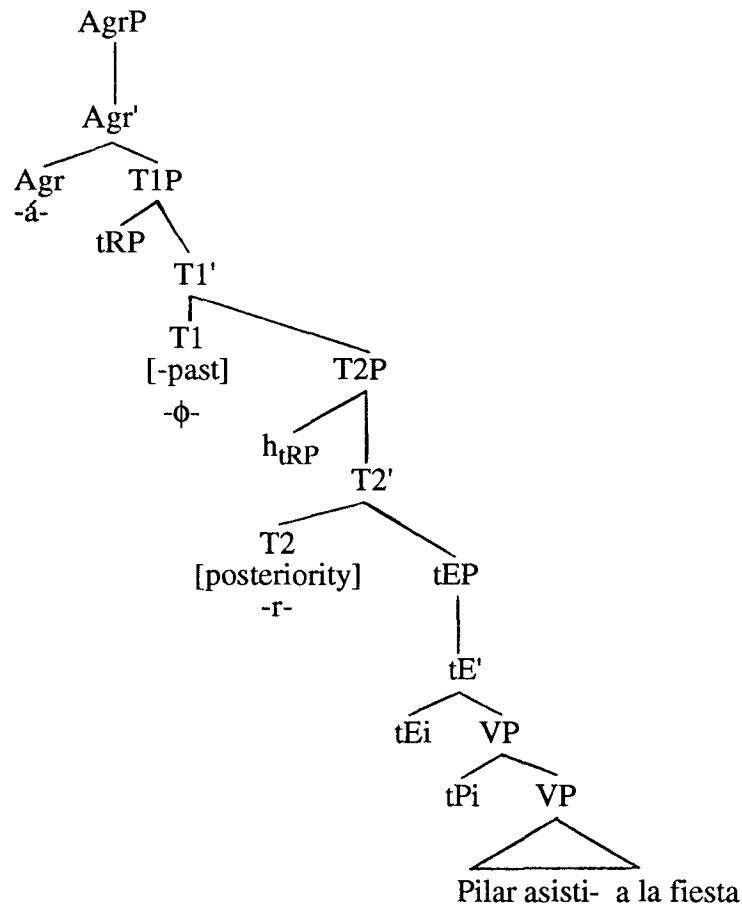We also have an explanation for the fact that (20) is unambiguous, unlike (19):

(20)   Juan (*ya) se ha marchado a las tres.
      "Juan has (already) left at three."

In (20), a las tres, which denotes a time prior to the speech time, cannot modify tE* because tE* is contemporaneous with tR, which denotes the speech time (see (18g) above).

Let us consider now how tenses are interpreted in complement clauses.

2.3. In matrix clauses, a tRP in the Spec position of a [-past] T1 denotes the speech time; a tRP in the Spec position of a [+past] T1 denotes a time prior to the speech time which is contextually determined. In a sentence such as (21), for instance, the future situates the event denoted by VP in a time posterior to the speech time (it is a D-Structure representation, so the subject and the verb have not moved out of VP yet):

(21)   Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
      "Pilar will attend the party."

```
                    AgrP
                     |
                    Agr'
                  ___|___
                Agr      T1P
                -á-     _/\
                      tRP  \
                           T1'
                          _|__
                         T1    \____
                        [-past]     T2P
                         -ϕ-       _/|
                               h_{tRP} |
                                      T2'
                                   ___|____
                                  T2        \
                             [posteriority]  tEP
                                  -r-         |
                                             tE'
                                            _/\_
                                          tEi   VP
                                               _/\_
                                             tPi   VP
                                                  /__\
                                        Pilar asisti-  a la fiesta
```

In complement clauses, the pronominal category tRP can be freely assigned an index, and it can denote, consequently, the same point of the time line as the temporal phrase with which it is co-indexed. In (22), for instance, we have assigned the same index to the tRP of the matrix clause and to the tRP of the embedded clause because both of them denote the speech time (we omit the part of the representation that is not relevant here):

(22)   Juan asegura que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
        "Juan affirms that Pilar will attend the party."
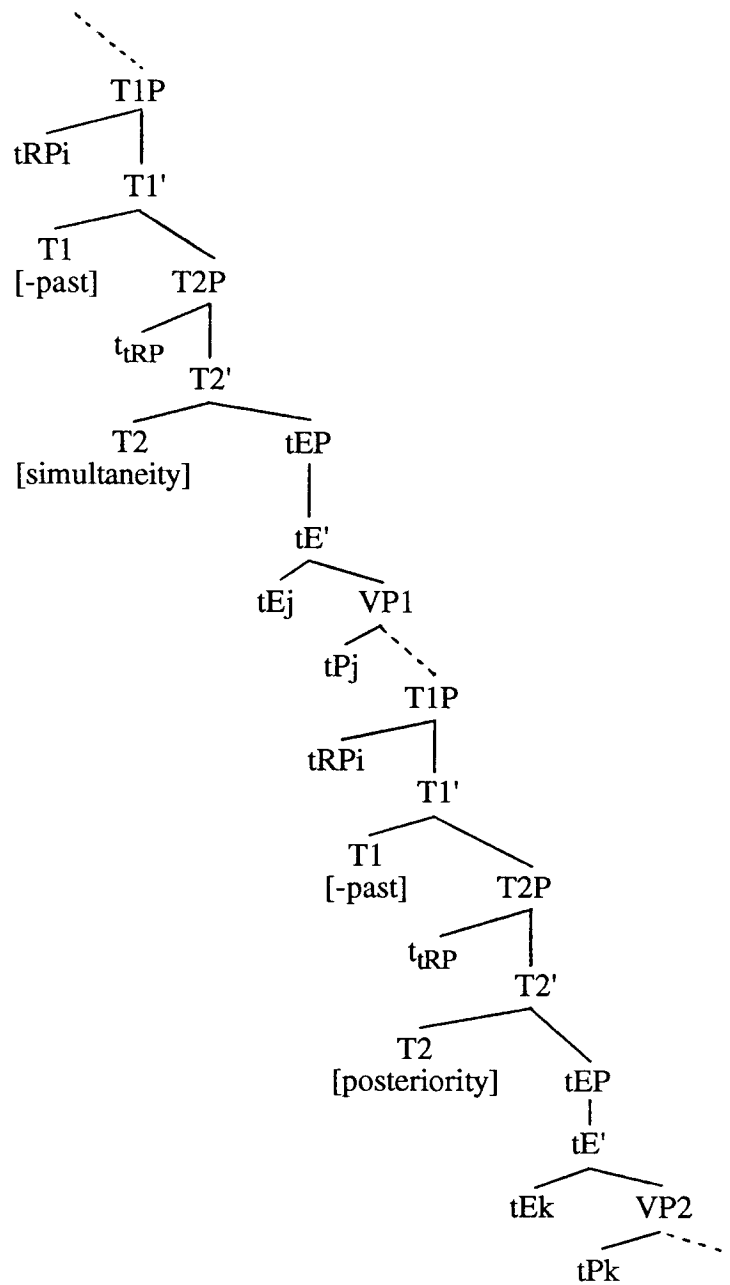
In (23), instead, the tRP of the embedded clause can have the same reference as the temporal external argument of VP1 because both of them refer to points of the time line previous to the moment of utterance (we omit the part of the representation that is not relevant here):

(23)   Juan aseguró que Pilar estaba a disgusto en la fiesta.
        "Juan affirmed that Pilar was uncomfortable at the party."

```
                    T1P
              ┌──────┐
            tRP      │
                    T1'
              ┌──────────┐
            T1           │
          [-past]       T2P
                   ┌──────┐
                 tRP      │
                         T2'
                   ┌──────────┐
                 T2           │
             [anteriority]   tEP
                              │
                             tE'
                        ┌──────────┐
                      tEi         VP1
                              ┌──────┐
                            TPi     │
                                   T1P
                              ┌──────┐
                           tRPi/j   │
                                   T1'
                              ┌──────────┐
                            T1           │
                          [+past]       T2P
                                   ┌──────┐
                                 tRP      │
                                         T2'
                                   ┌──────────┐
                                 T2           │
                            [simultaneity]   tEP
                                              │
                                             tE'
                                        ┌──────────┐
                                      tEk         VP2
                                               ┌──────┐
                                             tPk
```

Then, the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time simultaneous with the time in which is situated the event denoted by VP1. Besides, there is another reading for (23) according to which the tRP of the embedded clause and the temporal external argument of VP1 do not have the same reference. In this reading, the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time simultaneous with a time that is prior to the speech time but contextually determined. This contextually determined time, however, cannot be posterior to the time in which the event denoted by VP1 is situated. Complement clauses are different from relative clauses in this respect. As an illustration, consider (24):

(24)   Juan habló hace dos semanas con la chica que estaba a disgusto en la
fiesta.
"Juan talked two weeks ago to the girl who was uncomfortable at the
party."

In (24), the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time simultaneous with a time of reference which is prior to the speech time; on the other hand, this time of reference can be prior, simultaneous or posterior to the time in which the event denoted by VP1 is situated. As it has been often pointed out in the literature, this difference between complement clauses and relative clauses has to do with the fact that the CompP of the former is governed whereas the CompP of the latter is not. As a result, the [+past] feature of a complement clause can be selected by the matrix verb. Concretely, the matrix verb selects the [+past] feature of its complement clause when the event denoted by VP1 is situated in a time anterior to the speech point. The generalization that we can state is thus as follows: [24]

(25)   [-past] iff
(a). [-past] is the feature specification of the T1 of a complement clause.
and
(b). According to the BTS of the matrix verb, tE1 does not precede the speech time.

According to (25), if the matrix time of the event precedes the speech time, the embedded verb cannot belong to the [-past] sphere. What explains the contrast that we have just mentioned between (23) and (24) is that when the [+past] feature is selected by the matrix verb, the point of the time line on which the event denoted by V1P is situated becomes a new axis of the temporal deixis. So, if the denotation of tRP2 is determined contextually, the context we have to look at is the context previous to the time in which the event denoted by VP1 is situated; if we take the speech time as the unique axis of the temporal deixis, we will be referring to two distinct past spheres, as in (24).

According to the last paragraph, we expect that the tRP of a co-preterit can be interpreted as denoting a time posterior to the time in which the event denoted by a verb in preterit tense is situated, provided that such a verb does not govern the CompP of the clause of the co-preterit. As we see in (26c), this expectation is fulfilled:

(26)   Juan aseguró que Ana nos contaría que Pilar estaba a disgusto en la
fiesta.
"Juan affirmed that Ana would tell us that Pilar was uncomfortable at the party."

---

24. According to the parallelism that we have established in subsection 2.2 between tEPs and DPs, the generalization in (25) can be considered in a sense as equivalent to the restriction that definite Ds impose on the DP complements of the Ns whose external argument saturate (Luis A. Sáez, personal communication). Such DP complements cannot be indefinite. See (i):

(i)   * Compré esas fotos de varias personas.
"I bought those photographs of several people."

a. Juan aseguró [tEP tEi [VP tPi t_V que Ana nos contaría [T1P tRPi t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEj [VP tPj t_V que Pilar estaba [T1P tRPi t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEk [VP tPk t_V a disgusto en la fiesta]]]]]]]]].

b. Juan aseguró [tEP tEi [VP tPi t_V que Ana nos contaría [T1P tRPi t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEj [VP tPj t_V que Pilar estaba [T1P tRPj t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEk [VP tPk t_V a disgusto en la fiesta]]]]]]]]].

c. Juan aseguró [tEP tEi [VP tPi t_V que Ana nos contaría [T1P tRPi t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEj [VP tPj t_V que Pilar estaba [T1P tRPk t_V " [T2P t_{tRP} t_V ' [tEP tEl [VP tPl t_V a disgusto en la fiesta]]]]]]]]].

We are going to finish this subsection in an attempt to determine how the syntax can account for the relation of selection that exists between the matrix verb and the temporal features of the complement clause. Since selection is a grammatical relation typically local, we need the [+past] feature [25] to be in a higher position in the tree. According to the Projection Principle, the property which defines the maximal projection of a head is that of being the domain in which the features of the head are transmitted. If we consider that T1P is the maximal projection of T1, the [±past] feature will be transmitted up to T1 and the maximal projections AgrP and CompP will be an obstacle to the selection of this feature by V1. On the contary, if we suppose, like Grimshaw (1991), that T1P, AgrP and CompP are part of the same extended projection, the [±past] feature will be transmitted up to CompP, where it can be selected by V1. This is the explanation that we will adopt here. So, following Grimshaw (1991), the agreement relation that exists between CompP and T1 as members of the same extended projection is what makes possible the selection of the [+past] feature of the complement clause by V1 when tE1 precedes the speech time. In terms of Hornstein's theory of tenses, what this means is that the matrix clause and the embedded clause must share the sequence of temporal points R-S. On the other hand, when the sequence of temporal points of the matrix clause is S,R or S-R (in our terms, when tE1 does not precede the speech time), the tenses of the embedded clause can belong to the [+past] sphere or to the [-past] sphere. Intuitively, we do not expect restrictions on which tenses can be embedded under a present tense since the present means that tE is contemporaneous with the speech time, and the

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25. We will concentrate on the selection of the [+past] feature. Nevertheless, there are some cases in which it seems that the features in T2 can also be selected. For instance, consider the sentence in (i):

(i)   Juan prometió que Pilar había asistido a la fiesta.
        "Juan promised that Pilar had attended the party."

prometer ("promise") is ambiguous in Spanish; it can mean either "swear" or "assure (somebody) that one will do something". (i) is not ambiguous, though. Prometer ("promise") with the second meaning selects a complement whose verbal predicate denotes an event situated in a point of the time line posterior to that in which is situated the event denoted by VP1. Since in (i) the event denoted by VP2 is prior to the event denoted by VP1, prometer ("promise") is being used as equivalent to jurar ("swear").

speech time is the zero point of the time line. So, we expect that all tenses that have the reference to the speech time as part of their meanings (namely, all deictic tenses) can be embedded under a present tense. The reason why there are not any restrictions either on which tenses can be embedded under a future tense is instead morphological. We cannot state a generalization similar to (25), but allowing that T1 of the complement clause be specified with the feature [-fut] just in case tE1 does not follow the speech time because we would need verbal forms expressing anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority in the future. The Spanish morphology, however, does not provide us with such forms. [26, 27]

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26. Reichenbach (1947:297) claims that in Latin there was a verbal form to express posteriority in the future, namely, the periphrastic form abiturus ero ("I shall be one of those who will leave"). We agree with Reichenbach that there must be languages with a future sphere and, consequently, with verbal forms to express anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority in the future. We do not think that Latin is one of those languages, though. Neither are English or Spanish. Against Reichenbach's assertion, there are two facts that we want to point out. On the one hand, the periphrastic and the simple future forms were often used interchangeably. Consider (ia-b) (all examples in this footnote are taken from Ernout and Thomas (1951)):

(i) a. Ipse hanc acturus Iuppiter comoediam.   (Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 88 (prol.)
         "Jupiter himself is going to act in this play."
     b. Iuppiter hodie ipse aget.   (Plautus, *Amphitruo*, v.94)
         "Jupiter himself will act today."

According to Ernout and Thomas (1951:§290), they could be used indistinctly because the difference between them was not one of time. The future participle indicated that somebody was destined or had the intention of doing something (look at (ii)-(iii)), or that something was about to happen (look at (iv)):

(ii)   quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram.   (Sallustius, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 14, 3).
          "as it was destined that I would come to this misery."
(iii)   apud quos aliquid aget aut erit acturus.   (Cicero, *de Oratore*, 1, 223)
          "in front of whom he will plead or will have the intention of pleading."
(iv)   cum (apes) iam euolaturae sunt aut etiam inceperunt.   (Varro, *Res Rusticae*, 3,
                                                                     16, 30)
          "when the bees are about to take off or they have already begun."

On the other hand, the tenses that are usually found in complement clauses are the following (see Ernout and Thomas (1951: § 394):

(iv) a. {dico/dicam} quid faciat, quid fecerit, quid facturus sit.
          "{I say/will say} that he makes, he made or has made, he will make."
      b. {dixi/dicebam/dixeram} quid faceret, quid fecisset, quid facturus esset"
          "{I said/said/had said} that he made, he had made, he would make."

The sequence of tenses did not change whether there was a present or a future in the main clause. From our point of view, this fact and the fact that the difference between the periphrastic and the simple future forms was not one of time demonstrate that there was no future sphere differentiated in Latin.

27. In (i), the presence of a non-deictic adverb in the embedded clause favors the interpretation according to which the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time which is not prior to the speech time, but prior to a time of reference in the future:

(i)   Juan asegurará el lunes que Pilar estuvo en la fiesta el día anterior.
          "Juan will affirm monday that Pilar was at the party the day before."

We leave for the moment this problem.

We come back now to the problems that we posed in subsection 1.2.

3. In 2.1, we have postulated that the temporal morphemes head their own projections and that there are two distinct projections of T. Moreover, we have pointed out that T2 behaves as a dyadic predicate which takes tPs as its arguments. In 2.2, we have tried to determine the syntactic category of the temporal phrases distinguished in 2.1. We have also given the list of possible tenses within natural language. Finally, we have concentrated in 2.3 on the interpretation of tenses in complement clauses. In the present section we will see how the theory outlined in the previous section allows us to account for the problems mentioned in 1.2..

3.1. As we said in 1.2, we do not agree with Hornstein on the assumption that the BTSs of the verbs embedded under a past tense or under a tense that does not denote anteriority with respect to the speech time are the same in D-Structure. Concretely, we pointed out some of the consequences of postulating that the embedded verbs of (1a) and (1b) have the same BTSs. Firstly, we would have to postulate that there are BTSs in D-Structure which correspond to more than one verbal form in S-Structure, and that there are verbal forms in S-Structure which correspond to more than one BTS in D-Structure. We would have to admit also that tenses which have the same BTS differ, however, with respect to which adverbs they can be modified by. Thirdly, we would have to ignore the semantic differences that have to do with the fact that a future tense has or does not have its point of reference in the past. Finally, we would have to explain why there are cases of embedding of a post-preterit under a present tense.

In (18), we gave the BTSs that our analysis predicts as possible within natural language. We stipulate now that those BTSs remain the same throughout all the derivation levels. So there would be no SOT rule that changes the BTS of a tense either [28], and, in contrast to Hornstein, there would be an unique BTS corresponding

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28. Consider the Serbo-Croatian sentences in (i) and (ii):

    (i)   Juan je potvrdio da će Pilar biti na zabavi.
                Juan <u>ser+PRES+SG</u> <u>asegurar+PART ACT+MASC SG</u> que <u>AUX FUT+3SG</u> Pilar <u>estar+INF</u> en fiesta.
                "Juan aseguró que Carlos estaría (lit. estará) en la fiesta."

    (ii)   Pilar će ići na zabavu.
                Pilar <u>AUX FUT+3SG</u> <u>ir+INF</u> a fiesta.
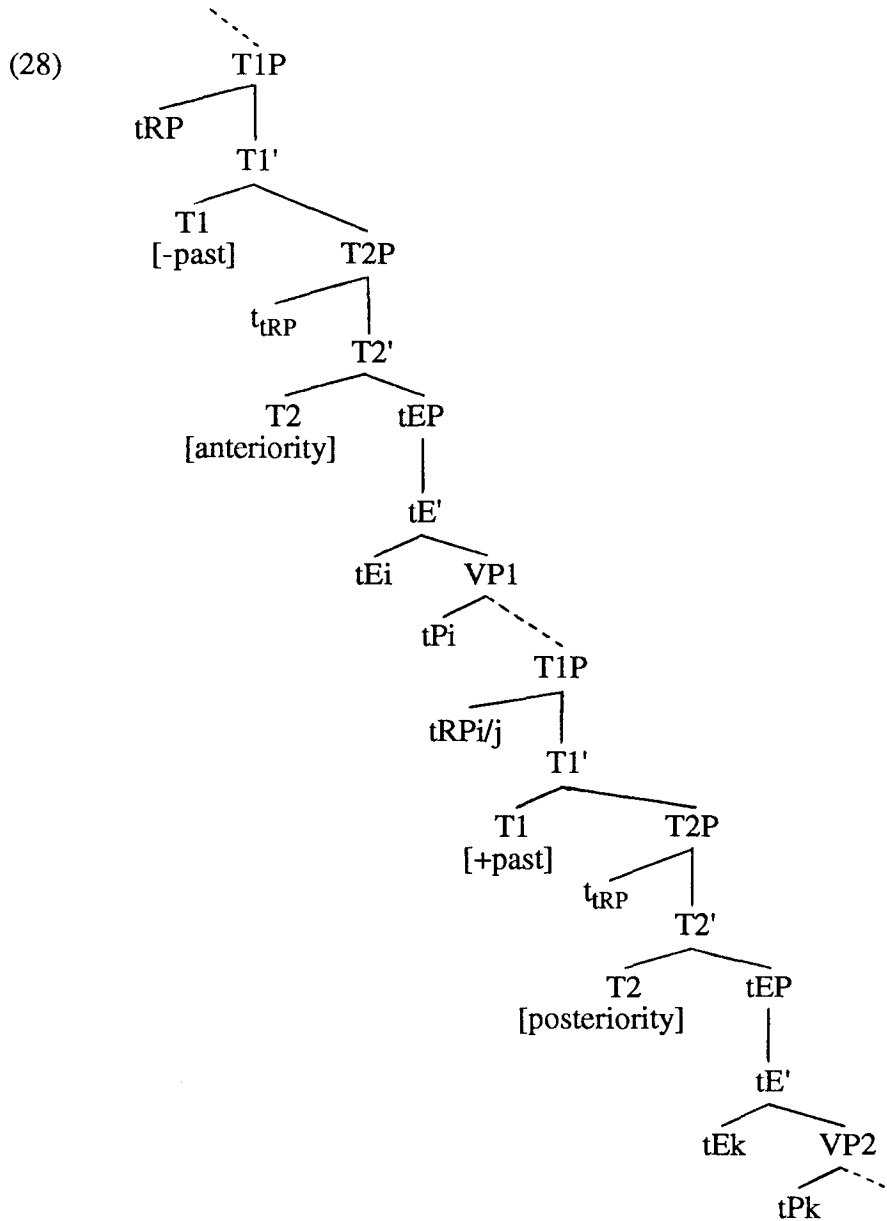   "Pilar irá a la fiesta."

In Serbo-Croatian (as in Japanese and Russian, see Comrie (1985,1986) and Ogihara (1989)) there is no tense other than the future to express posteriority in the [+past] sphere. One possible explanation is that Hornstein's (1990) SOT rule applies at LF. According to our proposal, an alternative solution would be to suppose that in this language T1P does not exist. So, tRP would behave syntactically as the empty category <u>PRO</u> in the sense that it would obtain its reference by means of Control. The speech time would not be, as a result, one of the possible denotations of tRP, but its default denotation (see Stowell (1993) for the application of this idea to the sequence of tenses in English). In (i), the tRP would be controlled by the nearest tP c-commanding it, that is, the temporal external argument of VP1. The temporal interpretation of the embedded clause would be, then, that the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time posterior to a tRP that denotes a point of the time line prior to the speech time. On the contrary, since tRP is not controlled in (ii), the event denoted by the verbal predicate is situated in a time posterior to a tRP that denotes, as a default value, the speech time.

to each possible tense. Secondly, the future and the post-preterit occur with different adverbs because their BTSs are not the same, according to (18). The BTS of (27a) corresponds to the embedded verb of (1a); the BTS of (27b) corresponds to the embedded verb of (1b):

(27) a. $tR(=tS)-tE$ (=18b)
      b. $tR(-tS)-tE$ (=18e)

As we have seen in (6b), (7b) and (9b), the post-preterit can be modified by adverbs which denote a time posterior to the speech time, such as mañana ("tomorrow"), a time prior to the speech time, such as ayer ("yesterday"), or a time simultaneous with the speech time, such as en este momento ("at this moment"). We can relate this property to the fact that, according to the BTS of the post-preterit, the position with respect to the speech time of the point in which the event denoted by the verbal predicate is situated is not determined. Thirdly, that the future and the post-preterit have not the same BTS is also the reason why sentences (9a-b) differ in meaning. Finally, since the post-preterit is a deictic tense we expect that it can be embedded under a present tense (see the last paragraph of 2.3).

Furthermore, our proposal provides an additional advantage. Consider the syntactic representation of (28) corresponding to (1b) (we omit the part of the representation that is not relevant here):

(28)

```
              T1P
        tRP    |
              T1'
        T1        T2P
        [-past]   t_tRP   |
                         T2'
                  T2        tEP
                  [anteriority]  |
                              tE'
                         tEi      VP1
                              tPi
                                   T1P
                              tRPi/j   |
                                      T1'
                              T1           T2P
                              [+past]   t_tRP   |
                                              T2'
                                       T2        tEP
                                       [posteriority]  |
                                                      tE'
                                                 tEk      VP2
                                                      tPk
```

The temporal interpretation of the embedded clause is that the event denoted by VP2 is situated in a time posterior to a tRP which refers to a point of the time line prior to the speech time. By postulating that tRP is an empty pronominal category that can have the same reference as the temporal external argument of VP1, we obtain the same interpretation as by Hornstein's mechanism of association of the temporal points S2 and E1. Notice, however, that by means of such a mechanism we cannot obtain the interpretation according to which tRP refers to a point of the time line prior to the speech time but contextually determined (look at (8)).

3.2. We do not agree with Hornstein either on the assumption that the SOT rule is optional. As we pointed out at the end of 1.2, it is not evident how to relate the claim that the SOT is optional and the fact that sentences like the one in (29) are agrammatical without the application of such a rule:

(29)   * Juan había asegurado que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
         "Juan had affirmed that Pilar will attend the party."   (=(10))

From our point of view, the agrammaticality of (29) is due to the fact that the embedded tense does not belong to the [+past] sphere, as it is required by the presence in the main clause of a tE which precedes the speech time. However, in support of what Hornstein claims, there are sentences like (30), which at least for some speakers are grammatical:

(30)   (*) Juan aseguró que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
         "Juan affirmed that Pilar will attend the party."   (=(4))

Like (29), (30) is rejected by many speakers because it violates the generalization stated in (25). On the other hand, if there are speakers who consider (30) as gramatically correct, the reason must not have to do with (25). As it has been stated, such generalization always applies.

Our explanation is that in the interpretational level (LF) the meaning of the present perfect interferes with the meaning of the preterit. So, the anteriority of the event time with respect to the speech time, which is expressed by the preterit, can be reinterpreted by some speakers as anteriority of just one aspect of the event with respect to the speech time, which is part of the meaning of the present perfect (look at (18g)). The aspect of the event with respect to which the embedded event is situated on the time line is thus considered by those speakers as situated in a time simultaneous with a tRP that refers to the speech time. The possibility of having a tense of the [-past] sphere in the embedded clause of (30) follows, then, from the fact that tE1 does not precede the speech time from a semantic point of view.

This explanation allows us to make some important predictions. Firstly, we can account for the fact that even those speakers who consider (30) as grammatically correct do not accept sentences like (31):

(31)   * Juan aseguró hace dos años que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
         "Juan affirmed two years ago that Pilar will attend the party."

We have observed, in effect, that the phenomenon just described is possible only when the event denoted by the embedded predicate is still relevant at the speech time.

Those speakers who consider (30) grammatically correct do not accept either sentences like (32), due to the fact that only the events denoted by predicates embedded under verbs like <u>asegurar</u> still have relevance at the speech time. Consequently, the possibility of embedding a tense belonging to the [-past] sphere under a preterit tense is lexically restricted.

(32)   * Juan pensó que Pilar asistirá a la fiesta.
         "Juan thought that Pilar will attend the party."

Thirdly, the presence of a tense belonging to the [-past] sphere in (30) and the presence of an adverb that denotes a period of time including the speech time in (33) would receive the same explanation:

(33)   (*) Lo vi esta semana.
         "I saw him this week."

To conclude, there is also some evidence in support that it is the meaning of the preterit which interferes with the meaning of the present perfect. Concretely, the perfectivity of the present perfect can be reinterpreted as temporal anteriority (see also

the explanation of the use of the co-preterit perfect to express anteriority in the [+past] sphere given in 2.2). Firstly, in Spanish we can find examples in which the present perfect is modified by an adverb which refers to a time prior to the speech time (look at (34)), and examples in which the time of reference of a post-preterit can bear the same index as the external temporal argument of a VP whose head is in the present perfect (look at (35)):

(34)   (*) Juan lo ha visto ayer.
        "Juan has seen him yesterday."

(35)   Juan ha asegurado que Pilar asistiría a la fiesta.
        "Juan has affimed that Pilar would attend the party."

Secondly, in many Romance languages such as French, Italian, and Romanian (especially in their spoken forms), and in some varieties of German the present perfect has become the only past tense, quite irrespective of aspect. [29]
Finally, in certain nonfinite verbal constructions the compound verbal form does not necessarily have perfect meaning. Indeed with such nonfinite verbal forms there is no other way of indicating past time:

(36)   Juan lamentará no haber asistido a la fiesta.
        "Juan will regret not to have attended the party."

The purpose of this paper has been to point out some of the problems posed by Hornstein's (1990) analysis of SOT phenomena, and to suggest an alternative explanation. In doing so, we have benefited from Reichenbach's (1947) relational theory of tenses and from the result of recent theories on the matter, such as Giorgi and Pianesi (1991), Stowell (1993), and Zagona (1990, 1992). First, we have proposed a list of possible BTSs within natural language. Next, we have shown the advantages of substituting the SOT rule by the free coindexation between empty temporal phrases. We have stated, finally, a generalization about the way in which the BTS of the embedded verb is determined by the order in the time line between the matrix time of the event and the speech point.

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29. See Comrie (1976:53).

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Datives in Spanish. [1]

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1. *Introduction.*

In this study, I will deal with the Spanish transitive sentences in which a dative pronominal clitic co-occurs with a full dative noun phrase introduced by *a*. I will consider as a uniform set that which is constituted by sentences with the familiar Goal Indirect Object datives, as in (1a), sentences with Benefactive "augmented" datives (cf. Jackendoff (1990)), as in (1b), and those with "sympatheticus" datives (generally corresponding to a Source argument) like the one in (1c). [2] I will refer to all these datives as "affected" second objects: [3]

(1) a. Le   entregué las llaves al conserje.
        Cl3S [4] I+gave   the keys to-the janitor
        'I gave the keys to the janitor'.

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2. Sentences with Goal datives are usually headed by **transference predicates** similar to *vender* 'to sell', *regalar* 'to give away', *enviar* 'to send', *mandar* 'to send', *entregar* 'to hand', *devolver* 'to return', *traer* 'to bring', *llevar* 'to take', *donar* 'to donate', *confiar* 'to trust', *aportar* 'to contribute', *enseñar* 'to teach', *mostrar* 'to show', *recomendar* 'to recommend', etc. Benefactive datives appear with **creation and change of state verbs** like *preparar* 'to prepare', *guisar* 'to cook', *cocinar* 'to cook', *comer* 'to eat', *hacer* 'to do', *pintar* 'to paint', *dibujar* 'to draw', *copiar* 'to copy', *adornar* 'to decorate', *coser* 'to sew', *lavar* 'to wash', *afeitar* 'to shave', *arreglar* 'to fix', *reparar* 'to mend', etc. Sympatheticus datives show up in sentences with **removal or contact verbs** as *quitar* 'take away', *limpiar* 'clean up', *fregar* 'wipe off / scrub off', *añadir* 'to add', *pegar* 'to stick', *poner* 'to put', etc.

3. I am using the notion of "affected" dative in a larger sense than Authier and Reed (1992) who consider as such only French non-lexical datives, namely those usually corresponding to the cases in (1b) and (1c).

4. Through this specification I refer to the regular third person Spanish dative clitic which, differing in this sense from accusative forms, is unmarked for gender. My discussion deals with third person indirect object pronouns but it can be extended to dative pronouns of other persons.

     b. Le   cociné   el pollo   a Mario.
        Cl3S I+cooked the chicken to Mario
        'I cooked the chicken for Mario'.
     c. Le   limpié/fregué las manchas a la camisa.
        Cl3S I+wiped-off the stains from the shirt
        'I wiped the stains off of the shirt'.

Central to my analysis of these constructions will be the assertion that Spanish has the dative alternation or, more strictly, that Spanish sentences with dative clitic doubling share the syntactic and semantic properties of English or German double object sentences. I will first show the main lines along which this syntactic similarity runs, and asymmetries between accusative and dative objects in given syntactic contexts will be shown. Secondly, I will illustrate the lexical-semantic features that distinguish the sentences with affected readings in (1) from the corresponding sentences without dative clitics, such as those in (2):

    (2)   a. Entregué las llaves al conserje.
           'I gave the keys to the janitor'.
         b. Cociné el pollo para Mario.
           'I cooked the chicken for Mario'.
         c. Limpié / fregué las manchas de la camisa.
           'I wiped the stains from the shirt'.

Also suggested in this section is that in the Spanish grammar the dative alternation is satisfied in the lexicon, where two partly similar LCSs are derivationally related.

In the third part of this paper I will provide an analysis for the affected dative constructions. I would like to prove that, in constructions like those in (1), the clitic is the head of a BP [5] at the top of a Chomskian-Larsonian VP-shell type structure. The associated "double" of this clitic (the Goal/Benefactive/Source [*a* NP]) is licensed either in the Specifier of this BP or as an adjunct to V' (as is the dethematized object of the Larsonian derived layered VP). Order constraints between direct objects and indirect objects, binding and WCO effects, scope facts or impossibility of passivization would follow from the existence of this configuration, independently needed, moreover, to account for asymmetries between direct objects and indirect objects. Looking more tentatively to this material, I will suggest that this BP is a functional category that expresses the final point of the event described by the verb sentence.

Exploring this field of affected datives may lead us to a better understanding of certain hypothesis about the nature and status of VP. In fact, what our analysis ultimately might show is the crosslinguistic pervasiveness of the "single complement hypothesis" (Larson (1988)) just as those differences among languages are always due to the specific content and way of articulation of functional categories.

2. On certain parallelisms between Spanish and English and the dative alternation.

Verbal predicates appearing at S-structure with a set of two complements give rise

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5.   With this Beta Phrase I am naming a constituent similar to that of Marantz's (1990) "Benefactive phrase", Koizumi's (1993) Ω Phrase or Brugger and Poletto's (1993) AGRIO.

in many languages to an alternation in the projection of their argument structure. Well known cases are those of English and the Germanic languages where a verb like *give* can project its arguments either in a **[V NP1 P+NP2]** structure or in a **[V NP2 NP1] sequence**. In certain languages, (German and Dutch, for instance, see the examples in (3)) NP2 bears Dative Case. In English, this NP has Accusative Case, and this is also the Case of the second object (the direct object of the corresponding [V NP P+NP] structure, (see (4)):

(3) a. *Dutch*: Jan gaf Marie/haar$_{dat}$ het boek.
        'Jan gave Marie/her the book'.
     b. *German*: Hans gab Marie/Ihr$_{dat}$ das buch.

(4) a. John gave a book to Mary/him.
     b. John gave Mary/him$_{acc}$ a book.

It has also been observed that in certain languages this alternation appears in the morphology. In Chichewa, for instance, a structure of the type [V NP P+NP] correlates thematically with other in which a complex verb adds an applicative suffix. Baker (1988) analyzes this structure as a case of preposition incorporation:

(5) a. Mbidzi zi-na   **perek-a**   msampha **kwa** nkhandwe.
        zebras P-PAST-**hand**-ASP trap   **to** fox
        'The zebras handed the trap to the fox.'
     b. Mbidzi zi-na-**perek-er**-a   nkhandwe msampha.
        zebras SP-PAST-**hand-to**-ASP the fox the trap

It is a common observation that Romance languages differ from Germanic ones in that they lack the double object construction. Since Kayne (1984) this gap has been attributed to the fact that the preposition *a/'to'* would assign oblique Case in the Romance languages, while it would assign structural Case in English and similar languages. These languages would not have either applicative morphology due to the fact that they do not have affix-like prepositions but just Ps which behave as full roots. (cf. Baker, *op. cit.*: 231).

Actually, what we have in the Romance area is only the [V NP P+NP] structure. In the subset of these languages which admits clitic doubling, a dative clitic can co-occur with the full lexical *a* + NP constituent (as shown in (6)). In a non-clitic doubling language like French a distribution of transitive verbs between lexical-dative taking verbs and non-lexical-dative taking verbs is found (as in (7a) and (7b) respectively):

(6)   Juan (le) dio   el libro a María.
        Juan Cl3s gave the book to María

(7) a. Je **lui** donne le livre / Je donne le livre **á Marie**.
        I Cl3S give the book / I gave the book to Marie
        'I gave Marie the book'.
     b. Je **lui** ai trouvé un emploi / ??J'ai trouvé un emploi á Théophile.
        I Cl3S have found a job /   I-have found a job for Théophile
        'I have found Théophile a job'.

After the comprehensive revision of the topic by Larson (1988) and its subsequent extension by many other authors (mainly Jackendoff (1990), Aoun and Li (1989)

and Speas (1990)) the dative alternation has to be understood, in my opinion, as the possibility of having access to two syntactic configurations (two partially similar VP shells) derivationally related either in the syntax or in the lexicon. This derivational relation is crucial in order to safeguard the UTAH. In this sense, it is reasonable to think that the dative alternation is something more than an emergence of the Case properties of the preposition associated with the second internal argument of certain subclasses of ditransitive verbs, since the mere existence of such a duplex of configurations predicts a series of syntactic and semantic properties from which different behaviors of the VP constituents would follow.

What I would like to show now is precisely that Spanish sentences exhibit a cluster of syntactic and semantic contrasting properties which also define the dative alternation structures. I also want to suggest that these contrasts are strictly related to the presence or absence of the dative clitic. I will go briefly through these constrasts now since I will be qualifying them in a precise way in the following sections of this article.

2.1. *Asymmetries in sentences with dative complements.*

C/command asymmetries. A cornerstone of the discussion about English double object construction lies in the observation (due to Barss and Lasnik (1986)) that in the two structures in (4) there are c-command asymmetries between NP1 and NP2. In (4a) NP1 would c-command NP2; in (4b) NP2 would c-command NP1 as can be observed through reflexivization, binding of pronouns, superiority and many other well known effects. Observe the paradigm in (8):

(8) **Reflexivization**
  a. I showed / presented [$_{NP1}$Mary] to [$_{NP2}$**herself**].
     * I showed / presented **herself** to Mary.
  b. I showed Mary **herself.**
     * I showed **herself** Mary.

Bound pronouns
  a. I gave / sent every check$_i$ to **its owner**$_i$.
     ?? I gave / sent **his**$_i$ **paycheck** to every worker$_i$.
  b. I gave every worker$_i$ **his**$_i$ **paycheck**$_i$.
     I gave **its**$_i$ **owner** every paycheck$_i$.

These asymmetries indicate that the position of these NPs is not the same in the two choices of the dative alternation.

I want to point out that in Spanish there are also asymmetries similar to the ones just mentioned although their existence does seem to be related --at least at first glance-- not only to the different syntactic position of each of the lexical arguments, but also to the presence or absence of the dative clitic. [6] The contrasting pairs in (9)-(10), where the (a) and (b) cases show the sentences without clitics and the (a') and (b') those with the dative clitic, will be extensively qualified in the third part of this work. At this point the important thing is to notice that the following constrasts are very clear and neatly parallel the English facts:

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6. As far as I know, Uriagereka (1988) was the first author to point out similar asymmetries for clitic structures in Galician.

(9) **Reflexivization**

a. El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró a María[DO] a sí **misma**[IO].
the psychoanalitic therapy gave back Mary to herself

b. * El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró / devolvió (a) sí **misma**[DO]
a María[IO].
the psychoanalitic therapy gave back herself to María

a.' * El tratamiento psicoanalítico **le** devolvió a María[DO] a la estima de
sí misma.
the psychoanalitic therapy Cl3S gave back (to) Mary to her selfesteem

b.' El tratamiento psicoanalítico **le** devolvió la estima de sí **misma**[DO]
a María[IO].
the psychoanalitic therapy Cl3S gave back her selfesteem to María

(10) **Bound pronouns**

a. * La profesora entregó su$_i$ dibujo a **cada niño**$_i$. [7]
'The teacher gave his/her drawing to each child'.

b. La profesora entregó **cada dibujo**$_i$ a su$_i$ autor.
'The teacher gave each drawing to its author'.

a.' La profesora **le** pasó a limpio su$_i$ dibujo a **cada niño**$_i$.
the teacher-F CL3S gave back his drawing to each child
'The teacher gave back corrected the drawing to each child'.

b.' ? La profesora **le** pasó a limpio **cada dibujo**$_i$ a su$_i$ autor.
the teacher-F Cl3s gave back each drawing to its author

(9) shows that IO anaphors are possible in sentences without the dative clitic, but not in the other context; similarly, DO anaphors appear in ditransive sentences with dative clitics, but not in those without. (10a) indicates that the distributive reading and the binding of the pronoun are not possible when such a pronoun is in the DO, though this reading is found when the pronoun is in the PP, (10b). When the clitic is present, the bound pronoun can be in the DO, (10a'), although the contrast with the other distribution of the pronoun and the quantifier is not as straightforward as in the preceding case. We will clarify this last fact at greater length after introducing our analysis.

Passivization. A regular observation in the literature about double object constructions is that there are constraints on the passivization of the double object. The generalization concerning English is that in structures such as (4b) it is possible to passivize both NP1 and NP2 depending on the lexical nature of the verb. More strictly, verbs of the *give* type belong to the passivization class, while verbs of the *fix* class do not passivize:

(11) a. Mary was given the book.
b. (?) The book was given Mary.

---

7. The * means only that the bound reading of the pronoun is not obtained.

(12) a. * Mary was fixed the sandwich.
      b. * The sandwich was fixed Mary.

There is a considerable dialectal variation regarding (11b) --namely, the structure where the Theme object passivizes (also common is the observation that the sentence improves when the Goal is a pronominal: <u>The book was given him</u>). Judgments are uniform, though, with respect to the cases in (12) and this observation holds cross-linguistically since we find a similar lexical distribution of the passive construction in German and Dutch. Let us observe now that Spanish is like German and Dutch in accepting only the passivization of the Theme. It also belongs to the unmarked paradigm in that it does not accept passivization in the class of verbs taking benefactives or sympatheticus datives:

(13) a. El premio Nobel (le) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.
         'The Nobel prize (Cl3S) was awarded to Cela last year'.
      b. * La casa   le   fue pintada a Juan anteayer.
         'The house (Cl3S) was painted for Juan the day before yesterday'.
      c. * La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa.
         'The stain (Cl3S) was wiped off of the shirt'.

It is important to recall that passives corresponding to similar sentences without the dative phrase are completely grammatical: *La casa fue pintada anteayer* 'the house was painted the day before yesterday', *La mancha fue frotada con cuidado* 'the stain was wiped off carefully'. Then, the generalization that we will have to account for is that the presence of the affected clitic blocks raising of the internal argument.

Verb-particle constructions and the Spanish counterpart in prepositional verbs.
   A descriptive fact assumed by the analysts of verb-particle construction is that a verb like *hand out* gives rise to two possible configurations in double object construction (see (14) --with (14b) ranging from slight marginality to grammaticality--), while a verb like *pour out* (cf. Emonds (1970), among others) only admits the sequence V Prt NP (see (15)):

(14) a. I handed Mary out the book.
      b. ? I handed out Mary the book.

(15) a. I poured Mary out the juice.
      b. * I poured out Mary the juice.

If we assume (as in Koopman (1991)), that the particle phrase is a sister PP of the main verb, and we accept also a layered VP structure (Larson (1988)) as a correct configuration for the double object structures, we can phrase the contrast descriptively saying that in (14a) and (15a) the verb has moved alone from the inner part of the VP shell leaving the particle and the demoted Theme in situ. In (14b) the verb could have had the possibility of reanalyzing with the governed particle, moving then up together over a higher goal. Now, this leaves unexplained the fact that the sequence V+Prt in double object constructions is generally considered marginal. Moreover, this last fact leads one to think that the particle is more related to the licensing of the Goal than to the root verb.

   Identical structures do not exist in Spanish, although there are transitive structures apt to accept an augmented Benefactive which can be compared with (14) and (15). I want to refer to a small subclass of Spanish verbs with an (apparently) optional

governed preposition: *pensar / pensar en* 'think/think of' or *soñar / soñar con* 'dream/lit; dream with'. Actually, in these alternances the proposition acts as a "type shifting" element (Pustejovsky (1992)) that turns a process predicate in an accomplishment one. [8] Observe now that the presence of the dative clitic is only possible in the VPs of this series lacking the preposition (see (16)). In contrast, the presence of the clitic makes agrammatical the prepositional structures, as in (17):

(16) a. Juan le soñó un viaje a su hija. (cf. Juan soñó un viaje para su hija).
Juan Cl3S dreamed a trip to her daughter (Juan dreamed a trip for his daughter)
'Juan dreamed of a trip for his daughter'.

b. Su asesor le pensó una buena réplica al presidente.
his advisor Cl3S thought a good answer to the president
(cf. Su asesor pensó una buena réplica para el presidente.)

(17) a. Juan (*le) soñó con un viaje a su hija.
Juan Cl3S dreamed with a trip to his daughter

b. Su asesor (*le) pensó en una buena réplica al presidente.
his advisor Cl3S thought in a good answer to the president

Conjecturally at this moment, I would also like to relate the facts in (17) to the constraints on clitic augmentation or clitic doubling found in sentences with the locative alternation:

(18) a. Luis cargó margaritas en el camión.
'Luis loaded daisies in the truck'.

a.' Luis cargó el camión con margaritas.
'Luis loaded the truck with daisies'.

b. Luis le cargó (a María) margaritas en el camión.
Luis Cl3S loaded (for María) daisies in the truck

b.' * Luis le cargó (a María) el camión con margaritas.
Luis Cl3S loaded (for María) the truck with daisies

If we assume (as in current analyses, cf. Rappaport and Levin (1988)), that sentences with the locatum argument (18a') and (18b') encode an added change of state (aside from the change of location encoded in (18a) and (18b)), we can then think that the structural position for an affected argument is already structurally occupied and there is no room for the dative. A similar generalization to the one suggested for the (17) cases.

Before proceeding to give a syntactic account of these parallelisms I want to go briefly into the lexical-conceptual characteristics of the Spanish sentences with affected datives.

2.2. *A lexical-conceptual alternation.*

The proposal I want to argue for in this subsection is that the presence of the affected datives makes explicit a change in the status of the event described by the verb. This proposal is summarized in (19):

---

8. Cf. Demonte (1992) on this regard.

(19) In ditransitive sentences alternating a [NP PP] and a [Cl *a* NP NP] structure for the double complement the dative --when present-- is interpreted as **affected**, in the sense that it is taken either as the possesor or as an instrinsic part of the Theme argument.
This affected interpretation follows from the fact that sentences with dative clitics (different from those without them) express the highest degree of **culmination** or **completeness** of the event described by the predicate.

(20) illustrates straightforwardly the first statement of (19). In (20) the structures with clitics range from marginality to ungrammaticality when the goal cannot be understood as possessor either for general knowledge reasons (the tablecloth appears to be a part of the table not the dishes) or because the possible possessor lacks reference or is an abstract possesor:

(20) a. Le   puse   el mantel   a la mesa.
       Cl3S I+put the tablecloth to the table
       'I put the tablecloth on the table.'
    a.' * Le   puse   los platos   a la mesa.
       Cl3S I+put   the dishes to the table
       'I put the dishes on the table.'
    b. Le   regalé   un libro   a cada uno de los asistentes.
       Cl3S I+gave-away a book   to each one of the attendants
    b.' (??Le) regalé   un libro   al auditorio / a la biblioteca.
       Cl3S I+gave-away a book to+the audience / to+the library

Oehrle (1975) points out some similar interpretations in English for the alternation between the IO constructions with *to* and the double object variant. This linguist says that only (21b), the construction with *dative shift*, implies that Mary learned Russian:

(21) a. John taught Russian to Mary.
    b. John taught Mary Russian.

Note the similar contrast in (22), which makes one realize that even though the notion of beneficiary goal is implicit in both cases, the construction with the clitic has an interpretation in which the beneficiary seems to participate more in the transference of what is created or obtained:

(22) a. Mi madre   le hizo   un vestido a María, ?? que   le
       my mother Cl3S made a dress   to María,   which CL3s
       dio a mi hermana Pepa.
       (my mother)-gave to my sister Pepa
    b. Mi madre hizo un vestido para María, que   le
       my mother made a   dress   for María,   which Cl3S
       dio a mi hermana Pepa.
       (my mother)-gave to my sister Pepa

With similar reasoning, Jayasselan (1988) points out that the continuation of the English sentence (23a) --similar, in my consideration, to (22a)-- is a contradiction, as that structure actually implies that John's wife kept the kimono, as (22a) implies that the final destination of the dress was *María*:

(23) a. John bought his wife a kimono, # but finally got it to his mistress.
   b. John bought a kimono for his wife, but finally got it to his mistress.

In summary, (22a) and (23a) convey a presupposition of the existence of the beneficiary, which is not necessarily the case in the corresponding (b) sentences (cf. Speas (1990): 84). This is the reason why the above mentioned possible continuations sound strange. Similar reasons could explain why not all transitive sentences of creation and preparation that accept a Benefactive with *para* have the corresponding form with a dative clitic:

(24) a. Barenboim ejecutó las "Variaciones Diabelli" para los madrileños.
      Barenboim played the "Variations Diabelli" for the people-of-Madrid
   a.' * Barenboim les ejecutó las "Variaciones Diabelli" a los madrileños.
      Barenboim Cl3Pl played the Variations Diabelli" to the people-of-Madrid
      'Barenboim played the "Diabelli Variations" for the people of Madrid.'
   b. Espert representó a Genet para el público del Festival.
      Espert performed to Genet for the public of+the Festival
      'Espert performed Genet for the public at the Festival.'
   b.' * Espert (le) representó a Genet al público del Festival.
      Espert Cl3S performed to Genet to+the public of+theFestival

Parallel to (24) is the fact, illustrated in (25), that not all sentences with Benefactive Datives accept the counterpart with *para*:

(25) a. Le coloqué cortinas al salón.
      Cl3S I+put curtains to+the living room
   a.' * Coloqué cortinas para el salón.
      I+put curtains for the living room
      'I put curtains in the living room.'

As I have anticipated in (19), a natural conjecture following from the preceding data is that the structures with dative clitics, contrary to those without them, express the highest degree of **culmination** o **completeness** of the process described by the predicate and, therefore, of the relation between the Theme (the object of the movement or the change of state) and the Goal, Beneficiary or Source. It is not a question of the action not being finished in the constructions without the clitic, but what is being asserted here is that the interpretation of these facts in the context of a theory of subevents allows us to understand the pronominal construction as another way of conceiving the organization of the internal temporal subevents of the predicate given an identical argument structure.

Two additional pieces of evidence can be adduced in favour of the eventive interpretation just sketched. Let us look first at the fact that adverbs of duration are less natural in structures with a pronominal:

(26) a. Juan **le** escribió una carta a su novia (?? durante cinco horas).
      Juan Cl3S wrote a letter to his fiancée (for five hours)
   b. Juan escribió una carta a su novia (durante cinco horas).
      'Juan wrote a letter to his fiancée (for five hours)'.

Some other interesting evidence comes from data concerning the scope of the adverb *casi / almost*. In sentences with accomplishment verbs, this element can refer

to the process as such or the end of the event. Thus, the ambiguity of *John almost opened the door*, which may mean either that the agent did not even touch the door or that he left it ajar, that he almost did not reach the end of the opening action. In structures such as (27) one finds the same ambiguity (Juan did not even start the letter or he left it half-written) but what is happening here is that those readings correspond, respectively, to the structure with and without the clitic. (27a) --the structure without the pronominal clitic-- seems to refer only to the core of the process, or, in any case, not to the end of it. (27b), on the other hand, does allow a continuation towards the culmination of the act of writing the letter, which is a very anomalous form in the other construction:

(27) a. Juan casi escribió la carta a María, $^{??}$pero cuando iba a empezarla
Juan almost wrote the letter to María, but when he-was to start-it
se puso a hacer otra cosa / la dejó en el tercer párrafo /
he began to do another thing/ it (Cl$_{acc}$) he-left in the third paragraph/
* *está a punto de acabarla.*
he-is about to-finish-it (Cl$_{acc}$)
'Juan almost wrote the letter to Mary but when he was going to start, he began to do something else / he left it in the third paragraph/ he is about to finish it'.

b. Juan casi **le** escribió la carta a María, pero cuando iba a empezarla *se puso a hacer otra cosa / la dejó en el tercer párrafo / $^?$ está a punto de acabarla.*
'Juan almost wrote the letter to María but when he was going to start he set about doing something else / he left it in the third paragraph / he is about to finish it'.

Let us also notice that in similar structures, in the present tense, the structure without the clitic strongly implies --as opposed to the other option-- that the action has not even started:

(28) a. Juan casi escribe[PrT] la carta a María, * la dejó en el tercer párrafo.
b. Juan casi **le** escribe la carta a María, $^?$ la dejó en el tercer párrafo.

As to (27)-(28) in general, it can be noted that in ascribing the explanation of these variants of the ditransitive sentences to the eventive nature of the predicates we gain additional insights regarding the syntax of the construction. It can be thought, for instance, that in the (a) cases *casi* modifies the Tense of the clause, while in the (b) ones it modifies the aktionsart. If *Casi* is an adjunct to VP, there has to be something in the structure which avoids the adverb to establish the correct relation with the Tense and which forces it to remain anchored in the inner part of the structure .

Final support for the thesis that the presence of the clitic conveys the composition of a meaning of completion comes from contrasts like those in (29) and (30). (29) and (30) show the impossibility of the clitic when an **activity** (or a **non-constructive accomplishment**) verb co-occurs with indefinite plurals. The presence of this kind of NPs voids the completion reading; in those cases the change of state of an object associated with an inherent endpoint of the event cannot be construed [9] (observe also that this result is independent of the tense of the main verb):

---

9.   I owe this observation to Anna di Stefano.

(29) a. Juan comía / comió manzanas.
'Juan was eating/ate apples'.

b. * Juan **le** comía / comió manzanas a María.
Juan Cl3S was eating/eat apples to María
'Juan was eating/ate María's apples'.
(cf. *Juan le comía / comió las[the] manzanas a María.*)

(30) a. Juan rompía / rompió carteles (por la noche).
'Juan was tearing up / tore up posters during the night'.

b. * Juan **les** rompía / rompió carteles a sus enemigos.
Juan CL3S was tearing up/tore posters to his enemies
'Juan was tearing up/tore up his enemies' posters'.
(cf. *Juan les rompía / rompió los[the] carteles a sus enemigos*). [10]

This is not the place to develop a thorough account of this lexical-semantic alternation since our main goal here is to explain the syntax of affected dative sentences. However, I will sketch the main lines of the set of principles which would lead the mapping from lexical-semantics to the syntax of these constructions. [11] I will assume (as in Speas (1990), among others) that the LCSs of the dative alternation structures are similar to those linking the members of the locative alternation. More strictly, I claim that both, change of location and change of state verbs, have a similar LCS (with a CAUSE predicate) in which a Theme Y is seen as being in other state or location. These lexical-conceptual structures are given in (31):

(31) a. **Change of location verbs** (*dar, entregar, enseñar,* etc.)
LCS: X CAUSE [Y to be at Z]

b. **Change of state verbs** (*comer, cocinar, representar,* etc.)
LCS: X CAUSE [Y to be at STATE]

In addition, the above statements about two types of changes can function as the 'means clause' (cf. Rappaport and Levin (1988)) of the parallel LCSs encoding the meaning components of ditransitive sentences with affected reading:

(32) a. LCS: X CAUSE [Z to be AFFECTED]
by means of [X CAUSE [Y to be at Z]]

b. LCS: X CAUSE [Z to be AFFECTED]
by means of [X CAUSE [Y to be at STATE]] (for Z)

(31) will project onto the syntactic structures without clitics, as those in (2); (32) will link the sentences with dative clitics similar to those in (1). In a more articulated theory of projection, it would be necessary to specify precisely how the initial statement of the pairs (32) projects onto the D-structure configurations. One possibility is to think that the initial statements of (32a and b) give rise to a maximal projection with a head bearing a [+final] feature. This feature would license the **culmination** reading of the sentence, once a given 'licensee' lands in the specifier

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10. With constructive accomplishments the data appear to be different. *La maestra les dibujó casitas a los niños* sounds quite acceptable in my opinion.

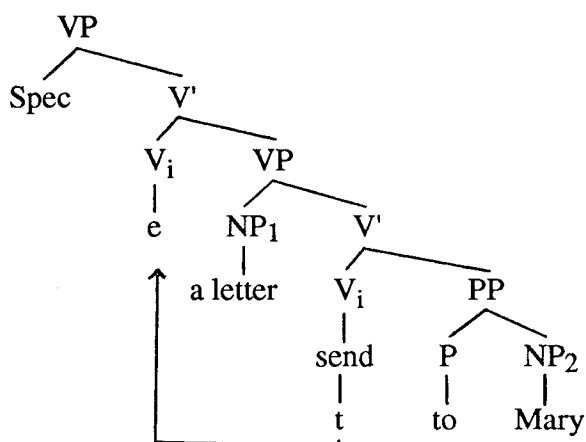11. Cf. Demonte (1993b) for more details on this matter.

position of the constituent headed by the affected object.

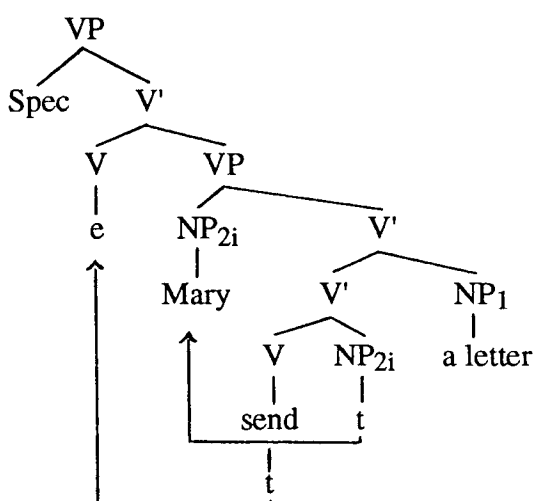## 3. The syntax of transitive sentences with affected datives.

3.1. The background.

Up to this point it appears that we have enough empirical justification to think that Spanish does have an alternation similar to the one exhibited by English in the well known structures of (4). As I have already noted, Larson (1988) has articulated a well known analysis for the English Dative alternation supported by the idea that in a sentence like that of (4a) the indirect object is in fact "an inner object" "forming a constituent (a small predicate *send to Mary*) with the verb that excludes the surface direct object"... "in this structure", Larson says, "the indirect object is in the structural domain of the direct object NP, but not conversely" (Larson, *op.cit.* :339). In his account, structures like those in (4b), the double object construction 'strictu sensu', derive from (4a) through a process akin to passivization. (33) and (34) illustrate the two cases of the derivation on the dative alternation:

(33)   (*op. cit*: 342-343)

```
                VP
              /    \
           Spec     V'
                  /    \
                Vi      VP
                |      /   \
                e    NP1    V'
                     |     /   \
                  a letter Vi    PP
                          |     /  \
                        send   P    NP2
                          |    |    |
                          t    to   Mary
```

(34)   (*op. cit.*: 353)

```
                VP
              /    \
           Spec     V'
                  /    \
                 V      VP
                 |     /   \
                 e   NP2i    V'
                     |      /    \
                   Mary    V'     NP1
                          /  \     |
                         V   NP2i  a letter
                         |    |
                       send   t
                         |
                         t
```

Larson's explanation is based on two well-designed theoretical pillars. The first is

that Case marking --the visibility condition on NPs--is the key in assigning positions and the subsequent placement of the constituents. There is an empty verb in (33), then, because this element has to Case-mark twice and besides must do it in two ways: the PP constituent will receive first inherent case from the preposition *to*, under government by *send* (or by the verb *send* through the Case-marking preposition *to*) [12]; once the verb has moved (through head to head movement), it will mark the 'subject' of the complex verbal phrase with structural case.

The second pillar --indispensable to preserve the hypothesis that "the same thematic roles must be assigned to the same syntactic positions" (Baker's *UTAH*, (1988))-- is that any variant with this same basic form can only be a derivational result of the one just described. Thus, for this linguist, the double object structure (4b) derives from (4a) through a process akin to passivization. The verb, as it occurs in passive constructions, 'absorbs' the Case, this time the inherent Case, and *to* disappears as a result; the subject position dethematizes and is now free as a landing site for the movement of *Mary*. On the other hand, the basic subject *a letter* undergoes a lexical process of "demotion". That is why it appears now as an adjunct to V', in the same way as the agent in passive constructions are adjuncts of V'. This is the structural representation in (34).

The analysis is both persuasive and refined: the **Uniformity of Theta-assignment Hypothesis** [UTAH] is left intact and it gives due account of c-command asymmetries in both kinds of ditransitive structures. It has some problems, though, and one of them, pointed out by Aoun and Li (1989) and Speas (1990), is that it does not seem to take into account the 'restriction on possession'. However, there are ways to solve this problem. One of them is that adopted by Aoun and Li, which postulates a derivational relation in which the double object construction is the basic structure; such a structure has an empty verb of possession and is the base for the construction with *to*. Nevertheless, this proposal sacrifices the previously safeguarded uniformity hypothesis as far as it eliminates the possession verb in the derivational process. Another proposal is that of Speas (also held by Jackendoff (1990)), which emphasizes the role of the lexicon: (4a) and (4b) would have two partly similar and lexically related Lexical Conceptual Structures, to each of which would correspond one of the two basic syntactic structures already seen. As I have anticipated in § 2.2 I will take here this last approach regarding the Spanish data.

3.2. The structure of ditransitive sentences without dative clitics.

Taking the previous background as a point of departure, I want to claim first that Spanish sentences with two internal arguments without a dative clitic have a basic representation similar to that in (35), where the direct object asymmetrically c-commands the indirect object. As in all standard analyses, I also assume that DP_2 receives inherent case from the preposition (under government by the main verb). Once the verb moves up to the empty verb position it will assign structural objective Case to DP_1, the "subject" of the complex verbal phrase.

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12. To be more precise, according to Larson (1988) "...in a VP like *send a letter to Mary* **to** represents case marking" (op. cit.: 369). It implies that even though the verb assigns theta-role, as does the preposition, to the indirect object argument, the verb alone cannot assign Case to it and does it through an independent case marker: **to**. Although Larson does not say explicitly that the verb assigns Inherent Case, that is implied in his statement about the preposition being just a "marker" and that "absorption" implies that **to** is absent (op. cit.: 352) (see also p. 362). In any case, absorption is possible because the verb and the preposition "assign thematic role redundantly".

(35)

```
                    VP₁
                  /      \
               DP          V'
                |        /    \
                |      Vᵢ      VP₂
                |      |      /    \
                |      |    DP₁     V'
                |      e    |     /    \
                |           |    V      PP
                |           |    |     /   \
                |           |    |    P     DP₂
                |           |    |    ¦      |
                |           |    |    ᴵ┄┄→   |
              Juan      una carta  mandó   a María
              Juan      a letter   sent    to María
              Luisa     el mantel  puso    en la mesa
              Luisa   the tablecloth put    on the table
```
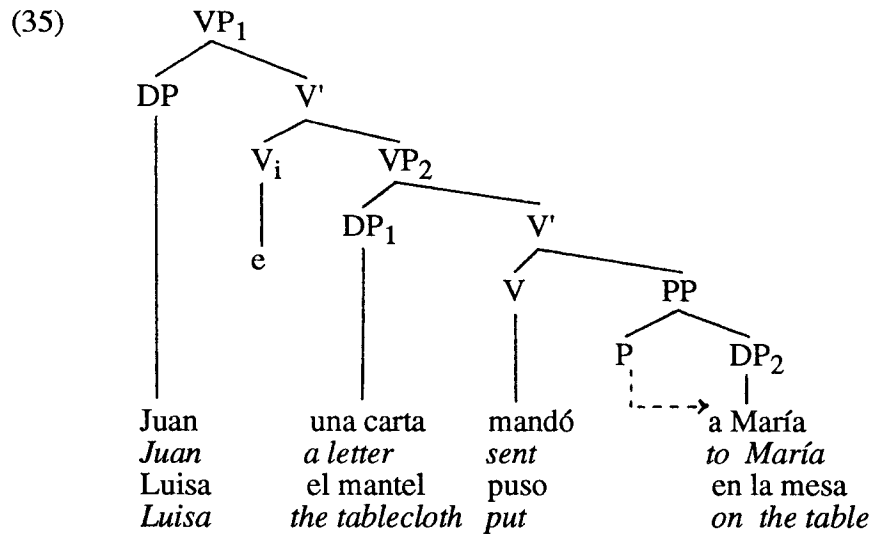
From this configuration, then, the way reflexive anaphors are found in Spanish constructions without dative clitic (36= 9a,b):

(36) a. El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró a María[DO] a **sí misma**[IO].
the psychoanalitic therapy gave back Mary to herself

b. * El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró/devolvió (a) **sí misma**[DO] a María[IO].
the psychoanalitic therapy gave back herself to María

passives like (37):

(37) El premio Nobel fue concedido a Cela.   (=13a)
'The Nobel Prize was awarded to Cela'.

as well as the binding of pronuns in (38), similar to (10a,b):

(38) a. * La directora entregó su¡ premio a **cada ganador**ᵢ.
'The principal gave his/her prize to each winner.'

b. La directora entregó **cada premio**ᵢ a su¡ ganador.
'The principal gave each prize to its winner.'

or WCE like those in (39) are easily derived:

(39) a. * ¿ A *qué destinatarios*ᵢ mandaste *sus*ᵢ cheques?
to which adressees you+sent their checks
'Which adressees did you send their checks to?'

b. ¿*Qué cheques*ᵢ mandaste a *sus*ᵢ destinatarios?
which checks you+sent to their adressees
'Which checks did you send their adressees?'

From this configuration it follows also that only in (38b) and (39b) can we obtain the distributive reading.

3.3. *The BPhrase and the structure of VP.*

The second and central assumption of this work is that all the structures with affected dative clitic are base generated in a configuration akin to that in (40) where the clitic is the head of a BP [see note 5] occupying the higher position of a VP-shell type structure. This configuration departs slightly from that of Larson in that the Theme argument is the sister of the main verb and the adjunct position in V' can be now occupied by the the PP double of the clitic. To be more precise, I would like to suggest that in a representation such as that in (40) the Goal / Benefactive / Source indirect object can choose first to appear in the SPEC of the BP, a position to which it might have moved from its base position higher than the Theme in the VP (I will come back to this question in 3.3.4). As a second option, this indirect object can be an adjunct to V' forming a chain with a *pro* indirect object in the Spec of BP:

(40)
```
          VP
         /  \
       DP    V'
            /  \
           V    BP
              /    \
        { a-DPᵢ }    B'
        {  pro  }   /  \
                   Cl   VP    V'
                       /  \    ⁝
                     tᵢ    V'   DPᵢ
                          /  \
                         V    DP
```
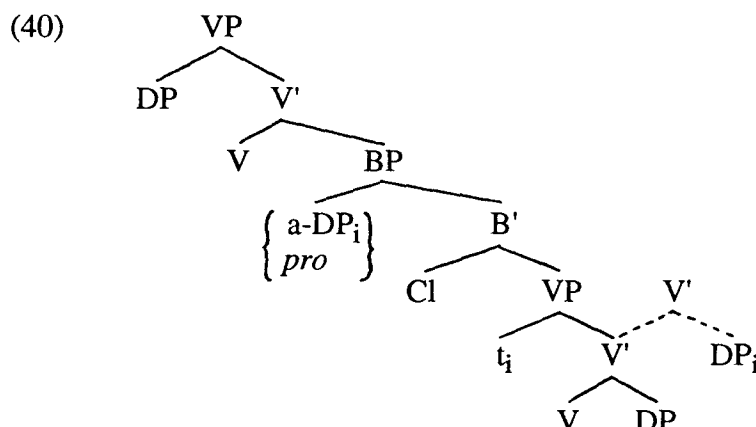
I want to remark in advance that the analysis I am proposing does not appear to be compatible with the VP-internal subject hypothesis. The reason is simply that given a structure like (40) with the possible addition of an AGRoP it would not be possible for the subject to move out of the VP. Generally, movement is not allowed to skip two specifier positions of succesive heads. However, I will not enter here into the alternatives to the standard internal subject hypothesis. I refer the reader to Koizumi (1993) and his hypothesis on the "Split VP" which allows subjects to be generated lower than AGRsP but not within the VP as in the standard proposal.

Given (40), now, there are many questions which need to be answered. Here is a subset of those possible: (i) What independent empirical evidence do we have that the Goal or Benefactive lexical dative can appear in both positions ?; (ii) Is it base generated in the [Spec, BP] or does it get there by movement ?; (iii) What implications does this analysis have for the matters of case asignment ?; (iv) How does this representation explain the constraints on passivization ?

Order constraints, WCO effects and scope of adverbs data will be brought out to answer these questions.

3.3.1. *Some constituent-order effects.*

Even if it is accepted that Spanish is a free word order language, the existence of constraints on the arrangement of the constituents of the sentences has to be acknowledged. In Goal structures, where the clitic can be absent, the unmarked order is V DO IO. The order V DO IO ranges from being felt as stylistically marked to having an ungrammatical flavor. What the speakers said is that in this second case the structure "asks for the clitic": [13]

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13. I refer to Demonte (1993a) for an explanation of the facts of scrambling of the IO over the DO

(41) a. Di el libro a María. / Entregué las llaves al dueño.
'I gave the book to María'. / 'I delivered the keys to the landlord'.
b. # Di a María el libro. / ? Entregué al dueño las llaves.

Both of the pair of structures in (41) are perfectly normal when the clitic is present:

(42) a. **Le** di el libro a María.
a! **Le** di a María el libro.
b. **Le** entregué las llaves al dueño.
b! **Le** entregué al dueño las llaves.
c. Luisa **les** cocinó un pavo relleno a los invitados.
Luisa CL3P cooked a turkey stuffed to the visitors
'Luisa cooked the visitors a stuffed turkey'.
c! Luisa **les** cocinó a los invitados un pavo relleno.
Luisa CL3P cooked to the visitors a turkey stuffed

We can think, then, that in the (a) (b) and (c) cases of (42) the IO is an adjunct to V', in (a'), (b') and (c') it would be placed in the Spec of BP, the two possibilities shown in (40).

3.3.2. Bound pronouns and CLLD structures.

If we test sentences with dative clitics in which the quantified NP is in the IO and the bound pronoun in the DO we find, in sentences with Goal and Benefactive datives, fragile judgements and not strong differences in grammatical judgements independently of the relative order of both constituents:

(43) a. $^{(?)}$? La secretaria **le** mandó su_i cheque a *cada empleado$_i$*.
the secretary CL3S sent his check to each worker
b. La secretaria **le** mandó a *cada empleado$_i$ su$_i$* cheque.
the secretary CL3S sent to each worker his check

(44) a. $^{(?)}$ **Le** arreglé su_i coche a *cada corredor$_i$*.
CL3S fixed his car to each racer
b. **Le** arreglé a *cada corredor$_i$ su$_i$* coche.
CL3S fixed to each racer his car

My interpretation of the preceding facts is that the pronoun can be bound in any of the two orders since the quantified NP can c-command the direct object NP both from the adjoined to V' position and from the Spec of the BP. It is interesting to note that the sentences in which the distributive reading is more difficult to get are those with Goal Indirect object in which the bound pronoun is in the DO. Does it mean that sentences like (43a) can be processed as having a structure like (35)? This would have an uninteresting consequence for a uniform approach to the nature of dative clitics.

There is, though, another analytical possibility [14] which would take on the

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in structures like (41).

14. I owe this observation to M. Suñer (p.c.).

responsability for the differences in grammaticality judgements to the nature of the adjunct constituent. In fact, it may be thought that the adjunct IO (at least in the structures in which we find the "augmented" benefactive) is a nominal element, akin to a secondary predication. In that case the binding from the adjoined position will be straightforward. In other words, if the IO is a PP in (43) and an NP in (44) the contrast between the two structures will follow without any further stipulation.

Now when the quantified NP is the direct object the contrasts are stronger and the judgements about the two classes of verbs are to a certain extent reversed (recall also the observation about the paradigm in (10)):

(45) a. $^?$ La secretaria **le** mandó *cada recibo*$_i$ a *su*$_i$ solicitante.
the secretary Cl3S sent each bill to its applicant

b. $^{??}$ La secretaria **le** mandó a *su*$_i$ solicitante *cada recibo*$_i$.
the secretary Cl3S sent to its applicant each bill

(46) a. $^{(?)}$ La fotógrafa **le** retrató *cada niño*$_i$ a *su*$_i$ madre.
the photographer Cl3S photographed each kid to his mother

b. * La fotógrafa **le** retrató a *su*$_i$ madre *cada niño*$_i$.
the photographer Cl3S photograph each kid to his mother

(47) a. **Le** arreglé *cada coche*$_i$ a *su*$_i$ dueño.
CL3S I-fixed each car to its owner

b. * **Le** arreglé a *su*$_i$ dueño *cada coche*$_i$.
Cl3S I-fixed to each owner his car

A qualification is in order, namely, that the (a) cases of (45), (46) and (47) are problematic facts for the analysis (40) since it would be difficult to assert that the DO can c-command the adjoined IO. Now, if you test in other structures the appearence of bound pronouns with other quantifiers the preceding pattern changes in a significant way. Observe the facts in (48):

(48) a. Las madres no **les** transmitieron *ningún mensaje* a *sus hijos*.
'The mothers did not transmit any message to their sons'.

b. Las maestras no **les** dibujaron *ningún mapa* a *sus* alumnos.
'The teachers did not draw any map for their pupils'.

These sentences can only mean: (i) that there was no message at all (one single message) transmitted, (ii) that there was not map at all drawn. *Ningún*, then, does not bind the pronoun in the final constituent, otherwise we would have a distributed reading as in the *cada* cases. The implication of these judgments is that the problematic sentences (45a), (46a) y (47a) show the intervention of another factor, very possibly the fact that *each* is a quantifier which tends to get wide scope.

In addition, the **b** cases of the paradigm (45) to (47) also show that the IO in the Spec of BP cannot be bound by the quantifier in the direct object. Both, the **a** and **b** facts are consistent with the hypothesis that QPs adjoin to VP (cf. May (1985)). Now, if this is the case and the distributed reading is not possible in (45b), (46b) and (47b), it implies that the IO is necessarily higher in the configuration. A fine-grained analysis of this data, then, appears to provide positive evidence for our proposal.

At this point, I would like to present additional data which might help to make the question of the role of the adjunct IO in c-command relations more precise. Observe that when we left-dislocate the IO with a bound pronoun the results are bad,

independently of the judgments regarding the source sentences, look at (49) and (50):

(49) a. * A su_i solicitante, la secretaria **le** mandó *cada recibo$_j$*.
  b. * A su_i dueño, Juan **le** dio *cada cheque$_j$*.

(50) a. * A su_i madre, la fotógrafa **le** retrató *cada niño$_j$*.
  b. * A su_i dueño, **le** arreglé *cada coche$_j$*.

Since the judgements regarding the sources are not uniform, one could expect differences in CLLD structures. In other words, given our previous analysis (49) is unexpected (since binding of the pronoun was possible in the source sentence) while (50) is expected, since binding was not allowed. Now, a general explanation for the preceding facts could consist in relating them to the LD of other adjuncts. Observe that in the following pair of passive sentences we do not get the bound reading when the *by*-phrase is fronted. The whole set of facts could imply then that we cannot reconstruct a relation between an adjunct to V' and the inner VP complement when this element is LD:

(51) a. ? Fue diseñado *cada vestido$_i$* por su_i modelo. [15]
    was designed each dress by its model
    'Each dress was designed by its model'.
  b. *Cada vestido$_i$* fue diseñado por su_i modelo.
    each dress was designed by its model
    'Each dress was designed by its model'.
  c. * Por su_i modelo fue diseñado *cada vestido$_i$*.
    by its model was designed each dress

The way CLLD proceeds when we LDislocate the quantified IO over the DO with the bound pronoun appears to add partial positive evidence for the conjecture regarding reconstruction of adjuncts. Observe that we cannot void WCO when we extract the IO of goal sentences, as in (52), similarly to the imposibility of fronting a quantified *by*-phrase, (53)

(52) a. * A *cada empleado$_i$* la secretaria **le** dio su_i cheque.
    to each worker the secretary   CL3S gave his check
    'Each worker, the secretary gave him his check'.
  b. * A *cada alumno$_i$* la maestra **le** dio su_i mapa.
    to each student the teacher CL3S gave his map
    'Each student, the teacher gave him his map'.

(53) a. ?/* Fue diseñada su_i casa por *cada arquitecto$_i$*.
    was designed his house by each arquitect
    'His house was designed by each arquitect'.
  b. *Cada arquitecto$_i$* se   diseñó su_i casa.
    each arquitect CLREF3 designed his house
    'Each architect designed his house for himself'.

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15. Notice that this sentence cannot be considered totally equivalent to (46b) since *cada vestido* is a subject and can appear higher than the by-phrase.

    c. * Por *cada arquitecto*$_i$ fue diseñada *su*$_i$ casa.
       by each arquitect was designed his house

It appears to me, though, that in structures with Benefactives indirect objects ((52) illustrates cases of goal IOs) it is easier CLLD a quantified IO:

(54) a. A *cada alumno*$_i$ la maestra le dibujó *su*$_i$ mapa.
       to each student the teacher Cl3S drawed his map
    b. A *cada niño*$_i$ la madre le lavó *su*$_i$ camisa.
       to each child the mother Cl3S washed his shirt.

The voiding of WCO in (54) would be easy to explain if we assume that those IOs are extracted out of the Spec of the BP. The problem is why in the corresponding goal structures extraction (or reconstruction) out of the adjoined position appears to be the only available strategy.

3.3.3. Co-reference effects in inverted subject structures.

A problematic evidence for my proposal [16] comes from the binding of the pronoun in structures with inverted subject. If the inverted subject is adjoined to VP we will not expect co-reference in affected dative structures with inverted subjects since the clitic, according to the analysis in (40), will c-command the subject (and there will be, then, a Principle C violation). (55) shows the typical pattern of goal sentences with inverted subjects: disjoint reference is forceful in (55b) implying that the clitic c-commands the inverted subject:

(55) a. La madre de *Luisa*$_i$ *le*$_i$ regaló la chaqueta.
       the mother of Luisa Cl3S gave the jacket
       'Luisa's mother gave her the jacket (as a present)'.
    b. * *Le*$_i$ regaló la chaqueta la madre de *Luisa*$_i$.

In the set of Benefactive affected dative structures the (co/disjoint) reference judgements are not as strict as in the previous case. The generalization could be the following:

(56) In benefactive/source dative constructions with inverted subjects the stronger the inalienable possession reading, the stronger the disjoint reference effect.

(57) a. *Le* preparó la merienda la madre de *Juan*.
       CL3S prepared the afternoon snack the mother of Juan
    b. % *Le* arregló el coche el mecánico de *Juan*.
       CL3S fixed the car the mechanic of Juan
    c. * *Le* operó la nariz el marido de *Luisa*.
       CL3S operated the nose the husband of Luisa
    d. * *Le* lavó la cara la maestra de *José*.
       Cl3S washed the face the teacher of José

In (57a) most speakers accept a co-reference reading. In (57b) judgments range

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16. This observation was pointed out to me again by M. Luisa Zubizarreta.

from considerable doubt to unacceptability of co-reference. In (57c) and (57d) disjoint reference is reported as forceful. [17] Let us pay attention to the fact that (57a) and (57b) show an alienable possession relation between the dative and the DO, while in (57c) and (57d) the direct object is unalienable possessed.

It has been extensively argued (cf. Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992) as well as Brugger (1993)) that the definite DO determiner in unalienable possession constructions is an expletive determiner --without denotational content-- concatenated (via Predicational binding) with the possessor dative phrase. If this consideration is correct, the co-reference effect found in (57a) and (57b) might be a side effect due to the fact that the inverted subject can be adjoined upper in the tree since it does not need to satisfy a Predication relation with the clitic.

3.3.4. *Adverbial Scope and the structure of VP.*

In the preceding subsections of § 3.3. I have tried to give empirical support to the claim that affected dative structures are better accounted for through a representation which includes a Beta Phrase whose specifier can be occupied by a dative lexical NP/PP. I want to present now additional evidence showing that this BP is higher than the VP shell type hierarchical structure and that the dative lexical NP raises to the [Spec, BP]. Incidentally, this evidence might have some bearing on the question of the role of an AGRoP and its relative position regarding this BP.

There are two adverbial paradigms which can be relevant for the proposal I am trying to test. The first is that coming out from V adverbs like *completamente* 'completely'. Since *completamente* is a verbal adverb it is reasonable to think that it is generated left-adjoined to the V, as shown in (58):

(58)
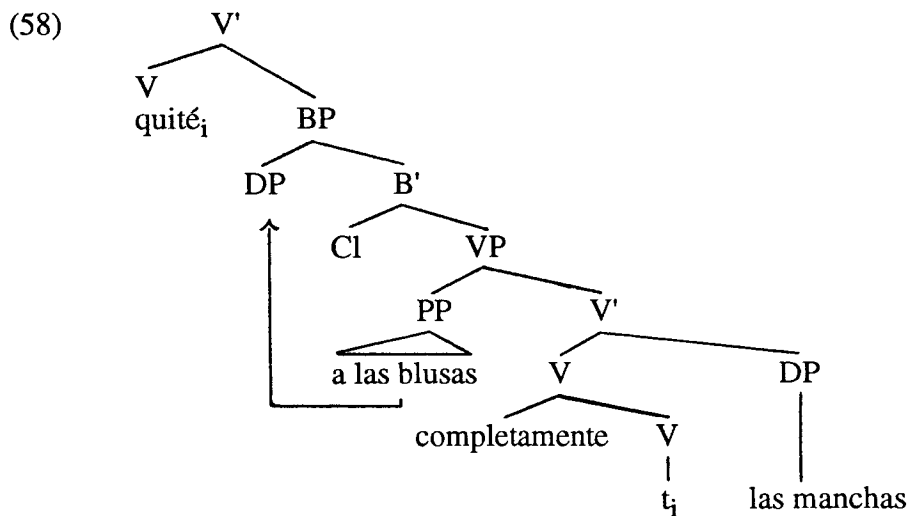
Observe now the sentences in (59):

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17. (57c) and (57d) are inalienable possession expressions with a type-interpretation, where the DO-NP can be construed as referring to a plurality of things which happen to be of the same type and where a distributive interpretation is find if the possessor is plural (cf. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) on this regard):

(i) La maestra de José y de Luis *Les* lavó la cara.
     'José's and Luisa's teacher washed their faces'.

(59) a. Les quité a las blusas completamente las manchas.
 b. $^{?(?)}$ Les quité las manchas completamente a las blusas.
 c. $^{??}$ Les quité completamente a las blusas las manchas.
 d. Les quité completamente las manchas a las blusas.

The grammatical (59a) and (59d) as well as the ungrammatical (59c) would be straightforward realizations of the base sentences, given our analysis. The dubious (59b) could indicate that there is no AGRoP which the DO can rise up to.

Our second paradigm is the one formed by ditransitive sentences with a VP adverb. Assuming that an adverb is licensed by adjoining to the maximal projection of its licenser, VP adverbs would adjoin to VP, as in (60):

(60)
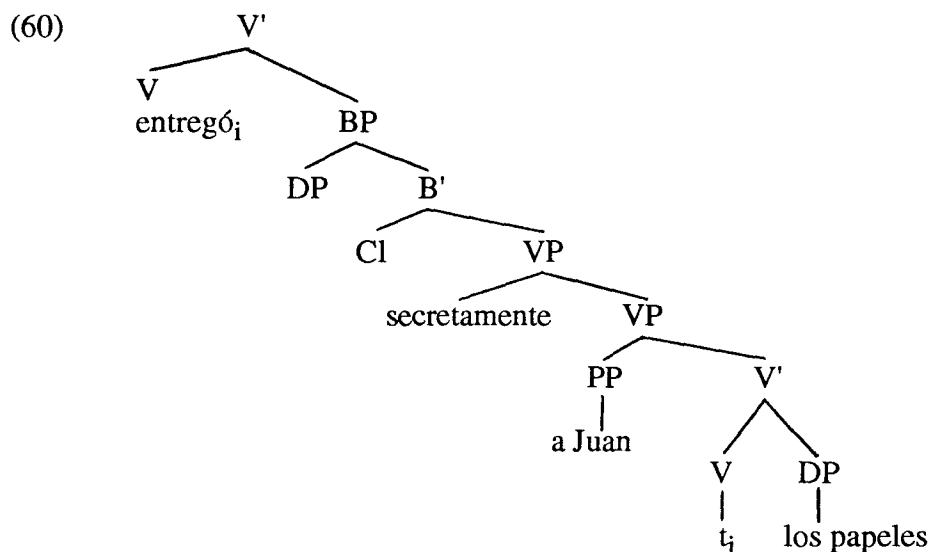
The crucial data on this regard are the following:

(61) a. * Le entregó secretamente a Juan los papeles.
 b. Le entregó a Juan secretamente los papeles.
 c. Le entregó los papeles secretamente a Juan.
 d. Le entregó secretamente los papeles a Juan.

Interestingly, the only agrammatical order is that in which the adverb precedes an IO preceding itself a DO. (61a) indicates, then, that a "preposed" IO is always higher than the Verb Phrase. It has also to be noted that (61c) (which should be compared to (51b)) leads to the conclusion that the DO also moves out of the VP, perhaps to a phrase located between the BP and the lexical VP.

3.4. Passives in ditransitive sentences.

From the analysis that I have proposed for the structures with affected dative goals and augmented benefactives I want also deduce the constraints on passivization in structures with two internal arguments. Now, before going into the implementation of the analysis I would like to organize the data in a comparative perspective.

Regarding passives of the two alternative projections of the dative alternation, Czepluch (1980) gave the following summary of the English data, where the four tested dialects come from a set of six linguists and where it is a common judgement (Oehrle (1976); Larson (1988)) that the (c) sentence of (62) can be considered well

formed only if the IO is a pronominal:

(62)	a. The book was given Mary.	ok	ok	ok	ok
	b. Mary was given the book.	ok	ok	ok	ok
	c. The book was given Mary/her.	ok	ok	ok	*

(63)	a. The book was bought for Mary.	ok	ok	ok	ok
	b. Mary was bought the book.	*	?	ok	ok
	c. The book was bought Mary/her.	*	*	ok	*

The generalization appears to be that English passivizes both the Theme and the Goal in Goal dative structures and has strong constraints for the passivization of any of the arguments in the augmented Benefactive structure (recall also (11) and (12) above).

In Dutch and German, even if these languages allow two VP-internal NPs, only passivization of the Theme DO is possible. It has to be noted that in those languages the IOs are assigned dative Case (the data come from Haegeman (1985)):

(64) **Dutch**
   a. * Marie/zij werd het boek gegeven.
      Marie/she was the book given
   b. Het boek werd Marie/haar gegeven.
      the book was Marie/her given

(65) **German**
   a. * Maria/Sie wurde das Buch gegeben.
      Maria/she was the book given
   b. Das Buch wurde Maria/Ihr gegeben.
      the book was Maria/her given

Spanish is like German and Dutch in allowing only passivization of the Theme, similar to them it shows overtly Dative Case on the IO. Moreover, a rule for Spanish appears to be that only Goal ditransitive structures admit passivization, Benefactive dative sentences precludes passives (this is illustrated in (66)):
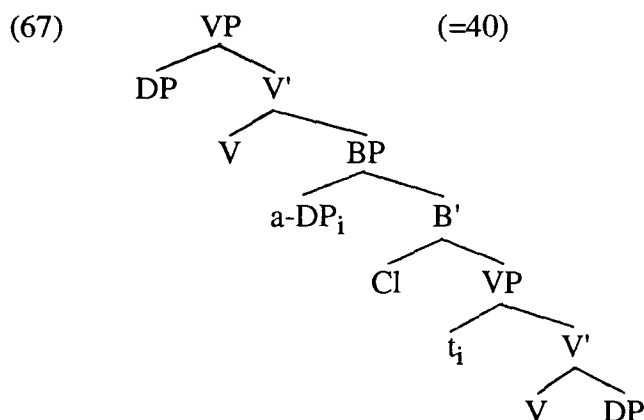
(66) a. El premio Nobel (**le**) fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.
      'The Nobel prize was awarded to Cela last year'.
   b. * El coche **le** fue arreglado a Juan anteayer.
      'The car was fixed (for) Juan the day before yesterday'.

What is also true for Spanish is that speakers show a considerable idiosincratic variation. *Preparar*, for instance, a creation verb with an augmented benefactive, is not totally out in passives: *La cena le fue preparada al presidente* 'Dinner was prepared (for) the president', while *enseñar*, that has a Goal IO, is quite unacceptable in a similar construction: **El ruso le fue enseñado a María por un profesor muy bueno* 'Russian was taught to Mary by a very good teacher'.

To account for this complex set of data, my first assumption will be (as usual) that passive absorbs structural accusative (with no qualification up to this point regarding whether this is assigned through Spec-head agreement or through government by the verb). Accusative is by default the structural verbal Case. From this presupposition, it follows that in Spanish passive sentences (as well as in German and Dutch) the

only NPs needing to move in order to be case marked will be the Theme ones. It also follows the possibility of (62b), the English sentence where the Goal passivizes, since in English both objects receive Accusative case.

My second assumption is that (40) (repeated below as (67)) is the only structure available for sentences with an affected IO, either Spanish sentences with dative clitic or Germanic double object structures:

(67)   VP   (=40)
         ┌────┴────┐
        DP   V'
              ┌────┴────┐
              V   BP
                  ┌────┴────┐
               a-DP$_i$ B'
                        ┌────┴────┐
                       Cl   VP
                             ┌────┴────┐
                            t$_i$ V'
                                  ┌────┴────┐
                                  V   DP

I also want to consider the generalization regarding English, namely, that sentences like *A book was given John/him* are much better when the IO is a pronominal, as the unmarked case for the passivization of a Theme in a double object configuration akin to (67). The intuition underlying this fact is that if the upper DP in the VP shell can be felt as much closer to the verb (and perhaps as reanalyzed with it being a clitic like element), then the movement of the inner DP becomes possible.

With these assumptions in mind, the following analysis could be taken into consideration. The whole lack of passivization in sentences with the structure in (67) (English (63) and Spanish (66b)) results as a violation of relativized minimality. Recall that we have assumed that in such structures the Spec of the BP phrase is occupied by the IO. If this assumption is correct, the inner DP will not have an escape hatch through which to go up to the AgrSP to acquire Nominative Case. This would be an explanation in terms of shortest movement: the Theme has skipped a position it could have reached by a shorter movement had this position not been filled. Phrasing this explanation in other terms, we can say that NP-movement of the inner DP will give rise to an ECP violation since an A constituent will cross over an A specifier.

An important additional question is how in certain cases do we obtain passives of the Theme in double object structures (impossible in Spanish (66b), possible in German/Dutch (64b, 65b) and possible in English (62b) with qualifications). To handle this issue we could suggest two possibilities, maybe inextricably related: (a) perhaps certain languages do not have the functional BP projection, (b) perhaps the impossibility of the movement is due to the fact that the Spec of the functional part is not occupied by a constituent, the opposite situation to the one entertained for the Spanish Case. If the first possibility is tenable, we can think that this kind of representation allows incorporation of the head of the higher BP into the V. As a consequence the domain of the verb will be extended and the object Theme will have its way opened to go up to obtain nominative Case: the object can now rise because it had become the object of the complex V+N after incorporation. In other words, when the higher DP (or its head) incorporates into the verb there is no barrier impeding the government of the trace of the inner DP since Goal incorporation enlarges the domain of the chain.

A non-interesting consequence is that this analysis says that this incorporation is forceful in German, Dutch and Spanish Goal ditransitive structures, while it appears to be optional in English. A tentative line of account can be conceived, though. In English, incorporation appears to be be possible only when the IO is an element of the argument structure of the verb, benefactives are not incorporated. [18] We might suppose that the same happens in Spanish. However, German and Dutch are still problematic. It may be important to keep in mind, regarding Dutch and German, an observation due to Haegeman as to the passives of double objects in the former language. As she observes, the nominativized Theme can appear in Dutch not only at the beginning of the sentence but also after the verb. The relevant example is in (68) which is a variation of (65a) above:

(68) Marie / haar$_{dat}$ werd het boek$_{nom}$ gegeven.

Haegeman (1985) claims that in this sentence nominative case is assigned by transmission: "...nominative assignment to the direct object can be achieved either through NP movement...or else the nominative may be assigned VP internally, possibly by a form of chain-government, as argued by den Besten (1981)" (*op.cit.*: 282). Dutch being a verb second language, we can still think that the Dative is now located in a Topic position. Perhaps the movement of the Dative to the Topic position opens the way for the movement of the Theme, which can now move up to be assigned Nominative Case. This way, (64b) would not be problematic anymore since it might be derived from (68). We will not be forced to assume, then, that Dutch has obligatory incorporation.

4. Conclusions.

In this paper I have presented some evidence arguing in favour of the two following claims: (a) There exists in Spanish a lexical-conceptual alternation in sentences with two internal arguments founded on a distinction between affected and non-affected indirect arguments which can be related to the completeness of the event; (b) this lexical difference leads to a syntactic distinction between ditransitive sentences with and without a dative clitic.

I have argued that the universal configuration of VP requires, therefore, a BP functional projection where affected second objects are linked. I have presented internal details of this functional projection and I have displayed the various facts of order, scope, binding and chain formation which are better accounted for if this configuration is assumed.

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18. Perhaps in English there is an abstract affected clitic (cf. Keyser & Roeper, 1992) and the lexical Benefactive is in the Spec of BP. The configuration is then closed for movement.

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The Grammatical Representation of Topic and Focus: implications for the Structure of the Clause. [1]

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0. Introduction.

1. Topic vs. Focus.

The grammatical notions of "topic" and "focus" are grounded to some extent in the discourse notions of "old" (or "given") and "new" information. Such dichotomy has to do with the manner in which the flow of information is articulated within a discourse at a given point in time and space.

In defining the discourse notions of "old" and "new" information, it is useful to keep in mind the pragmatic distinction between "Common Ground" and "Universe of Discourse". (See Stalnaker (1978), Calabrese (1990).) Common Ground (CG) consists of the set of referents and properties shared permanently by speakers and hearers. On the other hand, the Universe of Discourse (UD) includes the set of referents and properties that are shared by the speaker and the hearer in the instant of the utterance. The notions of old and new information are defined with respect to the UD (and not with respect to the CG). Since the UD has a temporary existence (i.e. it is bounded in space and time), a referent or property may be "old" or "new" with respect to a given discourse D.

In other words, in the instant of utterance U within a discourse D, "old" information is constituted by referents and properties that have been introduced prior to U and "new" information is constituted by referents and properties that had not been introduced prior to U. Thus, there may be properties and referents that are part of the CG but are not part of the UD. (This point is illustrated below with a paradigm from Calabrese (1990)). A referent may be introduced in the discourse not only by linguistic utterances, but also by "bodily gestures" (as that involved in pointing) and "visual gestures" (as that involved in registering the appearance in the scene of a new individual or event).

Contreras (1983) and others after him note that the discourse notions of "old" and

"new" are reflected in the manner in which phrases are structured in a sentence. For example, as has often been noted, in a sentence with unmarked intonation (in a sense of "unmarked" to be characterized below), postverbal subjects in Romance languages such as Italian and Spanish must constitute "new" information. Thus, postverbal subjects contrast with preverbal subjects in this respect. This is illustrated by the contrast below due to Calabrese (1990):

(1) a. Vino el cartero esta mañana. Para mi gran alivio,
llegó *la carta (que estábamos esperando)*.
"Came the postman this morning. To my great relief, arrived the letter (that we were waiting for.)."
b. Esta mañana llegó *una carta de París*.
"This morning arrived a letter from Paris."
c. Mario me ha escrito *una carta*. %Llegó *la carta* ayer.
"Mario to me-has written a letter. Arrived the letter yesterday."
d. Mario me ha escrito *una carta*. La *carta* llegó ayer.
"Mario to me-has written a letter. The letter arrived yesterday."

Calabrese points out that a definite description denotes a referent which is part of the CG but not part of the UD. The underlined postverbal subject in (1a) is a "descriptive" definite NP; it constitutes "new" information. Definite descriptions thus pattern with nonspecific indefinites which typically constitute "new" information (cf. Donnellan (1966)). As illustrated in (1b), indefinite subjects may appear in post-verbal position. On the other hand, an anaphoric definite denotes a referent that is already part of the UD. It constitutes "old" information and it may not appear in postverbal position. It must appear in preverbal position (as shown by the contrast between (1c) and (1d). (Note that within this view a focused proper name is a definite description, rather than like an anaphoric NP.) These facts suggest the following generalization for languages like Spanish and Italian: [2]

(2)   A postverbal subject in Spanish or Italian must be focused (or part of the focus).

A question that arises at this point is how to articulate the discourse notions of "old" and "new" information with the grammatical notions of "topic" and "focus". The grammaticalization of such discourse notions must account for the generalization in (2) We will adopt (and adapt) a proposal put forth by Herburger (1993), which achieves just this. Herburger proposes (following work by J. Higginbotham) that all noun phrases take an e(vent) argument and that if an NP is in the scope of the Ev(ent) operator, its e argument is bound by the Ev operator. In such a case the NP is interpreted as introduced by the event denoted by S: it constitutes "new" information. If an NP is outside the scope of the EV operator (i.e. the Asp node), it's e arg is free, in which case it is interpreted as linked to an event previously introduced in the discourse: it constitutes "old" information. Let us furthermore

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2.   The generalization disregards cases of right-dislocated subjects. Such cases are irrelevant. See below for further discussion.

assume (following de Miguel (1990), Stowell (1992), and others) that the Event operator is contained in the Aspectual node, a functional category that takes the VP as complement. [3] We may then state the following principle: [4]

(3)   At the level of logical form (LF), if an NP is focus, it is within the scope of the Aspect node; if it is topic, it is outside the scope of the Aspect node.

In the next sections, we will see precisely how (2) follows from (3).

As is common practice, we will assume that referents and properties are simply represented by indices. We may then say that a focused NP does not refer in UD; there is no index in UD that corresponds to a focused NP. Since they are not referential expressions, quantificational NPs do not have an index in UD either, but they may range over entities that do refer in UD.

Suppose that noun phrases that do not refer in UD cannot enter into corefence relations. They only enter into binding relations. As is wellknown, binding, unlike coreference, requires a relation of c-command between the antecedent and the anaphor. This explains the following paradigm (as noted by Chomsky (1976)):

(4)   a. *The woman he$_i$ loved betrayed someone$_i$.
        b. *The woman he$_i$ loved betrayed JOHN$_i$.

(5)   a. Somone$_i$ was betrayed by the woman he$_i$ loved.
        b. JOHN$_i$ was betrayed by the woman he$_i$ loved.

(4b) contrasts minimally with (6), where the focus is the verb and not the direct object:

(6)   The woman he$_i$ loved BETRAYED John$_i$.

(As is standard practice, we use capital letters to mark the lexical item on which the phrasal accent falls. It is generally the case that the phrasal accent falls on the nucleus of the focused constituent, but see below for further discussion.)

The analysis outlined above for (4b) is basically the one proposed by Calabrese (1990). This analysis basically defines as "referential" those NPs in S that are part of the UD at the point in time when S is uttered. The problem with this hypothesis is that, as we have seen above, descriptive definite descriptions are part of the CG but they are not members of the UD. Still, they can enter into coreference relations (cf. Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1990)):

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3.   Stowell (1992) uses the term Z(eit) Phrase instead of Aspect Phrase.

4.   The reader will notice that the generalization in (3) and its effect are very close to the analysis proposed in Diesing (1992) (based on I. Heim's work) in terms of existential closure. As pointed out by Stowell (1992), the existential quantifier may be assimilated to the Ev-operator.

(7)   Whoever *he* might be, *John's murderer* must be insane.

Similarly, generic NPs that are not part of the UD may enter coreference relations:

(8)   a. When *he* is hungry, *a tiger* may be dangerous.
       b. When *they* are not ripe, *grapes* can be hard to digest.

Such facts suggest that it is undesirable to define coreference relations purely in terms of discourse concepts. An alternative view (more in line with Chomsky's treatment of focus) would be to assimilate focused NPs with quantified phrases. Focused NPs are not QPs, but like QPs, they are operator-bound: i.e. they are bound by the EV operator. We may then postulate the following descriptive generalization:

(9)   An NP that is operator-bound must c-command the anaphor which it is coindexed with.

(Note that (9) implies that generic NPs like the ones in (8) are not operator-bound.) [5]

It is important to recognize that there is a close correspondence between the grammatically defined notions of "focus" and "topic" and their discourse counterparts ("old" and "new" information). But it is equally important to keep in mind that discourse and sentence grammar are independent levels of analysis (with distinct vocabulary and distinct syntax). The notions of "topic" and "focus" are grammatically encoded in sentence grammar in a purely formal way, which makes no use of their status as "old" or "new" within the discourse. It should therefore come as no surprise if there actually exists linguistic entities that are undefinable as "old" or "new" at the discourse level. A case in point are WH phrases. They are neither "old" nor "new" information to the extent that they do not introduce referents into the discourse; nevertheless they are formally characterizable in terms of the "topic/focus" dichotomy within sentence grammar. Since there is often but not always a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical notions of "topic" and "focus" and the discourse notions of "old" and "new" information, it is useful to use a battery of tests when studying the grammatical notions of "topic" and "focus", which includes both discourse contexts as well as purely grammatical heuristic devices (such as association with "focus markers" like *only* and *even*).

A popular operational test to determine topics and focus within a sentence is by judging the wellformedness of question/answer pairs. Thus, the following pairs of sentences identify, respectively, the subject and the object as the focus of S.

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5.   Wilkinson (1991) suggests that indefinites and bare plurals with a generic interpretation (like those in (8)) be treated as variables bound by a generic time operator (following proposals by Kamp and Heim). The generic operator could then be assumed to bind the pronoun within its scope. The basic problem with this approach is that in Romance we get a definite NP (in lieu of a bare NP) in examples like (8b). Cf. *Quand ils ne sont pas mûrs, les raisins sont difficil à digerer* 'When they are not ripe, the raisins are difficult to digest'. Treating definites like variables creates unsurmountable problems, as shown in Zubizarreta & Vergnaud (1992).

(10) a. WHO likes Mary?
     b. JOHN likes Mary.

(11) a. WHOM does John like?
     b. John likes MARY.

As is wellknown, there is a close connection between phrasal accent and focus. The focus of the sentence must bear the prominent accent of the sentence. Thus, in (10b) and (11b) the accent falls respectively on the subject and on the object. There has been much discussion in the literature concerning the algorithm that determines (phrasal) accent. [6] See Rochemont & Culicover (1990) for discussion and Cinque (1993) for a recent proposal. Cinque (1993) notes that there is a relation between the directionality of recursion and the directionality of unmarked accent assignment in a given language. Thus, English or Spanish is right recursive and the accent falls to the right of the head, while in German the verb phrase is left-recursive and the accent falls to the left of the verb in embedded clauses (where there is no V-to-C movement). To capture this fact, Cinque proposes an algorithm with the following effect (See Cinque for qualifications):

(12) The most prominent accent in S falls on the most embedded
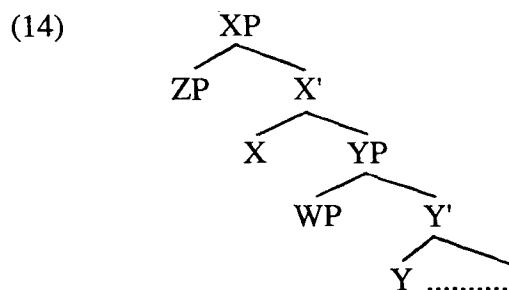   constituent in S.

It is not the case that the phrasal accent always falls on the most embedded constituent of the sentence. Cinque suggests that we distinguish between the unmarked accent from the marked one. The unmarked accent is given by a sentence grammar rule and it identifies the unmarked focus of the sentence. The result of this rule can be overriden by a discourse level rule. Since the focus constituent must always bear the main accent, a discourse level rule can shift the accent from the constituent identified as the focus by the sentence grammar to the constituent identified as the focus by the discourse (if the two happen not to coincide). The accent given by the discourse rule is called marked accent and it identifies a marked focus. (On the distinction between these two notions, see also Guéron (1980)).

The unmarked focus (unlike the marked focus) can propagate. In other words, the focus of the sentence may be exactly the constituent that bears the (phrasal) accent, but it need not be. The focus may be a phrase that dominates the constituent that bears the main accent of the sentence. In line with Cinque's algorithm for determining accent assignment, we may assume the following algorithm for identifying the domain of propagation:

(13) Rule of focus propagation: The focus may propagate upward from the
     constituent that bears the unmarked accent along a continuous path that
     includes the nodes on the recursive side of the tree and the nodes that
     are projections of the head.

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6. Lexical prominence is refered to as *stress* and phrasal prominence is refered to as *accent*. While the former cannot be modified, the latter can be (see Rochement & Culicover (1990)). Here we will be concerned only with (phrasal) accent.

This means that in the following tree, focus may propagate upward to include { *Y*, *Y'*, *YP*, *X'*, *XP* }.

(14)

```
            XP
           /  \
         ZP    X'
              /  \
             X    YP
                 /  \
               WP    Y'
                    /  \
                   Y ........
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Thus, a sentence like (15) has multiple possible focus structures: the NP direct object, the VP, and S.

(15)   {Bill {saw {SUE}}}

Typically, in the case of a sentence that initiates the discourse, the entire S is focused.

The propagation of focus can also be illustrated with quantificational elements like *only*, which associate with focus. In the example below (from Tancredi (1992)), *only* can have scope over the direct object *Sue* or over the VP *saw Sue*:

(16) a.   Bill only saw {SUE} (not Mary).
     b.   Bill only {saw SUE} (that is, he didn't hear Mary).

Consider a case of marked focus, as in the following case where the accent falls on the verb (which is not the most embedded constituent in S). Note that the sentence in (17a) can be followed by the sentence in (17b) but not by the sentence in (17c). This clearly illustrates the point that marked focus does not propagate.

(17) a.   Bill only SAW Sue
     b.   That is, he didn't HEAR her.
     c.   %That is, he didn't hear MARY / HEAR Mary.

Interestingly, the results of the *only* test coincides with the Q/A test. Thus, (19a) can constitute an answer either to the question in (18a) or in (18b), while (19b) can only be an answer to the question in (18c).

(18) a.   What did John do ?
     b.   Who did John hit ?
     c.   What did John do to Mary ?

(19) a. John hit MARY.
      b. John HIT Mary.

Cinque's accent algorithm is built in such a way as to identify the most embedded node in S as the one associated with the main accent. The accent rule thus identifies the unmarked focused position in languages like English and Spanish. In this article, we take the inverse position: the most embedded node in S is the unmarked focused position. It is identified by the feature [+F(ocus)]. Given that a lexical item dominated by the feature [+F] must be assigned the main accent, it follows that the main accent will fall on the most embedded node in S in the unmarked case. The [+F] feature may percolate upward. In such cases, phrasal accent identifies the nucleus of the focalized constituent. [7]

More precisely, we assume the algorithm in (20) for computing focal accent and focus propagation. It applies at S-S.

(20) 1. Designated Element (DE): the most embedded node in the structure.
      2. Assign [+F] or [-F] to DE.
      3. Rule of focal accent: Assign the feature [*accent*] to the lexical item immediately dominated by a [+F] node.
         (This rule applies only once and it is obligatory.)
      4. Rule of focus propagation: The feature [+F] may propagate upward along the right-branching side of a structure in a right-recursive language and along the left-branch in a left-recursive language. As the feature [+F] propagates upward, it may not skip nodes. In other words, if [+F] propagates from Y to X in the following structure: [..X....Z....Y..], where X dominates Z and Z dominates Y, Z must also be marked [+F].

We must also acknowledge the existence of "constructional focus" (see Rochemont & Culicover (1990) and references cited therein). The best known of these is the cleft-construction:

(21)   It is SUE that Bill saw.

We assume that in the case of constructional focus, a particular position in the structure (which does not correpsond to the DE) is marked [+F]. In the case of the cleft-construction, the object of the copula is marked [+F]. Since the main accent rule applies only once, it follows that in cases of "constructional focus" rule (20.2) does not apply.
Note that the wellformedness condition on LF in (3) provides an explanation as to why the DE that identifies the focal accent-bearing lexical item is the most embedded node in S. If the least embedded node (i.e. the highest node) in S were

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[7].   In more recent work, we argue that Cinque's position is in effect the correct one: the grammar of languages like English and Spanish should not stipulate the unmarked focus position. This should follows from the accent algorithm.
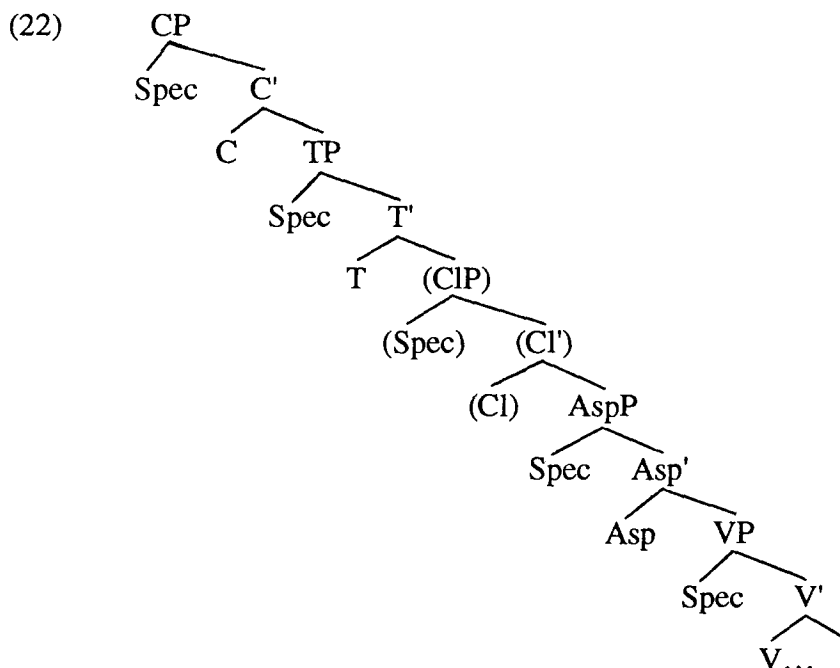
systematically identified as the nucleus of the focus by the accent rule (instead of the most embedded node), the generalization in (3) would never be met at S-S. [8] As we will see in the next section, the condition in (3) must be assumed to apply at LF because there exist cases in which S-S and LF do not coincide (i.e. cases of "reconstruction" at LF). Still, it is reasonable to assume that in a significant sub-set of cases, LF and S-S (which feeds both PF as well as LF) do coincide. In other words, the grammar favors a transparent relation between S-S and LF (although it does not impose it), thus making the acquisition task a feasible one for the child. And it is for this reason that the accent rule picks out the most embedded node (rather than the least embedded one).

2. Word Order in Spanish, the Focus/Topic Distinction, and Binding. [9]

Since Pollock's work on verb movement (published in 1988), there has been an explosion of functional categories postulated as part of the clausal projection, some of them with semantic content (such as Tense and Aspect), others with a purely morpho-syntactic function (such as Subj Agreement and Obj Agreement), and others with a less clear function like that of the ACC and DAT clitics in Romance languages (Sportiche (1990) calls them "voices", while Fernández Soriano (1989) and Franco (1993) assimilate them to agreement elements in the case of Spanish). Since the AGR nodes will play no role in what we have to say here, we will ignore them. Among the L-related functional nodes that are part of the clausal structure, we will assume the existence of a Tense, Aspect, and ACC/DAT Clitic projections. The clausal structure we will assume is therefore the following (the ClPs are optional):

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8. It is also fair to assume that the accent rule does not pick out intermediate nodes because grammatical rules do not admit counting. Cf. Halle & Vergnaud (1987).

9. In this work we will only consider data from Peninsular Spanish -more precisely from the area of Madrid and its sorroundings- which lack clitic doubling of direct objects.

(22)   CP
       ┌──────┐
     Spec   C'
            ┌────┐
           C   TP
              ┌─────┐
            Spec   T'
                  ┌─────┐
                 T   (ClP)
                     ┌──────┐
                  (Spec)   (Cl')
                          ┌─────┐
                        (Cl)   AspP
                             ┌─────┐
                           Spec   Asp'
                                ┌─────┐
                              Asp   VP
                                   ┌─────┐
                                 Spec   V'
                                      ┌────┐
                                     V...

The functional heads T(ense), Cl(itic), and Asp(ect) are all L-related; consequently their specifier will be defined as L-related positions as well (or A-positions). [10] Comp subcategorizes for Tense; Aspect subcategorizes for VP. Consequently, the Cl projection must be located somewhere between T and Asp.

Interestingly, there is some binding facts (pointed out to me by J. Aoun) that actually support the hypothesis that a preverbal subject (in Spec of T) is higher than the ClP and that the postverbal subject (in Spec of VP) is lower than the ClP, as postulated in (22). While a pronoun contained in a preverbal subject may be coreferential with a pronominal clitic object, a pronoun contained in a postverbal subject may not be coreferential with a pronominal clitic object.

(23)   a.   La madre de *Juan lo* castigó.
            "The mother of Juan him-punished."
       b.   * *Lo* castigó la madre de *Juan.*
            "Him-punished the mother of Juan."

The illformedness of (23b) follows from Principle C if we assume that the *pro* ACC object has raised to Spec of ClP (as suggested in Sportiche (1992)). We may assume that this movement is obligatory for the identification of the phi-features of the silent pronominal by the clitic. Given the structure in (22), a *pro* in Spec of ClP

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10.   On the notion of L-relatedness, see Mahajan (1990a), Chomsky (1992).

would c-command a pronoun contained within a postverbal subject (in Spec of VP). Coreference between the two would therefore violate Principle C.

We will examine next the interaction of word order with the topic/focus distinction in Spanish, and we will see that the rules in (20) and the wellformedness condition in (3) provides us with a correct and insightful analysis of the facts.

Structures with postverbal subject.

2.1. *Structures with [-Focus] objects.*

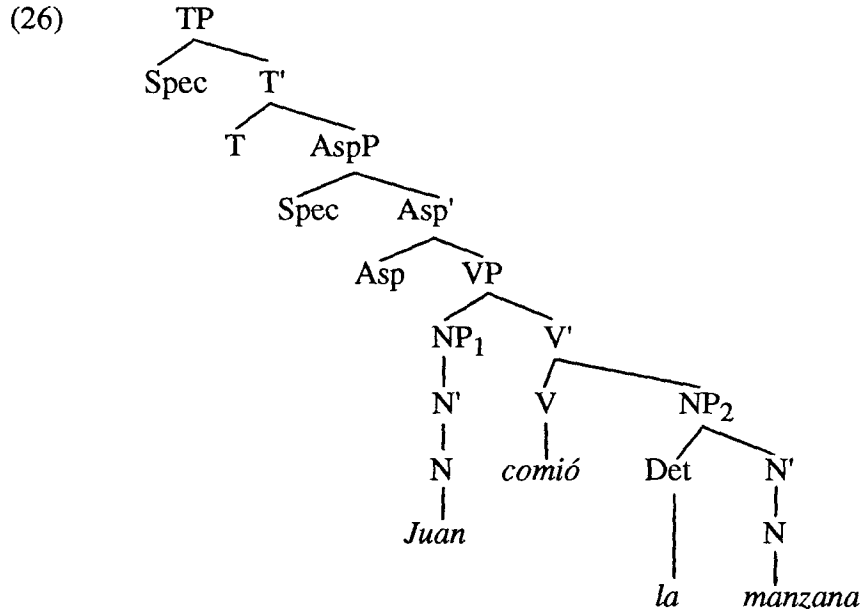### 2.1.1. *Right-dislocation of the object: V{S}#O.*

If the accent falls on the subject, the subject is the focus, the object is deaccented and it is topic. Thus, while (24a,b) and (25a,b) are wellformed Q/A pairs, (25a,c) is not:

(24)   a.   ¿Quién ha comido la manzana?
               "Who ate the apple?"
        b.   Ha comido PEDRO la manzana.
               "Has eaten PEDRO the apple."

(25)   a.   ¿Qué ha comido el niño?
               "What has eaten the boy?"
        b.   El niño ha comido UNA MANZANA.
               "The boy has eaten AN APPLE."
        c.   % Ha comido el niño UNA MANZANA.
               "Has eaten the boy AN APPLE."

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the object in (24b) is right-dislocated (the phenomenon referred to as "emarginazione" by Cinque & Antonucci (1977)). (20) provides an account of these facts.

A VSO sentence has the following (partial) D-S:

(26)

```
        TP
       /  \
    Spec   T'
          /  \
         T    AspP
             /   \
          Spec    Asp'
                 /   \
               Asp    VP
                     /  \
                  NP₁    V'
                   |    /  \
                   N'  V    NP₂
                   |   |   /  \
                   N comió Det  N'
                   |        |   |
                  Juan      |   N
                            |   |
                           la  manzana
```

The object is identified as the DE (i.e. it is the most embedded node in S). It is therefore assigned an [F] feature by rule (20.2). Suppose it is assigned [-F]. Recall that the focal accent rule must assign the feature [accent] to a lexical item immediately dominated by a [+F] node. Therefore, the only way to save the structure is to move the object out of the VP, thus allowing rule (20.2) to reapply. There are various possibilities, one of which is to right-dislocate it. As Ross (1966) has noted, right-dislocation is a strictly local process; it is constrained by what he called the "right-roof constraint". Let us assume the following version of the right-roof constraint:

(27)   The Right-Roof Constraint (RRC): If a phrase P in position X is moved to position Z by rightward adjunction, then
(a) the position immediately dominating Z must be the first maximal functional projection that dominates X.
(b) if X is an A- (A'-) position, there is no position Y, where Y is an A- (A'-) position and is coindexed with X and Z.

After right-dislocating the object and raising the verb to Tense, we obtain the following structure:

(28)
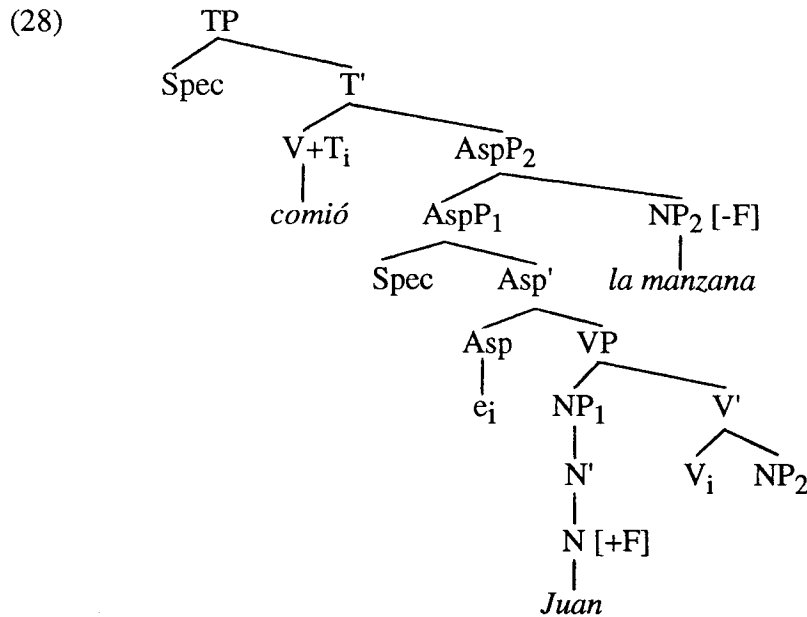
The rule of [F]-assignment reapplies to (28). The DE node in this structure is the subject (i.e. the most deeply embedded node in S). Suppose it is assigned the [+F] feature. The focal accent rule will then assign it the [accent] feature. We thus obtain the desired result: V{S}#O, where the postverbal subject is focused (it is within the scope of Asp). The object is right-dislocated and it is topic (it is outside the scope of Asp) .

We are assuming that Spanish and Italian (unlike English or French) can be assigned NOM Case in the VP or in Spec of TP. More precisely, we may assume that NOM Case is assigned by the inflected verb or its trace to Spec of VP or to Spec. of TP (via Spec-head agreement). In the above structure, NOM Case is assigned to Spec of VP; Spec of TP is therefore a Case-less position.

Data related to binding provide independent evidence for the structure in (28). In such structure, the subject may not bind the object because it does not c-command the object (as illustrated in (29a). Nor may the object bind the subject. Although the object does c-command the subject in this structure, the resulting structure violates the Bijection Principle; see (29b). The Bijection Principle disallows a QP in an A'-position to locally bind both a pronoun and its trace (cf. Koopman & Sportiche (1982)). [11]

(29) a. Q: Quisiera saber quién acompañará a su hijo.
"I would like to know who will accompany his child."
A: * Acompanará *CADA MADRE* # a *su* hijo.
"Will accompany EACH MOTHER (S) his son (O)."

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11. In judging such examples it is important to make sure that the accent falls on the subject and not on the object. If the accent falls on the subject, the object is deaccented (the phenomenon called "emarginazione" by Antonucci & Cinque).

b. Q: Quisiera saber quién acompañará a cada niño.
   "I would like to know who will accompany his child."
   A: * Acompañará *SU* MADRE # a *cada niño*.
   "Will accompany HIS MOTHER (S) each child (O)."

2.1.2. Clitic-left dislocation followed by right-dislocation:
O#cl+V{S} and cl+V{S}#O.

We have seen above that a VSO form in which the Object receives a [-F] feature and remains in-situ does not give rise to a wellformed structure, since such a feature is incompatible with phrasal accent. In such cases, the object must move out of the VP, leaving the subject as the DE of the structure. The subject may then be identified as the focus of S, and therefore as the locus of phrasal accent. In the previous section, we examined the option of right-dislocating the object to save the structure. Another option is to left-dislocate the object:

(30) a. (Dicen que) el libro *(*lo*) destruyó el niño.
         "((They) say that) the book *(it)-destroyed the boy."
      b. El libro, dicen que *(*lo*) destruyó el niño.
         "The book, (they) say that *(it)-destroyed the boy."

(31) a. (Estoy segura que) a Juan *(*le*) habló María.
         "((I) am sure that) to Juan *(to him)-spoke Maria."
      b. A Juan, estoy segura que *(*le*) habló María.
         "(To Juan), (I) am sure that *(to him)-spoke Maria."

As shown by the above examples, left-dislocation, unlike right-dislocation, is not local. Furthermore, left-dislocation of an object requires clitic-doubling. We suggested above that right-dislocation is basically adjunction to the immediately dominating functional projection. Left-dislocation, on the other hand, is adjunction to TP. [12] From this position, it may cyclically move upward (left-adjoining to higher

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12. In the case of embedded clauses left-dislocation adjoins a phrase to TP, but not to CP:

(a)   Dicen que *a María*, Pedro no *la* saludó.
      "(They) say that María, Pedro not her-greeted."
(b)   * Dicen *a María*, que Pedro no *la* saludó.
      "(They) say María, that Pedro not her-greeted."
(c)   Me preguntó por qué *a María*, Pedro no *la* saludó.
      "To me-asked why María, Pedro not her-greeted."
(d)   * Me preguntó *a María*, por qué Pedro no *la* saludó.
      "To me-asked María, why Pedro not her-greeted."

The impossibility of adjoining to an embedded CP could be attributed to the ban against adjunction to arguments (cf. Chomsky (1986)). Interestingly, left-dislocation can adjoin a phrase to a matrix CP:

(e)   *A María*, por qué Pedro no *la* saludó ?
      "María, why Pedro not her-greeted? "

TPs). [13]

Clearly, we would like to relate the absence of clitic-doubling in right-dislocation structures to its strictly local character (it involves adjunction to AspP). And we would like to relate the presence of the clitic in the case of left-dislocation to the fact that it adjoins material to a higher position (namely, to TP). Note that the clitic projection in (22) is located below TP but above AspP. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the presence of the clitic in left-dislocation can be attributed to the Minimize Chain Links Principle proposed by Chomsky & Lasnik (1990):

(32)   Minimize Chain Links
       Consider the chain of an argument i: $X_i....Z_j....Y_i$, where X is the head and Y is the tail of the chain. If Z is a potentially available position for i, then $i=j$.
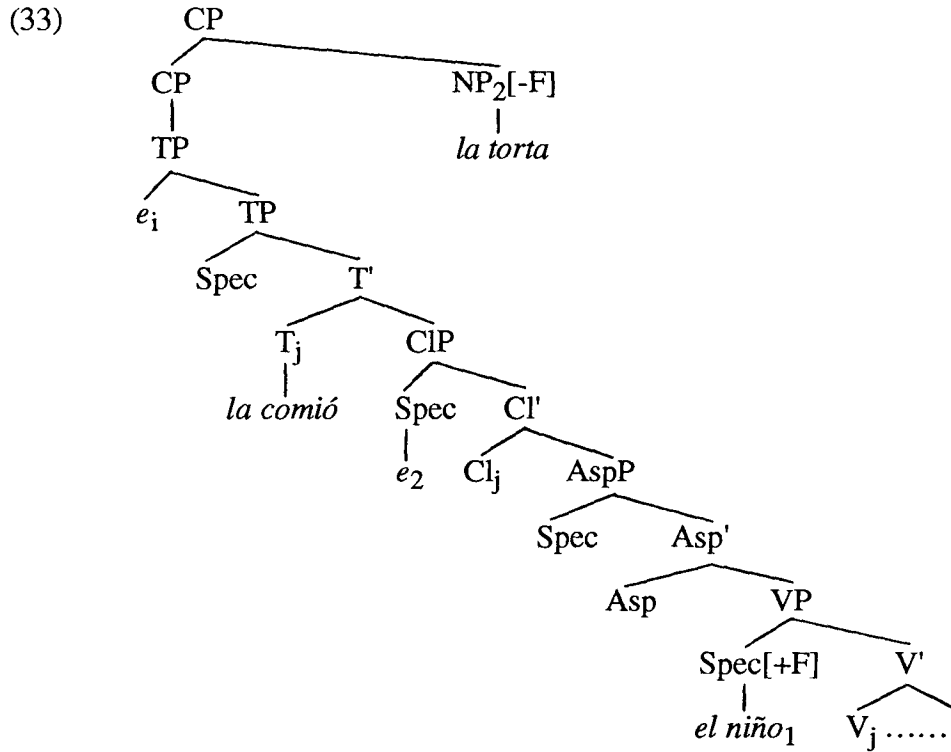
Left-dislocation of an object requires the presence of the clitic because its Spec. provides an intermediary landing site, thus minimizing the links in the chain.

---

13. Thus, as expected, left-dislocation obeys strong islands. The following examples are adapted from Cinque (1990):

(a)   * *A Carlos*, Pedro conoce [a la persona [que *lo* visitó].   (CNPC)
        "Carlos, Pedro knows the person that him-visited."
        **A Carlos*, Pedro conoce [a la persona [que *le* habló].
        "Carlos, Pedro knows the person that to him-spoke."

(b)   * *A María*, [el que Juan *la* haya saludado] no significa nada.   (SSC)
        "Maria, the fact that Juan her-has greeted does not mean much."
        * *A María*, [el que Juan *le* haya hablado] no significa nada.
        "Maria, the fact that Juan to him-has talked does not mean much."

(c)   * *A María*, Juan se marchó [antes de que Pedro *la* hiciera entrar]. (CED)
        "Maria, Juan left before Pedro her-made enter."
        * *A María*, Juan se marchó [antes de que Pedro *le* hablara].
        "Maria, Juan left before Pedro to him-spoke."

In testing for island effects in left-dislocation it is important not to confuse the "Hanging Topic" construction which has the semantics of "as for NPs" with left-dislocation. See Cinque (1977) and Dolci (1986) on this point. There is much confusion in the literature on Spanish due to a failure to distinguish adequately these two constructions. See for example Hernanz & Brucart (1987), Campos (1991).
Cinque (1990) argues in favor of base-generation of left-dislocation dispite its sensitivity to islands, but see Iatridou (1990) for a critique of Cinque on this point.

(33)

```
              CP
          ____|_____
         CP                    NP2[-F]
         |                     |
         TP                    la torta
        _|__
       ei   TP
           _|__
         Spec   T'
              ___|_____
             Tj         ClP
             |         __|____
          la comió   Spec    Cl'
                     |      ___|____
                     e2    Clj      AspP
                              _____|____
                             Spec        Asp'
                                    _____|____
                                   Asp         VP
                                           _____|____
                                        Spec[+F]    V'
                                        |          _|___
                                     el niño1    Vj ......
```

Consider next the case of right-dislocation. Due to the RRC, right-dislocation is local; its target is AspP, which is lower than the ClP. Therefore, there is no ClP "activation". The question then arises as to the analysis of examples in which right-dislocation of an object coexists with a clitic, as in (34a):

(34) a. *La* comió EL NIÑO # *la torta.*
          "It-ate THE CHILD the cake."
      b. Comió EL NIÑO # la torta.
          "Ate THE CHILD the cake."

We suggest that this is a case of left-dislocation (to TP) followed by right-dislocation (to CP). In other words, (34a) has an analysis distinct from (34b): in the latter the direct object is attached to AspP, while in the former the direct object is attached to CP.

The difference in the analysis of the right-dislocated object in (28) and (33) is confirmed by binding facts. Recall that in the structure V{S}#O, S cannot bind O (cf. (29a)). Similarly, if the object is clitic left-dislocated, and whether or not this is followed by right-dislocation, the postverbal subject cannot bind the object. Again, this is due to the fact that the postverbal subject does not c-command the object. (See section 3 for further discussion.)

(35) a. Quisiera saber quién acompañará a su hijo.
          "(I) would like to know who will accompany his child."

b. * A *su* hijo *lo* acompañará *CADA MADRE*.
   "His child (O) him-will accompany EACH MOTHER (S)."
c. * *Lo* acompañará *CADA MADRE* # a *su* hijo.
   "Him-will accompany EACH MOTHER (S) his child (O)."

In the V{S}#O structure, the O cannot bind the S either (cf. (29b)). We atttributed the illformedness of such examples to the BP. On the other hand, the O may bind the S in cases of clitic-left dislocation and in cases of clitic-left dislocation followed by right-dislocation:

(36) a. *A cada niño lo* acompañará *SU* MADRE.
         "Each child (O) him-will accompany HIS MOTHER (S)."
      b. *Lo* acompañará *SU* MADRE # *a cada niño*.
         "Him-will accompany HIS MOTHER (S) each child (O)."

These sentences do not give rise to a BP violation because in these cases, it is not the dislocated QP, but the Spec of ClP (an A-position) that locally binds the pronoun. (See the structure in (33)). [14]

2.1.3. Focus Propagation: {cl+V S}#O vs. *{V S}#O.

Another argument in support of the structures in (28) and (33) has to do with the availability of focus propagation. Focus may propagate so that it includes the subject and the verb in cl+VS#O structures, but not in VS#O. This is shown by the fact that (37a) may be followed by (37b),but not by (37c): (*NIÑO* is the nucleus of the focal constituent; it bears focal accent.)

(37) a. Pedro compró un libro. Y luego,
         "Pedro bought a book. And then,"
      b. *Lo* destruyó un NIÑO # *el libro*.
         "It-destroyed a BOY the book."
      c. % Destruyó un NIÑO # el libro.
         "Destroyed a BOY the book."

The Q/A test gives the same results. The Q in (38a) may be answered by (38b) but not by (38c). The focus may propagate to include the verb in T in (38b), but not in (38c).

(38) a. ¿Qué pasó con el libro ?
         "What happened with the book?"
      b. *Lo* destruyó JUAN # *el libro*.
         "It-destroyed JUAN the book."
      c. % Destruyó JUAN # el libro.
         "Destroyed JUAN the book."

---

14. See Mahajan (1990b), (1991) who develops arguments along these lines as to why clitic-doubling of wh-extracted phrases in certain Romance languages voids WCO effects.

(37b) has a structure comparable to (33). The feature [+F] assigned to the DE (i.e. the Spec of VP) percolates upward along the right side of the tree. Suppose it percolates upward to VP, Asp', AspP, Cl', ClP, and T', in which case the focus constituent includes the verb and the subject: {*lo destruyó el NIÑO* } *el libro*. The resulting structure is perfectly well-formed if we make the reasonable assumption that empty categories are irrelevant to the computation of focus. Thus, the fact that ClP (which is [+F]) immediately dominates the trace of NP_2 (which is [-F]) does not create a feature conflict.

Consider next (37c), which has a structure comparable to (28). Suppose the [+F] feature on the subject (the DE of the structure) percolates upward to VP, Asp', $AspP_1$, $AspP_2$, and T' (thus including the verb as part of the focal constituent). A clash of features arises: the AspP that immediately dominates the right-dislocated object will be marked [+F], but the right-dislocated NP is [-F] and it dominates lexical material. The result is therefore illformed. Thus, we explain why focus propagation is ruled out in such structures: *{destruyó el NIÑO}* # *el libro*.

Furthermore, note the contrast in (39). (39b) is illformed due to the presence of the temporal adverb *ayer* between the subject (in Spec of VP) and the right-dislocated object (adjoined to AspP). Temporal adverbs modify tense; therefore it must be dominated by a projection of T. On the other hand, in (39a), the temporal adverb may appear between the postverbal subject and the right-dislocated object. This is possible because, as indicated by the presence of the clitic, the right-dislocated object is attached higher than TP (namely, to CP).

(39) a. *Lo* destruyó JUAN # ayer # *el libro*.
          "It-destroyed JUAN yesterday the book."
    b. * Destruyó JUAN # ayer # el libro.
          "Destroyed JUAN yesterday the book."

Thus, the above contrast constitutes a further argument in favor of the postulated structural difference between a clitic-doubled right-dislocated object and a non clitic-doubled one.
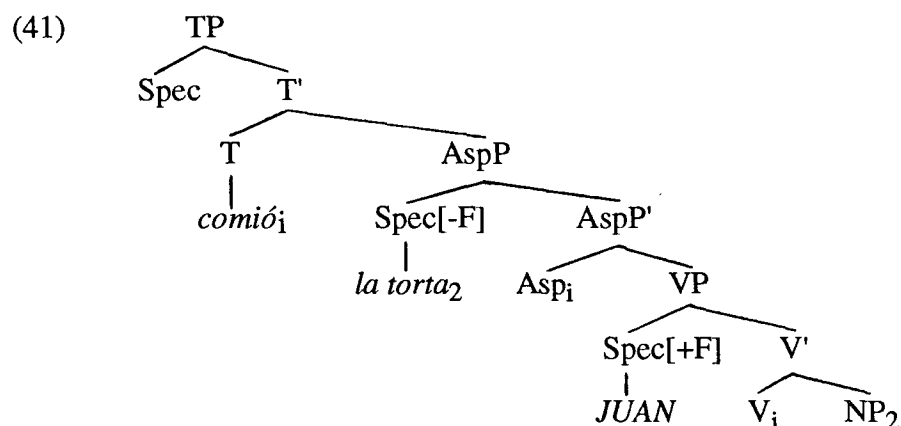
2.1.4. *V O {S}*.

We have seen above that a [-F] object must move out of the VP. It may be moved to the right (right-adjoining to AspP) or may be moved to the left. In the latter case, it may move all the way up to TP (left-adjoining to it). But there is another possibility if the choice is left-ward movement: it may move to Spec of AspP, in which case a different word order is obtained, namely VOS. Thus, (40b) can be an answer to (40a). The phrasal accent falls on the subject. [15]

(40) a. Quién comió la torta ?
          "Who ate the cake?"
    b. Comió la torta JUAN.
          "Ate the cake JUAN."

---

15. Such structures also exist in Italian, contrary to what Calabrese (1990) claims.

(40b) has the structure below: [16]

(41)

```
        TP
       /  \
    Spec   T'
          /  \
         T    AspP
         |   /    \
      comió₁  Spec[-F]  AspP'
              |        /    \
          la torta₂  Aspᵢ   VP
                          /    \
                      Spec[+F]  V'
                         |     /  \
                       JUAN   Vᵢ   NP₂
```

The focus may not propagate upward given that the object in Spec of AspP is [-F]. Focal propagation would give rise to a feature clash. This is illustrated by the following facts. As shown in (42a), *sólo* (only) may associate with the subject in a VOS structure. It may not associate with the entire sentence, as shown by the illformedness of the discourse in (42b).

(42) a. Sólo ha terminado el trabajo MARÍA; o sea, no ha terminado el trabajo JUAN.
          "Only has finished the job MARIA; that is, has not finished the job JUAN."
      b. Sólo ha puesto la mesa MARÍA; % o sea, no ha preparado la comida JUAN.
          "Only has set the table MARIA; that is, has not prepared the dinner JUAN."

Once more, the binding facts provide striking confirmation for the postulated structure. In (41) the object is higher than the subject. As expected, O may bind S, but not viceversa:

(43) a. El primer día de escuela acompañará *a cada niño* *SU* MADRE.
          "The first day of school will accompany each child (O) HIS MOTHER (S)"

---

16. Alternatively, we may consider that the preposed object is in the Spec of ClP. Sportiche (1990) suggests that there is a filter banning the simultaneous presence of phonological material in the Spec of ClP and the head of ClP (a sort of generalized "doubly filled Comp" filter, which will incidentally apply to DP as well). This would account for the fact that the clitic is phonologically present when the preposed object moves through the Spec of ClP and adjoins to TP, but not when the preposed object remains in Spec of ClP. To settle this issue we would have to await a better understanding of the nature of clitics and of functional categories in general.

b. * El primer día de escuela acompañará a *su* hijo *CADA MADRE*.
"The first day of school will accompany his child (O) EACH
MOTHER (S)."

2.2. Structure with [+Focus] object: {V S O}

Consider once more the structure in (26). Suppose the object is assigned the [+F]
feature. The object would then be interpreted as focused. What about the subject in
Spec of VP? Let us suppose, following Chomsky (1992), that movement rules are
governed by a Principle of Procrastination. This principle attributes an intrinsic
inertia to constituents: they only move if there is motivation for movement; that is, to
avoid violating a grammatical principle (like the Focal Accent Rule or the Case
Filter). In the structure under discussion the focal accent will fall on the [+F] object.
Therefore, there would be no violation of the Focal Accent Rule. As for Case, recall
that in Spanish, the subject may be assigned NOM Case in one of two positions: in
Spec of VP or in Spec of T. Therefore, the only motivation for moving the subject
would seem to be Case. If NOM Case is not assigned to Spec of VP, then the
subject must move to Spec of TP. If NOM Case is assigned to Spec of VP, then
there is no motivation for moving the subject. And recall that an NP in the scope of
Asp must be focused (i.e. it is bound by the EV operator in Asp). This means that
the [+F] feature assigned to the object in the structure under consideration must
percolate upward to include the subject. The prediction corresponds to native
speaker's intuition: when the focal accent falls on the object (or, more precisely, on
the most embedded constituent within the DO) in a VSO structure, the entire sentence
is focused: [17]

(44) a. Q: ¿ Qué ocurrió ?
         "What happened?"
         A: Acaba de romper Juan la lámpara de CRISTAL.
         "Has just broken Juan the cristal lamp."
      b. Q: ¿ Qué pasó ?
         "What happened?"
         A: Acaban de ganar los españoles el mundial de FOOTBALL.
         "Has just won the Spaniards the football championship."
      c. Q: ¿ Qué pasó ?
         "What happened?"
         A: Se comió Juan toda la TORTA.
         "Has eaten Juan all the cake."

The above sentences have the structure given in (26), where the subject c-
commands the object. As expected, the subject may bind the object in sentences
where the focal accent falls on the object, as exemplified in (45a). (This sentence
contrasts minimally with (29a), where the focal accent falls on the subject and the

---

17. VSO structures where the accent falls on the object and the entire sentence is focused do not
exist in Italian. This difference between Spanish and Italian still remains to be explained. Perhaps it
can be related to the existence in Spanish (and the lack of it in Italian) of an overt accusative marker
(namely a).

object is "emarginated".) On the other hand, the object may not bind the subject, as illustrated in (45b), due to lack of c-command.

(45) a. El primer día de escuela acompañará *cada madre* a *su* HIJO.
          "The first day of school will accompany each mother (S) his CHILD (O)."
      b. * El primer día de escuela acompañará *su* madre a *cada NIÑO*.
          "The first day of school will accompany his mother (S) each CHILD (O)."

2.3. *Aspectual restrictions.*

As noted by Calabrese (1990) for Italian, some structures with postverbal subjects seem to be lexically constrained to eventive predicates. Stative predicates like *amar*, *detestar*, *temer* cannot appear in VSO and VOS structures.

(46) a. María ama / detesta / teme a los GATOS.
          "Maria loves/hates/fears CATS."
      b. * Ama / detesta / teme MARÍA # a los gatos.
          "Love/hates fears MARIA cats."
      c. * Ama / detesta / teme María a los GATOS.
          "Loves/hates/fears Maria CATS."
      d. * Ama / detesta / teme a los gatos MARÍA.
          "Loves/hates/fears the cats MARIA."

Following Calabrese's suggestions, we may assume that in VSO and VOS sentences, there must be an implicit spatio-temporal argument (i.e. the so-called Davidsonian argument) that can function as the Subject of Predication. As argued by Kratzer (1989), eventive but not stative predicates take a spatio-temporal argument (or LOC argument). Let us assume that the argument in Spec of T is the Subject of Predication, and furthermore every clause must have a Subject of Predication (cf. the Extended Projection Principle proposed by Chomsky (1981)). We may assume that the implicit LOC argument is mapped onto Spec of AspP, if some other argument occupies Spec of T, as in structure (33). [18] Alternatively, it is mapped onto Spec of T, if this position is available, as in structures (26), (28), and (41). Thus, in (47a) the Subject of Predication is the subject of *leer*, in (47b) the Subject of Predication is the object of *leer*, and in (47c, d, e) the Subject of Predication is the implicit LOC argument of *leer*. Note that when the entire sentence is focused (that is, when the sentence introduces a discourse) as in (47e), an overt temporal or locative adverb is required to identify the implicit LOC argument.

(47) a. Juan leyó el LIBRO.
          "Juan read the BOOK."

---

18. If a LOC implicit argument occupies the Spec of AspP in (33), then the left-dislocated object cannot move throught this position.

b. *El libro lo* leyó JUAN / *Lo* leyó JUAN # *el libro.*
   "The book it-read JUAN / It-read JUAN the book."
c. Leyó JUAN # el libro.
   "Read JUAN the book."
d. Leyó el libro JUAN.
   "Read the book JUAN."
e. (Sentado) en este banco, leyó Juan su primer LIBRO.
   "(Sitted) on this bench, read Juan his first BOOK."

Similarly, in (46a) the Subject of Predication is the subject of *amar/detestar/temer*, and in (48a,b) the Subject of Predication is the object of *amar/detestar/temer*.

(48) a. *A los gatos los* ama / detesta / teme MARÍA.
         "CATS them-loves/hates/fears MARIA."
      b. *Los* ama / detesta / teme MARÍA # *a los gatos.*
         "Them-loves/hates/fears MARIA cats."

But in (46b-d), given that stative verbs lack a LOC argument, there is no Subject of Predication; hence, the illformedness of these sentences. [19]

2.4. *Summary.*

We have constructed a system in which the identification of the nucleus of the focus constituent (i.e. the most deeply embedded node in the structure) interacts in a fundamental way with movement. In other words, we assume (following Chomsky) that syntactic movement only occurs when necessary, namely to avoid violation of a grammatical constraint such as the morpho-syntactic requirement that NPs bear Case, or the phono-syntactic requirement that the most deeply embedded lexical item be identified as the focus (or the nucleus of the focus) via phrasal accent. We have examined cases in which the object is moved right-ward or left-ward (outside the scope of Aspect) to avoid violating the phono-syntactic requirement. These are all cases in which the object is a topic. After the object has moved out, the subject in Spec of VP becomes the most deeply embedded constituent and may be identified as the locus of the focal accent (via assignment of the abstract [+F] feature). If the subject in Spec of VP is assigned the [-F] feature, then it must also move out, leaving the verb as the most deeply embedded node and as such, it will be the locus of the focal accent. This is illustrated below with some of the possible answers to a Q that requests information pertaining to the action perfomed by a given agent on a given object:

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19. Note that if the focal accent falls on the verb, such sentences become possible; e.g. *AMA / DETESTA / TEME # a los gatos # María* 'LOVES/HATES/FEARS # cats # Maria'. In such cases, both the object and the subject are right-dislocated and deaccented. The subject of predication is the right-dislocated subject, which has raised to Spec of T before right-adjoining to CP.

(49) Q: ¿Qué hizo el niño con el libro?
          "What did the child with the book?"
      A: a. *El libro lo* DESTRUYÓ # el niño.
          "The book it-DESTROYED the child."
          b. *El libro* el niño *lo* DESTRUYÓ.
          "The book the child it-DESTROYED."
          c. DESTRUYÓ # el libro # el niño.
          "DESTROYED the book the child."
          d. *Lo* DESTRUYÓ # el niño # *el libro*.
          "It-DESTROYED the child the book."
          e. *Lo* DESTRUYÓ # *el libro* # el niño.
          "It-DESTROYED the book the child."

We have identified above an interesting difference between a postverbal object and a postverbal subject in Spanish. Unlike a postverbal object, a postverbal subject must be focused (or part of the focus). More precisely, in a VOS structure, the object located between the verb and the subject is topic (while the subject is focused). On the other hand, in a VSO structure, the subject located between the verb and the object may not be topic. It may either be the focused consituent of the sentence if it bears the phrasal accent (in which case the object is emarginated), or it is part of the focused constituent if the object bears the phrasal accent. Let us review why this is so, according to the analysis provided above.

In a <u>VOS</u> structure the [-F] object has moved to Spec of AspP. The subject is then the most embedded item in the structure and it must be identified as [+F] (i.e. the locus of the phrasal accent). If the subject were [-F], then it would have to move. Suppose it dislocates to the right. An illformed output is created because the most deeply embedded node would be the object in Spec of Asp, which is [-F] and cannot therefore be the locus of the phrasal accent. The subject in a VOS form is therefore necessarily focused.

Consider next <u>VSO</u>. We have seen that there are two possibilities.

Option 1: If the object (which is the DE) is identified as [-F], it may right-dislocate leaving the subject as the most deeply embedded element. If the subject is identified as [+F], it will be the locus of the phrasal accent. If it is identified as [-F], it will not be able to remain in postverbal position (i.e. in post T position). Suppose the subject were to move to Spec of Asp (outside the scope of Aspect), it will still be the most deeply embedded item, but given its [-F] status it will not be a possible locus for the phrasal accent. The resulting structure is therefore illformed (unless the subject left-dislocates and/or right-dislocates).

Option 2: If the object (which is the DE) is identified as [+F], the focus must propagate to include the subject in Spec of VP due to the principle in (3) (which interprets an NP within the scope of Asp as focused). Recall that the subject may not move to Spec of Asp because of the Principle of Procrastination. In the configuration under discussion, the subject is not the DE; therefore its movement cannot be motivated by phono-syntactic reason (namely, the requirement that the DE of the structure must be the locus of the phrasal accent). The only motivation for moving the subject in such a configuration would be the Case Filter, a morpho-syntactic requirement. This situation would arise if NOM Case is assigned to Spec of T and not to Spec of VP, in which case the subject would end up in Spec of T, a preverbal position. We thus see that the basic difference between postverbal subjects and objects with respect to the topic/focus distinction follows from the fact that the

object is in the base configuration the most deeply embedded node and the potential locus of phrasal accent in the first place. This property, in conjunction with the Principle of Procrastination, provides the basis for an understanding of the observed facts.

Structures with preverbal subject:

2.5. *Structures with focal accent on the subject.*

In Spanish and Italian a preverbal subject cannot function as a presentational focus. On the other hand, in English and French the preverbal subject may function as a presentational focus. The option of marking the preverbal subject [+F] is presumably a marked option (given that it is not the most embedded node in S).

(50) Q: Who ate the cake?
     A: JOHN ate the cake.

(51) Q: Qui a mangé la tarte?
     A: JEAN a mangé la tarte.

Recall that Principle (3) requires that a focused NP be within the scope of Aspect at LF. This entails that a focused preverbal subject must be "reconstructed" at LF: the preverbal subject must be "lowered" back to Spec of VP. [20] More precisely, the predicted LF structure is one in which the object (which is topic) is outside the scope of Aspect (in Spec of Asp) while the subject (which is focus) is within the scope of Asp (i.e. in Spec of VP). The A(nswer) in (50) and in (51) would then have a structure comparable to (41) at LF (after "reconstruction"). [21] This analysis makes a straightforward prediction: the object should be able to bind the subject, but not viceversa. The prediction is borne out, as illustrated below. The accent falls on the subject and the rest of the sentence (marked with brackets) may be deaccented and deleted at PF. Cf. Chomsky (1992), Tancredi (1992).

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20. Alternatively, if movement is copying plus deletion as suggested in Chomsky (1992), we would say that while at PF the copy of the raised subject in Spec of VP is deleted, at LF it is the lexical material in Spec of TP which is deleted. In any case, the examples in this section prove that reconstruction is not restricted to quantificational structures. Rather, it is the Principle in (3) that guides reconstruction: at LF focused NPs must be within the scope of Aspect.

21. The possibility of raising the object to Spec of Asp at LF in the English (and French) cases under discussion raises the question of why this is not an option for the subject in the Spanish {VSO} structures. Ultimately, this must be related to the fact that subject AGR in Spanish is a strong feature. The position in which the subject checks its features at PF must also be its position at LF. If that position is Spec of VP, then no raising out of that position is possible at LF. If that position is Spec of IP, then no "lowering" from that position is possible at LF. This might explain why Spanish and Italian do not have the marked option of having presentational focused preverbal subjects (unlike English and French). This would entail "reconstruction" at LF, which is not possible given the "strong" status of the Spanish and Italian Subj AGR feature.

(52) Q: I would like to know WHO will accompany each child.
A: *HIS MOTHER* [will accompany *each child*].

(53) Q: I would like to know WHO will accompany his child?
A: * *EACH MOTHER* [will accompany *his* child].

(54) Q: Je me demande qui accompagnera chaque enfant?
A: *SA MERE* [acompagnera *chaque enfant*].

(55) Q: Je me demande QUI accompagnera *son* fils?
A: * *CHAQUE MERE* [accompagnera *son* fils].

Principle (3) can readily explain the data above. At S-S the preverbal subject is in Spec of TP. Principle (3) forces the subject to "reconstruct" to Spec of VP at LF and it forces the object to move to Spec of Asp at LF, thus explaining the resulting binding facts. [22]

To conclude, the facts presented above provide striking confirmation of Principle (3): focused NPs must be within the scope of Aspect at LF, and it is this principle that guides "reconstruction" at LF. Thus, we expect that dislocated phrases that are topic will not undergo reconstruction at LF, [23] or at least not to a position within the scope of Aspect. The binding facts in (35b-c) support this conclusion. We return to these and related facts in the following section.

3. Left-dislocation vs. Focalization.

Cinque's work on Italian (Cinque (1977), (1990)) and Dolci's (1986) on Spanish distinguished two types of constructions that envolve fronting: Left dislocation (introduced in section 2.1.2) and Focalization.

(56) a. *A María*, (creo que) *la* invitó PEDRO.   (Left-Disl.)
"Maria ((I) believe that) her-invited PEDRO."
b. A MARÍA, (creo que) invitó Pedro.   (Focal.)
"MARIA ((I) believe that) invited Pedro."

The focalization construction of Spanish and Italian is comparable to the cleft-

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22. Note that the binding facts just discussed shows that the mechanism that identifies the subject as the presentational focus of the sentence in English and French cannot be a discourse level rule (as suggested by Cinque). Although marked, it must be a sentence level rule. It has an impact on the LF structure of such sentences.

23. Kural (1992) reaches the same conclusion on the basis of Turkish data. Unfortunately, his work came to our attention too late for us to give it the propert space in the present article. But we hope to include it in future work.

construction (except that the fronted focused constituent is contrastive). [24] As the cleft-construction, we may assume that this is a case of "constructional focus". In such constructions the [+F] feature is assigned to a particular position rather than to the DE of the structure. Let us assume that in the case of focalization via fronting the Spec of Comp is labelled [+F], thus overriding rule (20.2) The focal accent will therefore be assigned to the NP that moves to such a position (e.g. the direct object *A MARÍA* in the example (56b)).

Some of the properties that distinguish Left Dislocation and Focalization (via fronting) are the following: [25]

(57) I. Left-Dislocation:
    (a) the fronted phrase is a topic. [26]
    (b) if the fronted phrase is an object, it must be doubled by a clitic in the clause from where the extraction takes place.
    (c) there appears to be no WCO effects (but see below for qualification of this property).
  II. Focalization (via fronting):
    (a) the dislocated phrase is focus.
    (b) if the fronted phrase is an object, it is not doubled by a clitic.
    (c) there are WCO effects.

We will suggest here that property (b) is intimately related to property (a) due to the conjoined effects of Principle (3) and the MCL Principle (as stated in (32)). We will see furthermore that property (c) is derivable from property (b): i.e. the presence/absence of the clitic (following insights initially due to Mahajan (1990b), (1991)).

What is the basic difference between a fronted topic and a fronted focus? According to Principle (3), they are distinguished at LF. At LF, a focused phrase is within the scope of Aspect, while a topic phrase is outside the scope of Aspect. In section 2.1.2, we suggested that the obligatory presence of the clitic when a topic object is left-dislocated could be attributed to the MCL Principle (see (32)). According to this principle, in order to minimize the links within a chain, every potentially available position between the head and the tail of the chain has to be incorporated into the chain. Suppose the MCL Principle applies at LF. Since the focalized fronted object must be reconstructed at LF to a position within the scope of Asp (namely, its D-S position), the MCL Principle does not apply. In the reconstructed structure, the chain consists of one single position: [NP,VP] (the head

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24. Preposed focalized phrases has properties comparable to wh-phrases. As in the case of non-D-linked wh-phrases, verb preposing is preferred.

25. Another property that distinguish the two constructions are weak islands. While both obey strong islands, focalization (like wh-movement of non-discourse linked wh-phrases), but not left-dislocation, obey weak islands. We will not discuss this difference here. But see Szabolsci & Zwarts (1991) for an alternative to Cinque's analysis.

26. Thus, if an indefinite is cl-left dislocated, it is interpreted as specific. E.g: *A una niña la invitó Pedro* 'A girl ACC Cl-invited Pedro'.

and the tail of the chain are undistinguishable). [27]

Let us turn next to the binding properties of left-dislocation and focalization constructions. In section 2.1.2. we noticed that a pronoun in a left-dislocated object cannot be bound to a QP postverbal subject. Cf. (36b), which we repeat below as (58a). This sentence contrasts with (58b), where the binder is a preverbal subject. [28]

(58) a. * *A su hijo, lo* acompañará *CADA MADRE* (el primer día de escuela).
"His child (O) him-will accompany EACH MOTHER (S) (the first day of school)."

b. *A su hijo, cada madre lo* acompañará EL PRIMER DÍA DE ESCUELA.
"His child (O), each mother (S) him-will accompany THE FIRST DAY OF SCHOOL."

As we have seen in section 2, the difference between a preverbal and a postverbal subject is that the former is topic while the latter is focus; the latter is within the scope of Asp while the former is outside the scope of Asp at LF. A dislocated topic object cannot be "reconstructed" to its D-S at LF, because a topic must be outside the scope of Asp (Principle (3)). Consequently, (58a) is illformed due to lack of c-command; it contrasts minimally with (45a), repeated below as (59) (where the object occupies its D-S position; it is the locus of phrasal accent and focus is propagated to the entire sentence):

(59) El primer día de escuela acompañará *cada madre* a *su* HIJO.
"The first day of school will accompany each mother (S) his CHILD (O)"

Consider next (58b). The dislocated topic object may be "reconstructed" to the Spec of ClP, a position outside the scope of Asp but within the scope of Spec of TP, the position occupied by the QP binder. Principle (3), in conjunction with the clausal structure postulated in (22), thus provides a straightforward account for the contrast

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27. Further evidence for the LF distinction between left-dislocation (which involves the fronting of a topic) and focalization (which involves fronting of a focused phrase) is provided by *ne* cliticization in Italian: (The facts are from Cinque (1990), pp. 69-70):

(a) [Quattro e_i], credo che (*ne_i) siano andate smarrite (non distrutte).
"Four, I think that (*of them) have gone lost (not destroyed)."

(b) [QUATTRO e_i], pare che *(*ne*) siano arrivate, non DIECI.
"FOUR, it appears that have *(of them) have arrived, not TEN."

These facts show that Spec of TP is part of the chain in the case of left-dislocation, but not in the case of focalization.

28. Examples like (58b) were noticed by Cinque (1983),(1990), which he took to exemplify the "binding connectivity" property of CL-left dislocation. But the illformedness of (58a) had gone unnoticed until now.

in (58). [29]

(58a) contrasts with (60), a focalization construction. In this case, the fronted object is in Spec of Comp (which is marked [+F]), the verb is in Comp, and the subject is in Spec of TP and it is topic. The fronted object, since it is focused, must "reconstruct" at LF to its D-S position in order to find itself within the scope of Asp (as required by Principle (3)). As a result, it also finds itself within the scope of the subject. Therefore, the object may be bound by the subject.

(60)   A *SU* HIJO acompañará *cada madre* el primer día de escuela.
         "HIS CHILD (O) will accompany each mother (S) the first day of school"

Finally, let us examine the behavior of dislocated topic QP objects in both types of constructions. We see that a left-dislocated topic QP does not give rise to WCO (cf. (61a)), while a focalized QP does (cf. (61b)):

(61) a. *Cada casa*, deberá pintar*la SU* PROPIO DUEÑO.
         "Each house, must paint-it HIS OWN OWNER."
      b. * *CADA CASA*, deberá pintar *su* propio dueño.
         "EACH HOUSE, must paint his own owner."

It would be a mistake to conclude from the above contrast that the left dislocated QP in (61a) does not involve a quantifier-variable structure. In effect, a left-dislocated topic QP does give rise to WCO effects with respect to a matrix pronoun:

(62)   * *Cada casa*, dijo *su* dueño que *la* pintará MAÑANA.
         "Each house, says his owner that it-will paint TOMORROW."

The difference between (61a) and (62) arises from the fact that in (61a) the pronoun is not locally bound by the dislocated QP. The local binder is the trace of the dislocated QP in Spec of ClP; therefore, there is no Bijection Principle violation. On the other hand, in (62) the local binder of the pronoun is the dislocated QP; a violation of the Bijection Principle therefore arises. Consider next (61b). Its ungrammaticality is due to lack of c-command at LF between binder and bindee. In effect, the fronted focalized object must reconstruct at LF to its D-S position to find itself within the scope of Asp; from this position it does not c-command the pronoun contained within the subject.

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29. The contrast in (58) shows that "reconstruction" cannot be formulated in terms of chains, as suggested by Barss (1986).

4. Conclusion.

In this article we have explored the relation between focus, syntactic structure, and binding. On the one hand, we have argued that movement out of the VP may be due to phono-syntactic reasons (the unmarked focus position, identified as the most embedded node in the VP, must bear the most prominent accent). On the other hand, we have shown that the topic/focus distinction (related but not reducible to the discourse distinction "new"/"old" information) guides the "reconstruction" process at LF. This is due to the LF Principle that requires that presentational focused DPs be within the scope of Asp and that topic DPs be outside the scope of Asp.

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