

The information structure of high and low datives and their psychological import¹

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Abstract

I discuss the syntax and discourse properties of (Experiencer) datives in Spanish, in a comparative view with the syntactic strategies used in other languages such as English, which do not easily exhibit the pattern OVS in (broadly speaking) psychological constructions. I address a crucial distinction between high datives and low datives (Harley 1995, Pylkkänen 2002, 2008, Cuervo 2003, Schäfer 2012 or McIntyre 2006), and propose that in all-focus sentences when there is a high dative, the dative occurs in first position. On the other hand, low datives show up in postverbal position in broad-focus sentences. If by any chance, these low datives occur at the initial portion of the sentence, it is because the discourse interpretation is not that of broad focus and hence either a topic-comment or background-focus configuration must be called for.

Keywords: datives, Experiencer, high applicative, low applicative, information structure, peripheral vs. central datives, broad focus, topic

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1. Introduction

Greenberg (1963) includes Spanish in the type of language whose canonical sentence pattern is SVO, which can be illustrated in contexts where all the information given by the speaker is new – if it is assumed that all-focus sentences instantiate the basic clause pattern in a given language as argued for by Contreras (1983), and Fernández-Soriano (1999). This is shown in (1) which involves a psych verb selecting an accusative object.²

² Congruence between question and answer has standardly led to assume that the answer to a question such as *What's up?* entails all-new information and hence it is defined as broad focus (exhibiting an all-focus interpretation). However, there are cases such as those pointed out in Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2015) which involve narrow focus on one particular constituent even as an answer to this question. This is illustrated in Italian (Bianchi *et al.* 2015, their example (44)):

- (i) A: *Eccoti qui! Cos'è successo?*
you.are here what be-PRES.3SG happened
'Here you are at last! What happened?'
- B: *Una multa da 500 euro mi sono beccato!*
a fine of 500 euros CL.1SG be-PRES.1SG got
'I got a fine of 500 euros!'

B's reply contains a fronted object serving the function of mirative focus (cf. Cruschina 2012, Jiménez-Fernández 2015a, b). The preposed element has special prosodic, syntactic and discourse properties which single it out from the type of neutral OVS sentences that I discuss in my work.

- (1) *¿Qué pasa?* / *¿Sabes qué?*
 what happen-PRES.3SG³ know-PRES.2SG what
 ‘What’s up?’
- b. *Que Manuel detesta a Pedro.*
 that Manuel detest-PRES.3SG to Pedro
- c. *#Que a Pedro lo detesta Manuel.*
 that to María CL-ACC.3SG detest-PRES3SG Manuel
 ‘Manuel detests Pedro.’

The contrast in (1) proves the clear preference for the pattern SVO in Spanish all-focus contexts. However, Fábregas, Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino-Blanco (2017) and Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska (2016, 2017), based on previous work by Tubino-Blanco (2007), Fernández-Soriano (1999), Gutiérrez-Bravo (2006) and Masullo (1992), among others, argue that those psych verbs which select a dative object clearly favour the pattern OVS in informationally new contexts, supporting the view that even in a SVO language such as Spanish, there are syntactic patterns which can also be considered basic (see also Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999 and Contreras 1983; see also Bondaruk, This volume, for a similar behaviour of Polish Experiencer datives).⁴ This is illustrated in (2):

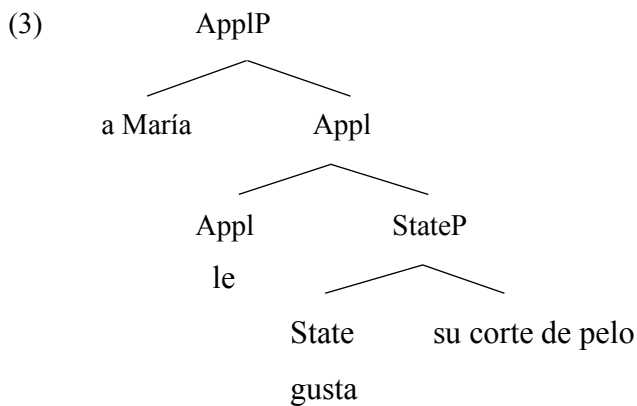
³ The following abbreviations have been used in glosses: ACC – accusative, CL – clitic, DAT – dative, INF – infinitive, NOM – nominative, MASC – masculine, PAST – past, PL – plural, PRES – present, REFL – reflexive, SE – 3rd person reflexive clitic, SG - singular.

⁴ I am aware that using the pattern OVS to refer to verbs accompanied by a dative can be controversial since they can be treated as simply involved in a construction with a dative selected by the applicative. For the sake of expository clarity, I stick to the rather traditional view of the dative as an indirect object and will use OVS and SVO to cover all types of constructions which include a dative in their configuration.

- (2) *¿Qué pasa?* / *¿Sabes qué?*
 what happen-PRES.3SG know-PRES2SG what
 ‘What’s up?’
- a. *Que a María le gusta su corte de pelo.*
 that to Manuel him.DAT like.PRES.3SG her cut of hair
- b. *#Que su corte de pelo le gusta a María.*
 ‘María likes her haircut.’

As is clear from (2), Spanish most naturally employs the OVS pattern as canonical ordering in all-focus contexts when the predicate is a dative-experiencer (DE) verb.

Following Cuervo (2010b), the underlying structure in (3) captures the natural word order OVS for a sentence such as (2a), in Fábregas et al.’s (2017) system:



If Fábregas et al.’s (2017) analysis is on the right track, any dative merged above the subject position forcefully produces intervention effects (*sensu* Chomsky 2000). This analysis presupposes that for DEs in psych verbs such as *gustar* ‘like’ the DE is merged in an ApplP above StateP (a nanosyntactic projection amalgamating *v*P and VP) and the Nominative element is merged as a complement of StateP (see Fábregas & Marín, This volume, for a nanosyntactic analysis of different classes of psych verbs and its connection with their licensing passives). In a convergent structure, Datives then necessarily move

to a higher position above T, resulting in the unmarked ordering Dat-V-XP. The other alternative is argued for in Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska (2016), according to which in all-new contexts the dative moves to spec-TP, thereby obtaining the ordering OVS and accounting for some subject properties detected in the dative (see discussion in Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska 2017).⁵

A comparative view with other languages supports the idea that the dative Experiencer should occur first in broad focus contexts. Looking at English, the most natural way to express (2b) is by using the Experiencer in first position:

- (4) a. Maria likes her new haircut.
 b. #Her new haircut appeals to Maria.

⁵ Additional evidence in favour of the subjecthood of the DE comes from processing errors such as agreement between T and the dative, illustrated in (i)-(ii); these instances are quite frequent in colloquial Spanish (especially in Southern Peninsular Spanish):

- (i) *A Jose le gusta las comidas ligeras.*
 to Jose CL-DAT.3SG like-PRES.3SG the meals light
 ‘Jose likes light meals.’
- (ii) *A los niños les gustan la pizza.*
 to the children CL-DAT.3PL like-PRES.3PL the pizza
 ‘Kids like pizza.’

These are cases of surprising agreement between the dative and T, contrary to what we expect if agreement is established with the true subject. In my view, this shows that the dative is associated with T, most probably because the dative satisfies the [EPP] feature which T may be endowed with. See Jiménez-Fernández (2010) for the possibility that one element may satisfy agreement features whereas a different element meets the EPP.

My English informants have been confronted with the particular choice between (4a) and (4b), and have been asked whether they would feel one of them as more natural than the other or both would be natural. 24 speakers out of 25 rated (4a) as most natural. In this rating there are many factors which might influence the informants' choice. Apart from the information structure, one reason can be frequency, since *like* is a much more frequent verb than *appeal* (see Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska 2016 for further discussion of these factors).

Turning back to the syntactic configuration of DE verbs, what is crucial in both types of analysis (namely, the dative occupies a left periphery position or the spec-TP) is that the Dative Experiencer is always a high applicative in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), *etc.*, thereby predicting the occurrence of the dative in first position when there is no other information-structure restriction to take into account. Once the derivation is transferred to the interface components, the all-focus interpretation is read off from the position occupied by the dative.

In my view, pure Dative Experiencers are just a subgroup of a major class of datives involving some sort of psychological relation with the event denoted in the sentence. I assume that most datives are involved in some (vague) psychological experience as a consequence of the event (Bosse & Bruening 2011; Bosse, Bruening & Yamada 2012; Dąbrowska 1997 for the psychological involvement of datives in different languages). From this perspective, any verb that is accompanied by an argument with a psychological import is defined as a psych verb (see Fábregas and Marín, This volume, for this broad definition). Let me illustrate this psychological involvement of datives with data from Albanian:

- (5) a. *Agim-i i-a theu [vazon*
 Agim-NOM 3SG.DAT-3SG.ACC break-PAST.3SG [vase.ACC
e Ben-it] Dritan-it.
 AD Ben-GEN] Dritan-DAT
 ‘Agim broke Ben’s vase on Dritan.’
- b. *Dritan-i më vdiq.*
 Dritan-NOM 1SG.DAT die-PAST.3SG
 ‘Dritan died on me.’

(Bosse & Bruening, 2011, p. 70, ex. 5a-b)

In both sentences the dative is interpreted as having a malefactive (or benefactive) experience as a result of the event denoted by the verbs ‘break’ and ‘die’ respectively.⁶

Similar examples are found in Spanish:

- (6) a. *A Juan se le ha roto el vaso.*
 to Juan SE CL-3SG.DAT has broken the glass
 ‘Juan has (unintentionally) broken the glass.’

(Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea 2011, p. 88, ex. 1a)

- b. *A Juan se le murió el perro.*
 to Juan SE CL-3SG.DAT died the dog.

⁶ Datives such as the one in (5b) are comparable with adversity causatives discussed in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) for Japanese, and also in Tubino-Blanco (2011) for Yaqui. In European languages it seems like this construction is an adversity dative, so the contrast is in terms of the type of verbal head introducing the argument, namely causative or applicative. In any case, the interpretation is identical. I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this point out to me.

‘Juan’s dog has died and this affected him.’

Also in Polish examples of datives are found that have been added to the argument structure of the relevant verb and whose interpretation is certainly associated with a psychological affection:

- (7) a. *Piotr rozbił Robertowi samochód.*
Piotr-NOM crash-PAST.3SG Robert-DAT car-ACC
‘Piotr has crashed Robert’s car [and Robert was affected by this].’
- b. *Jakiś szaleniec zamordował Kowalskiemu żonę.*
some madman-NOM murder-PAST.3SG Kowalski-DAT wife-ACC
‘Some madman murdered Kowalski’s wife [and Kowalski was affected by this].’

(Dąbrowska 1997, p. 16, ex. 20b and 21b)

In both cases the dative is psychologically affected by the event denoted by the verb. In Polish the situation in which a dative is psychologically involved in the event is quite common; see Willim (This volume) for different types of Experiencer datives. From this perspective, I assume a broad sense of Experiencer which includes all types of datives which are interpreted as an entity affected by the event.⁷

⁷ As pointed out by the two reviewers, the inclusion of all types of datives in a macro-class of elements which involve a psychological flavour may be confusing since there are datives which have a physical involvement in the event (*I gave Tim a book*). It is crystal-clear that not all datives have exactly the same

In this work I explore the connection between the IS interpretation of different types of datives in all-focus sentences and the particular word order required in this specific broad focus reading in Spanish, making a systematic contrast with an IS interpretation in which the sentence exhibits a topic-comment partition, where the dative functions as the topic. The Spanish data will be compared with English data, when relevant.

Assuming the distinction between high datives and low datives (Cuervo 2003; Miyagawa & Tsujigaka 2004; McIntyre 2006; Pylkkänen 2002; among others), I claim that the picture that emerges with respect to the clause pattern used in all-focus contexts is as follows: high datives occur in first position, favouring the pattern OVS, whereas low datives occupy a postverbal position, thereby showing a strong preference for the pattern SVO. Whether the dative argument is directly related with the verb or it is an argument of an applicative head is orthogonal to my analysis since what is crucial is whether the dative is high or low in the VP-area.

The paper is organised as follows. In section 2 I discuss the semantic types of datives that Campos (1999) distinguishes. In section 3 I propose two diagnostics to show that the traditional central vs. peripheral types of dative are actually part of the argument structure of the verb when they are inserted in the derivation. In section 4 I address Fábregas et al's (2017) and Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska's (2016) proposal concerning the syntax and information structure of psych verbs. In addition, focusing on the typology of datives under examination in this paper, I analyse the type of datives which occur high in the structure and then I turn to the low ones to test whether the

psychological import, as explicitly stated in the text. However, even the most physically-oriented datives convey some degree of psychological involvement, as shown by *Tim* in the previous example. This dative is supposed to have a psychological reaction as a consequence of the event denoted by the verb. It is precisely in this broad sense that I am grouping all datives together.

prediction I make in the proposal is borne out or not. My working hypothesis is that distinct datives will exhibit different orderings depending on their base position, in line with what Fábregas et al. (2017) and Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska (2016) suggest for Dative Experiencer Objects with psych verbs. I propose that the preverbal or postverbal position of the dative in all-focus sentences is supported by the high or low position of the Applicative Phrase where the dative is generated within the VP-area, and by intervention effects.

2. Towards a semantic classification of datives

Campos (1999: 1546) offers the following typology of indirect objects for Spanish:⁸

a) Goal Dative: it represents the entity receiving something and interpreted as goal or destination of what is denoted by the verb, as illustrated in (7):

- (7) a. *Le llevé varios regalos a Guillermo.*
 CL-3PL.DAT take-PAST.1SG several presents to Guillermo
 ‘I took several presents to Guillermo.’
- b. *Les dije la verdad a mis padres.*
 CL-3PL.DAT tell-PAST.1SG the truth to my parents
 ‘I told my parents the truth.’

b) Dative of Interest or Comodi-Incomodi Dative: it receives a benefit or harm derived

⁸ The whole classification of datives and the examples illustrating each class are taken from Campos (1999, pp. 1546-1547).

from the event denoted by the verb, as in (8):

- (8) a. *Le corté el césped a Maggie.*
CL-3SG.DAT cut-PAST.1SG the grass to Maggie
'I cut the grass for Maggie.'
- b. *Kiko le construyó una mansión a Patty.*
Kiko CL-3SG.DAT build-PAST.3SG a mansion to
Patty
Patty
'Kiko built a mansion for Patty.'

c) Source Dative: it is any entity experiencing a separation from something, as in (9):

- (9) a. *Le robaron la bicicleta a Michel.*
CL-3SG.DAT steal-PAST.3PL the bike to Michel
'They stole Michel her bike.'
- b. *Le quitaron el pasaporte al Sr. Guevara.*
CL-3SG.DAT remove-PAST.3PL the passport to.the
Sr. Guevara
Mr. Guevara
'They took the passport from Mr. Guevara.'

d) *Dativo de Suficiencia* or Existential Dative: it indicates an entity that has or has not had enough of something; it may express lack or excess. This type is selected by existential predicates (Cuervo 2003), and is illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. *A Kiko le falta un millón de pesos*
to Kiko CL-3SG.DAT lack-PRES.3SG a million of pesos
para construirse una piscina.
for to.build-REFL a pool
‘Kiko doesn’t have a million pesos to build a pool for himself.’
- b. *A Maggie le sobró pastel.*
to Maggie CL-3SG.DAT be.extra-PAST.3SG cake
‘Maggie had too much cake.’

e) Dative of Possession or Sympathetic Dative: it is the entity having a relation of possession or intimacy with the object.

- (11) a. *Le besé la mano a María.*
CL-3SG.DAT kiss-PAST.1SG the hand to Maria
‘I kissed Mary’s hand.’
- b. *Le rompieron la camisa a Pedro.*
CL-3SG.DAT break-PAST.3PL the shirt to Pedro
‘They tore Pedro’s shirt.’

f) Ethical Dative: this entity is interested in the fulfilment of the event denoted by the verb:

- (12) a. *Se lo leyó de cabo a rabo.*⁹

⁹ As an anonymous reviewer rightly observes, the experiencer in examples such as (12a) always appears as

CL-3SG.DAT it read-PAST.3SG from ending to tail

‘He read it from cover to cover.’

b. *Me suspendieron al niño de la escuela.*

CL-1SG.DAT fail-PAST.3PL to.the child of the school

‘They kicked my kid from school.’

g) Dative of Relation or Relational Dative: it is the entity for which the experience denoted by the verb is valid:

(13) a. *A Choche le pareció buenisima*

to Choche CL-3SG.DAT seem-PAST.3SG very.good

la idea de Ximena.

the idea of Ximena

‘Ximena’s idea seemed very good to Choche.’

b. *A los Morales les será difícil decidir*

to the Morales CL-3PL.DAT be-FUT.3SG difficult to.decide

se rather than as dative, so different authors have analyzed it differently. They tend to agree that what we have here would be aspectual *se*, discussed by De Miguel & Fernández-Lagunilla (2000), MacDonald (2004, 2016), etc. These are the so-called verbs of ingestion, discussed by Armstrong (2012) and MacDonald (2016). MacDonald does analyze these sentences as involving a reflexive indirect object, whereby ApplP is occupied by *pro*. Armstrong (2013) argues that because *se* is non-doubling, it cannot be an argument. This is probably the same argument Cuervo (2003) gives regarding ethical datives, which do not double at least in her dialect. Armstrong argues that it is part of the verb’s eventive structure (it provides aspectual meaning), in line with Folli & Harley (2005). So it is interesting that both these types of dative and the ethical dative are paired together in this category by Campos, given the different aspectual import they both contribute to the sentences they appear in.

ese asunto.

that matter

‘It will be very difficult for the Morales to decide on that issue.’

For my purposes what is crucial from this classification of datives is that all types are psychologically involved to some extent in the event denoted by the verb. From this perspective, I will consider them as some type of Experiencer, and as such they are psychologically connected with the event. To illustrate this idea, let us focus on ethical datives like the one in (12b). The interpretation of this sentence is roughly that they fired the kid from school and that affected my psychological state as a result. From this interpretation an important psychological import can easily be detected in the presence of the dative.

In addition to these datives which co-occur with transitive verbs, I will take into account what Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2011) call anticausative construction or what Cuervo (2003) terms unaccusative with applicative, illustrated in (17):

- (14) *A Pedro se le quemó la comida.*
to Pedro SE CL-3SG.DAT burn-PAST.3SG the food
‘Pedro has (unintentionally) burned the food.’

Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2011: 88, ex. 1b)

For the authors this is a non-selected dative. However, here I will show that it is part of the argumental spine of the VP.¹⁰

¹⁰ The type of Polish dative Experiencers discussed by Willim (This volume) are similar to these Spanish datives in that they very likely occur in preverbal position and they are also argued to be non-selected. The selected vs. non-

If, by definition, an indirect object is a DP which is part of the argument structure of the verb alongside the direct object, only datives in a), b), c) and e) will be true indirect objects, as Campos argues. However, this criterion is far from being useful since the dative in e) cannot be considered as an argument of the verb due to its optionality (*Rompieron la camisa* ‘They tore the shirt’), though in a way the meaning is rather different with and without the dative. On the other hand, this criterion fails to cover cases such as d) where there is no direct object and from the presence of the dative clitic we infer that the *a*-DP is an argument of the verb (as in the anticausative construction in (14)). These d) datives are very similar in behaviour to dative Experiencers selected by psych verbs such as *gustar*, which crucially calls into question the non-argumenthood of datives in d). It is not my goal to examine all the grammatical properties of all datives. However, in the next section, I discuss two tests that show that both central and peripheral datives (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999) or argumental and non-argumental (Hernanz & Bruccart 1987; Di Tullio 2005), are part of the argumental spine of the *v*P, based on the information structure of the constructions where the dative is used.

3. Two diagnostics for two types of datives

The first test that may discriminate between the two classes of datives is proposed in Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1999) and consists of the optionality or not of an indefinite dative focalised in a conditional clause and its identification as Contrastive Focus in the main clause. If the dative cannot be omitted in the conditional clause, then it is an argument, and hence part of the *v*P spine. Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1999) applies this test to a direct object

selected status of datives is quite tricky (see Willim, This volume, for some clarifying properties of selected vs. non-selected datives.

and a prepositional adjunct such as *la bandeja* ‘the tray’ or *de rabia* in (15) and (16), respectively:

- (15) a. *Llevaba la bandeja.*
 hold-PAST.3SG the tray
 ‘She was holding the tray.’
- b. *Si *(algo) llevaba, era la bandeja.*
 if something hold-PAST.3SG be-PAST.3SG the tray
 ‘If she was holding *(anything), it was the tray.’
- (16) a. *Lloró de rabia.*
 cry-PAST.3SG of anger
 ‘She cried in anger.’
- b. *Si (de algo) lloró, fue de rabia.*
 ff of anything cry-PAST.3SG be-PAST.3SG of anger
 ‘If she cried (in anything), it was in anger.’

The deletion of the direct object *algo* in the conditional clause in (15b) automatically leads to unacceptability of the whole sentence. The reason is that this constituent is an argument in the argument structure of the verb *llevar* ‘hold’. On the other hand, the omission of the adjunct *de algo* ‘of something’ does not affect the acceptability of sentence (16b), given its adjunct status.¹¹ Here I will apply this test to the datives

¹¹ The distinction between argument datives and adjunct datives was proposed in Strozer (1976) and Demonte (1994). More recently, this classification has been rescued by Rákosi (2006).

distinguished by Campos (1999) to decide on their argumenthood, (7-13). It must be noted that this diagnostic shows the full argumental nature of the dative Experiencer with psych verbs such as *gustar* ‘like’:

- (17) a. *A Jimena le gusta la carne.*
to Jimena CL-3SG.DAT like-PRES.3SG the meat
‘Jimena likes meat.’
- b. *Si *(a alguien) le gusta la carne,*
if to anyone CL-3SG.DAT like-PRES.3SG the meat
es a Jimena.
be-PRES.3SG to Jimena
‘If anyone likes meat, it is Jimena.’

Here the dative *a Jimena* is a Contrastive Focus which is repeated in the conditional clause by the indefinite *a alguien* obligatorily, thereby supporting the view that this dative is part of the argument structure of the verb.¹² Now I turn to the other classes of datives:

¹² Cuervo (2003: 163) states that dative subjects of psychological predicates are arguments of a high applicative head, and for her the dative DP introduced by an applicative head is NOT an argument of the verb. In this chapter, it is argued that broadly understood dative Experiencers ARE arguments of the verb and that dative Experiencers are generated in the specifier of a high applicative head. However, it should be noted that originating in Spec-AppIP is not understood in the same way here and in Cuervo. In the latter, it means that it is not directly related with the verb (and hence the dative is not an argument of AppIP) whereas here it is a strategy that languages use to introduce datives as part of the argument structure of the verb (fusing ideas by Cuervo 2003, Pykkänen 2002 and Harley 1995). I thank Anna Bondaruk (p.c.) for bringing this point to me. What is crucial for my information structure-based analysis is that the dative is

a) Goal Datives:

- (18) a. *Les dije la verdad a mis padres.*
CL-3PL.DAT tell-PAST.1SG the truth to my parents
'I told my parents the truth.'
- b. *Si *(a alguien) le dije la verdad,*
if to someone CL-3SG.DAT tell-PAST.1SG the truth
fue a mis padres.
be-PAST.3SG to my parents
'If I told anyone the truth, it was my parents.'

b) Dative of Interest:

- (19) a. *Le corté el césped a Maggie.*
CL-3SG.DAT cut-PAST.1SG the grass to Maggie
'I cut the grass for Maggie.'
- b. *Si *(a alguien) le corté el césped,*
If to anyone CL-3SG.DAT cut-PAST.1SG the grass
fue a Maggie.
be-PAST.3SG to Maggie
'If I cut the grass for anybody, it was for Maggie.'

c) Source Dative

- (20) a. *Le quitaron el pasaporte al*

generated in a high or low position of the vP-area.

CL-3SG.DAT remove-PAST.3PL the passport to.the
Sr. Guevara.

Mr. Guevara

‘They took the passport from Mr. Guevara.’

- b. *Si *(a alguien) le quitaron el*
 if to somebody CL-3SG.DAT remove-PAST.3PL the
pasaporte, fue al Sr. Guevara.
 passport be-PAST.3SG to.the Mr. Guevara

‘If they took the passport from anyone, it was from Mr. Guevara.’

d) Existential Dative:

- (21) a. *A Kiko le falta un millón de pesos*
 to Kiko CL-3SG.DAT lack-PRES.3SG a million of pesos
para construirse una piscina.
 for to.build-REFL a pool

‘Kiko doesn’t have a million pesos to build a pool for himself.’

- b. *Si *(a alguien) le falta un millón de pesos*
 if to someone CL-3SG.DAT lack-PRES.3SG a million of pesos
para construirse una piscina, es a Kiko.
 for to.build-REFL a pool be-PRES.3SG to Kiko

‘If anyone doesn’t have a million pesos to build a pool for himself,
 it is Kiko.’

e) Sympathetic Dative:

- (22) a. *Le rompieron la camisa a Pedro.*
 CL-DAT.3SG break-PAST.3PL the shirt to Pedro
 ‘They tore Pedro’s shirt.’
- b. *Si *(a alguien) le rompieron la*
 if to someone CL-DAT.3SG break-PAST.3PL the
camisa, fue a Pedro.
 shirt be-PAST.3SG to Pedro
 ‘If they tore anybody’s shirt, it was Pedro’s.’

f) Ethical Datives:

- (23) a. *A María le suspendieron al niño.*
 To Maria CL-3SG.DAT fail-PAST.3PL to.the child
 ‘They failed Maria’s kid and that affected her.’
- b. *Si *(a alguien) le suspendieron al niño,*
 if to someone CL-DAT.3SG fail-PAST.3PL to.the child
fue a María.
 be-PAST.3SG to Maria
 ‘If they failed anybody’s kid, it was Maria’s kid (and this affected her).’

g) Relational Dative:

- (24) a. *A Choche le pareció buenisima*
 to Choche CL-DAT.3SG seem-PAST.3SG very.good
la idea de Ximena.
 the idea of Ximena
 ‘Ximena’s idea seemed very good to Choche.’

- b. *Si *(a alguien) le pareció buenisima*
 if to anyone CL-DAT.3SG seem-PAST.3SG very.good
la idea de Ximena, fue a Choche.
 the idea of Ximena be-PAST.3SG to Choche
 ‘If Ximena’s idea seemed very good to anyone, it was to Choche.’

As for the anticausative construction, the result of this diagnostics is given in (25):

- (25) *Si *(a alguien) se le quemó la comida,*
 if to someone SE CL-DAT.3SG burn-PAST.3SG the food
fue a Pedro.
 be-PAST.3SG to Pedro
 ‘If anyone has (unintentionally) burned the food, it was Pedro.’

This shows that the dative in anticausative constructions is not as non-selected as it may appear at first sight.

This test can also be applied in the corresponding English sentences, where a dative is introduced, in order to identify the level of insertion in the argument structure of the verb. An important psychological meaning is carried by indirect objects which are selected by semantically relatively empty verbs such as *give* (in conjunction with the semantically more relevant DP that it selects), as in (26):

- (26) She gave me such a fright when she popped in!

In this particular situation the dative is clearly part of the argument structure of the verb,

which is supported by the conditional clause test with a focussed indefinite quantifier, as illustrated in (27):

(27) If she gave *(anybody) a fright, it was me.

In Spanish, light verbs can also be combined with a verbal noun and this combination selects a dative (Cuervo 2010a), as in (28a). Note that the outcome after applying the test supports the argumental nature of the dative:¹³

(28) a. *La Decana le dio un susto a su*
 the dean CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG a fright to her
secretario.
 secretary
 ‘The Dean gave her secretary a fright.’

b. *Si *(a alguien) le dio la Decana un*

¹³ Cuervo (2010a) distinguishes two types of constructions with light verbs in Spanish. The one illustrated in (28) corresponds to a ditransitive structure (Double Object construction). On the other hand, she gives examples such as (i), which she claims pattern with verbs such as *gustar* ‘like’:

(i) *Al técnico le dan rabia las protestas.*
 to.the technician CL.3SG.DAT give-PRES.3PL anger the complaints
 ‘The technician gets angry at complaints.’

As with psych verbs of the *gustar*-type, the dative shows subject properties in that it is most naturally placed in initial position. I will not go into further details about this distinction and refer the interested reader to Cuervo (2010a).

if to someone CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG the dean a
susto, fue a su secretario.
 fright be-PAST.3SG to her secretary
 ‘If the Dean gave anyone a fright, it was her secretary.’

As is clear, the deletion of *a alguien* in the conditional clause yields an ungrammatical result, supporting the view that this dative is argumental.

The other class of English datives which has some psychological involvement in the event of the verb is the one selected by verbs of creation such as *boil, cook, bake, etc.*, as in (29):

(29) Mary baked me a beautiful cake.

In descriptive grammars such as Quirk *et al.* (1985: 727) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002), this type of dative is said to be easily omitted, which is symptomatic of its adjunct character. However, the result after applying the conditional clause diagnostics is as follows:

(30) If Mary baked *(anybody) a cake, it was me.

As can be observed from (28) and (30) both types of dative are arguments of the verb, and as such they are part of the argument structure of their selecting verbs. In both cases there is an entity which experiences involuntarily the event denoted by the verb.¹⁴

¹⁴ As Michelle Sheehan (p.c.) points out to me, one could say *If she baked the cake, it was for me*. On the other hand, **If she gave a fright, it was to me* is fully ungrammatical. Also in Spanish we find the possible

Now I turn to the second test, namely subextraction from the dative. Following Huang's (1982) Condition on Extraction Domains, objects are transparent in terms of extraction. Usually this is illustrated by using direct objects vs. subjects, as in (31) in English, extracted from Chomsky (2008: 147):

- (31) a. Of which car did [they find the (driver, picture)]?
d. *Of which car did [the (driver, picture) cause a scandal]?

The picture gets more complicated when certain factors are controlled for and even English allows sub-extraction from a subject, as in (32):

- (32) Which candidate were there [posters of] all over the town?
(Lasnik & Park 2003, p. 651)

Among these conditions are the position occupied by the subject, D-linking, inactivity in terms of features, etc. (see Haegeman et al. 2014 for a full description of these constraints). The crucial point is that the DPs out of which a PP is extracted must be arguments, as opposed to adjuncts, which are always opaque to extraction. Accordingly, the issue whether a given dative is an argument or an adjunct will be supported by the possibilities of subextraction (see Fábregas & Jiménez-Fernández (2016a, b) for the same line of reasoning with respect to 'fake' adjuncts such as gerunds and adjectival secondary predicates).

non-insertion of the dative in the *if*-clause (*Si dije la verdad, fue a mis padres* 'If I told the truth, it was my parents'). This suggests that a more articulated scale in terms of argument vs. adjunct datives is needed. I leave this point for further research.

As far as Spanish is concerned, contrary to what Gallego (2007), Pineda (2014) and Demonte (1987) suggest, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) has shown that sub-extraction from datives is possible if factors such as the D-linking of the extracted PP and the Definiteness of the *a*-DP are controlled for. In particular, Experiencer datives allow sub-extraction:

- (33) *¿De qué edificio dices que no le*
of what building say-PRES.2SG that not CL-DAT.3SG
han gustado tus sugerencias [a ningún vecino]?
have-PRES.3PL liked your suggestions to no neighbour
‘Of what building do you say that no neighbour has liked your suggestions?’

Jiménez-Fernández (2017, p. 156)

As for datives in Double Object Constructions (DOCs), Demonte (1987) offers the following cases of subextraction, maintaining that they are unacceptable:¹⁵

- (34) a. **%¿De qué amiga_i le regalaste un*
of which friend CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.2SG a
libro [a la hija_{t_i]}?
book to the daughter
‘Of what friend did you give a book to her daughter?’
- b. **%¿De qué tienda_i le compraste un piano*

¹⁵ The existence of true DOCs in a language such as Spanish is controversial. Maybe a better term to cover all cases may be ‘dative constructions’. However, since this is immaterial for my analysis, I stick to the DOC term following Demonte.

of what store CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.2SG a piano
 [*al dueño t_i*]?
 to.the owner

‘Of what store did you buy a piano from the owner?’

Again this is challenged in Jiménez-Fernández & Saab (2016), who provide examples with datives in DOCs which permit subextraction under certain circumstances:

(35) ¿[*CP De qué clase_i C [les dio [v*P la*
 of which class CL-DAT.3PL give-PAST.3SG the
maestra v las notas [a varios alumnos t_i]]]]?]]?
 teacher the grades to several students*

‘Of what class did the teacher give their grades to several students?’

Turning to the different types of datives that Campos (1999) takes into account, let us see if all of them are part of the argument structure of the corresponding verb after the insertion of the dative or, on the contrary, they are some sort of adjunct. This crucially depends on the acceptability or degradation of sub-extraction cases. In what follows I apply this test to the types of datives identified by Campos, but I change the original sentences so as to control for the different factors favouring extraction:

a) Goal Datives:

(36) a. *Les dije la verdad a dos jueces*
 CL-DAT.3PL tell-PAST.1SG the truth to two judges
del Juzgado n°10.

of.the Court #10

‘I told the truth to two judges of Court #10.’

- b. *¿De qué Juzgado les dijiste la verdad*
of what Court CL-DAT.3PL tell-PAST.2SG the truth
a dos jueces?

to two judges

‘Of what Court did you tell two judges the truth?’

b) Dative of Interest:

- (37) a. *Le corté el césped a varios*
CL-DAT.3SG cut-PAST.1SG the grass to several
vecinos de ese edificio.
neighbours of that building

‘I cut the grass for several neighbours of that building.’

- b. *¿De qué edificio le cortaste el césped*
of what building CL-DAT.3SG cut-PAST.2SG the grass
a varios vecinos?

to several neighbours

‘Of which building did you cut the grass for several neighbours?’

c) Source Dative

- (38) a. *Le quitaron el pasaporte a*
CL-DAT.3SG remove-PAST.3PL the passport to
algunos viajeros de Rusia.

some travellers from Russia

‘They took the passport from some travellers from Russia.’

- b. *¿De qué país les quitaron el*
of what country CL-DAT.3SG remove-PAST.3PL the
pasaporte a algunos viajeros?

passport to some travellers

‘From what country did they take the passports from some travellers?’

d) Existential Dative:

- (39) a. *A algunos vecinos del edificio de al lado les*
to some neighbours of.the building of to.the side CL-DAT.3SG
falta dinero para ponerse al día
lack-PRES.3SG money for to.put-REFL to.the day
con la cuota.

with the fee

‘Some people of the neighbouring building don’t have money to catch up with their fee.’

- b. *¿De qué edificio les falta a algunos*
of what building CL-DAT.3SG lack-PRES.3SG to some
vecinos dinero para ponerse al día
neighbours money for to.put-REFL to.the day
con la cuota?

with the fee

‘Of what building don’t some neighbours have money to catch up

with their fee?’

e) Sympathetic Dative:

- (40) a. *Les rompieron las camisas a varios jugadores del equipo.*
CL-DAT.3SG break-PAST.3PL the shirts to several players of.the team
‘They tore some of the team players’ shirts (and this affected them).’

- b. *¿De qué equipo les rompieron las camisas a varios jugadores?*
of what team CL-DAT.3SG break-PAST.3PL the shirts to several players
‘Of what team did they tear some of the players’ shirts?’

f) Ethical Datives:

- (41) a. *A algunos padres del grupo no les comen nada sus niños en la escuela.*
to some parents of.the group not CL-DAT.3PL eat-PRES.3PL nothing their kids at the school
‘Some parents of the group’s kids don’t eat anything at school.’

- b. *¿De qué grupo no les comen nada a algunos padres sus niños en la escuela?*
of what group not CL-DAT.3PL eat-PRES.3PL nothing to some parents their kids at the school

‘*Of what group don’t the kids of some parents eat anything at school?’

g) Relational Dative:

- (42) a. *A algunos vecinos de ese edificio les*
 to some neighbours of that building CL-DAT.3SG
pareció buenisima la idea de Ximena.
 seem-PAST.3SG very.good the idea of Ximena
 ‘Ximena’s idea seemed very good to some neighbours of that building.’
- b. *¿De qué edificio les pareció tan buena*
 of what building CL-DAT.3SG seem-PAST.3SG so good
a algunos vecinos la idea de Ximena?
 to some neighbours the idea of Ximena
 ‘Of what building did Ximena’s idea seem to some neighbours so good?’

Regarding sub-extraction from datives in anticausative constructions, I offer the outcome in (43):

- (43) a. *A varios vecinos del edificio de enfrente se*
 to several neighbours of.the building of front SE
les ha caído la barandilla de sus
 CL-DAT.3PL have-PRES.3SG fallen the rail of their
balcones.

balcony

‘The balcony rails have fallen from several neighbours’ flats in the front building.’

- b. *¿De qué edificio se les ha caído*
of what building SE CL-DAT.3PL have-PRES.3SG fallen

a varios vecinos la barandilla del balcón?

to several neighbours the rails of.the balcony

‘Of what building have the balcony rails fallen from several neighbours’ flats?’

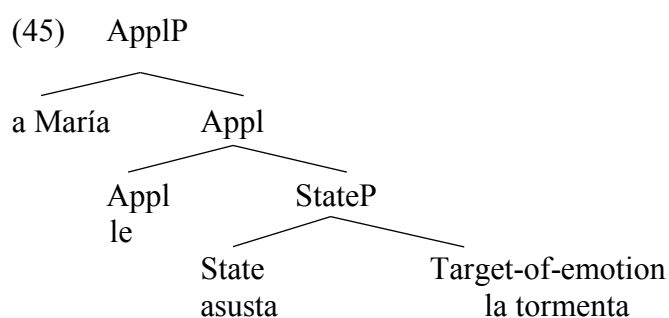
Subextraction is possible from all types of datives with the exception of ethical datives. However, it should be noted that ethical datives are not compatible with full DPs. Instead, they are realised by dative pronouns (most commonly, weak first-person pronouns; Di Tullio 2005). This accounts for the marginality of examples such as (41b) (see Campos 1999 in this respect). From the (relative) acceptability of sub-extraction from all types of datives, the conclusion can be drawn that the insertion of a dative involves its attachment within *vP* as part of the argument structure of the relevant verb. Yet, differences arise among types of datives in terms of word order, which indicate that the precise position where they are generated may be different. A distinction has been made between low and high applicatives which is the basis of my proposal. In the next section I discuss this low/high dichotomy and its consequences for information structure and word order.

4. High and Low Applicatives and Information Structure

4.1. High Applicatives, intervention and Information Structure

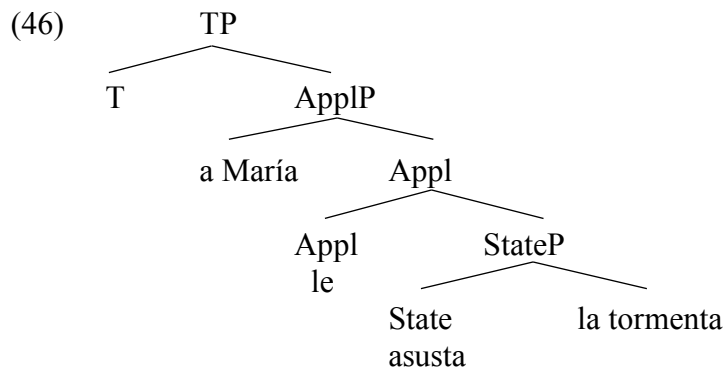
In Fábregas et al. (2017) the configuration in (45) is proposed for psych verbs involving dative experiencers such as *asustar* in (44):

- (44) *A María le asusta la tormenta.*
 to Maria CL-DAT.3SG frighten-PRES.3SG the storm
 ‘Maria is afraid of the storm.’



The dative is generated in a high ApplP which is headed by the dative clitic *le*. The StateP is a short term for a *v*P which selects a stative VP. Putting aside these details, when the derivation proceeds, a TP is introduced on top of the ApplP. Hence the dative *a*-DP is in a position that c-commands the nominative Target of emotion. In turn, the dative is c-commanded by T. This is illustrated in (46):¹⁶

¹⁶ Bondaruk (This volume) does not assume Applicatives and suggests a formal analysis of Polish dative Experiencers in which the dative is generated high in spec-*v*P, c-commanding the nominative Target of emotion in the complement of VP. Though different in assumptions, both Bondaruk’s analysis and mine predict the binding properties of datives in Spanish and Polish.

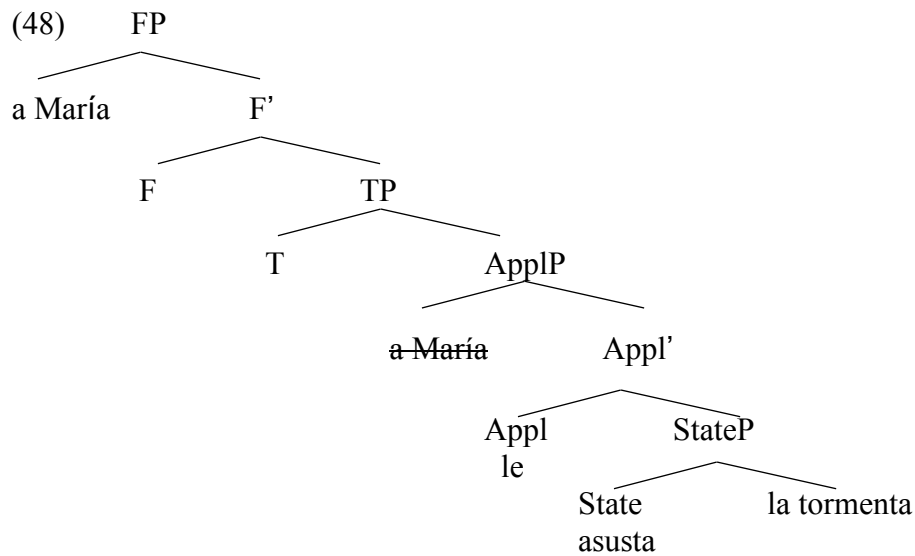


As is clear from (46), the dative is generated in a high ApplP. There are several non-necessarily incompatible ways of motivating the intervention effect in (46). One way can be to treat (46) as what Chomsky (2000: 123) terms a Defective Intervention configuration. In this view, the dative blocks the valuing relation between T and the subject because its dative case is also valued in the same phase where T probes the nominative argument. This is illustrated in (47):

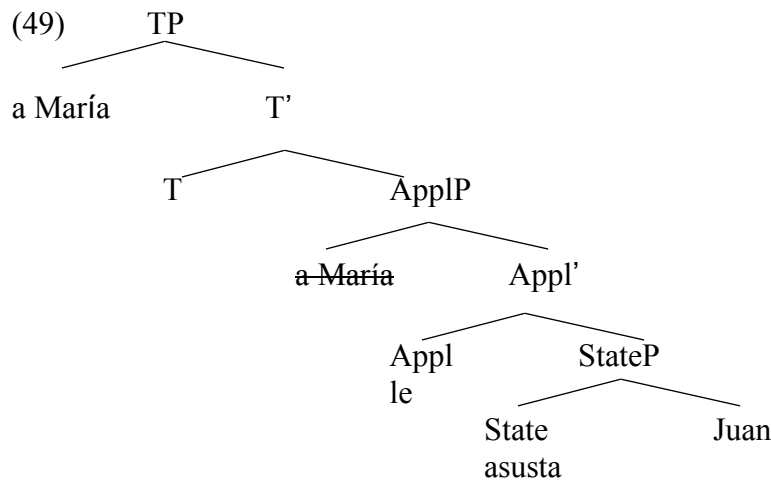
(47) *[T... [^{Dat}DP VP ^{Nom}DP]]



If this is the case, datives should be defective interveners in Spanish. More precisely, datives in a high Appl are defective interveners. In order to avoid this intervention effect, Fábregas et al. (2017) suggests moving the dative to a position higher than T (a Functional Phrase in the sense of Uriagereka 1995) and assuming that null copies do not count for the intervention effect. This is illustrated in (48):



Alternatively, in Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska (2016, 2017) the dative in this type of constructions is claimed to target spec-TP (similar to the proposal that Cuervo 2003 puts forth). This is the line I will also pursue in the present study. The derivation will be as in (49):¹⁷



The derivation is now ready for convergence and the IS-interpretation is that of broad focus, accounting for its possible use as reply to a question such as ‘What’s up?’.

¹⁷ I am not taking into account Cuervo’s (2003) classification of little *v* into three distinct categories, namely *v*BE, *v*DO and *v*GO.

On the other hand, if the dative is selected as a topic of the sentence, it undergoes movement to the left periphery (CP-area in Fábregas et al.’s approach or TP-zone in Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska’s analysis), in which case it can only be used as a reply to a sentence such as ‘Who is Maria afraid of?’. In this particular situation Maria carries old information, which is what a topic requires to qualify as such.

Let us turn now to involuntary causers with anticausative verbs. This was illustrated in (14), repeated here as (50):

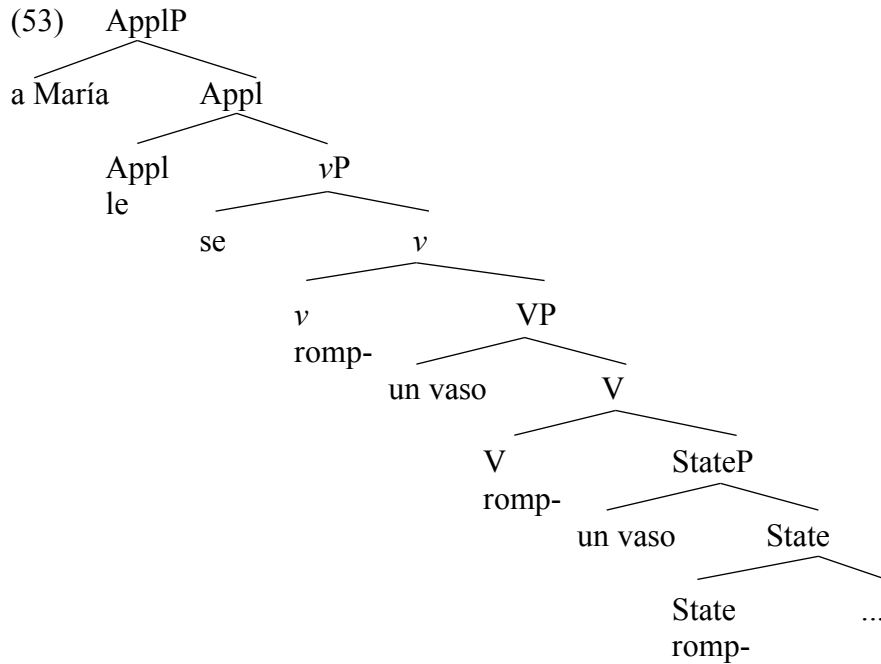
- (50) *A Pedro se le quemó la comida.*
to Pedro SE CL.3SG.DAT burn-PAST.3SG the food
‘Pedro has (unintentionally) burned the food.’

Again the dative is generated in a high ApplP, predicting that for an all-focus interpretation of a sentence the word order should be Dat+V+Subj. The prediction is borne out:

- (51) A: *¿Sabes qué?*
know-PRES.2SG what ‘You know what?’
B: a. *Que a Pedro se le quemó la comida.*
that to Pedro SE CL-DAT.3SG burn-PAST.3SG the food
b. *#Que la comida se le quemó a Pedro.*
‘Pedro has (unintentionally) burned the food.’

Schäfer (2008) and Cuervo (2010b) analyse constructions like (51), where the dative is interpreted as the non-volitional causer of the change of state, along the lines of (52).

- (52) *A María se le ha roto un vaso.*
 to María SE CL-DAT.3SG have-PRES.3SG broken a glass
 ‘Maria has dropped a glass unintentionally.’



This is an intervening configuration: The dative *A María* is sandwiched between T and the nominative argument *un vaso* ‘a glass’. The only possible convergent configuration involves movement of the dative to a higher position, which renders a dative-first all-focus ordering:

- (54) What’s up?
- b. *Que a tu padre se le ha roto un vaso.*
 that to your father SE CL-DAT.3SG have-PRES.3SG
 roto un vaso.

broken a glass

b. #*Que se le ha roto un vaso a tu padre.*

‘That your father (involuntarily) broke a glass.’

Note that the same word order is selected when the dative is a topic, but in this case it moves to the CP area if it is a sentence topic (Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014).

This is why (54a) can also be used as a reply to ‘What’s happened to your father?’

What is crucial in this analysis is that the Dative Experiencer is always a high applicative in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), etc., and in order to avoid an intervention effect the dative moves to a higher position. Incidentally, given the different shades that the little *v* may have in Cuervo’s (2003) system, the anticausative constructions may involve an ApplP sandwiched between v_{GO} and v_{BE} . The dative argument would still be the highest DP to move to a higher position, thereby obtaining the ordering Dat+V+Subj.¹⁸

Now let us turn to Ethical Datives. The so-called ethical datives in Spanish express a participant’s emotional involvement in the situation described. These structures are introduced by high applicative phrases, given that they connect an Experiencer with a situation (see Cuervo 2003). As arguments of the verb, they are generated in an Applicative Phrase high in the *v*P-area. From this it follows that spec-AppIP can be used for both arguments and adjuncts, which accounts for the similarities between central and peripheral datives. Again, we expect dative-first all-focus ordering, and this is confirmed.

¹⁸ In Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino-Blanco (2019) a VoiceP head, a *v*P head and a \sqrt{P} head are assumed in the VP-area, so some applicatives (e.g., the high ethical applicative) are sandwiched between VoiceP and *v*P and the experiencer is sandwiched between *v*P and \sqrt{P} .

(55) What's up?

a. *Que a Juan le ha adelgazado*

that to Juan CL-DAT.3SG have-PRES.3SG slim down

su niño un montón.

his kid a lot

b. *#Que su niño le ha adelgazado a Juan un montón.*

‘That Juan’s kid has lost a lot of weight (and he’s worried about this).’

Among Campos’ (1999) types of datives we also find the so-called *Dativo de suficiencia* or Existential Dative, which indicates an entity that has or has not had enough of something, as in (10a), repeated here as (56) for convenience:

(56) *A Kiko le falta un millón de pesos*

to Kiko CL.3SG.DAT lack-PRES.3SG a million of pesos

para construirse una piscina.

for to.build-REFL a pool

‘Kiko doesn’t have a million pesos to build a pool for himself.’

The word order in (56) exhibits a preference for the dative in first position, when interpreted as an all-focus sentence. This is confirmed in (57):

(57) What's up?

a. *A Kiko le falta un millón de pesos*

to Kiko CL-DAT.3SG lack-PRES.3SG a million of pesos

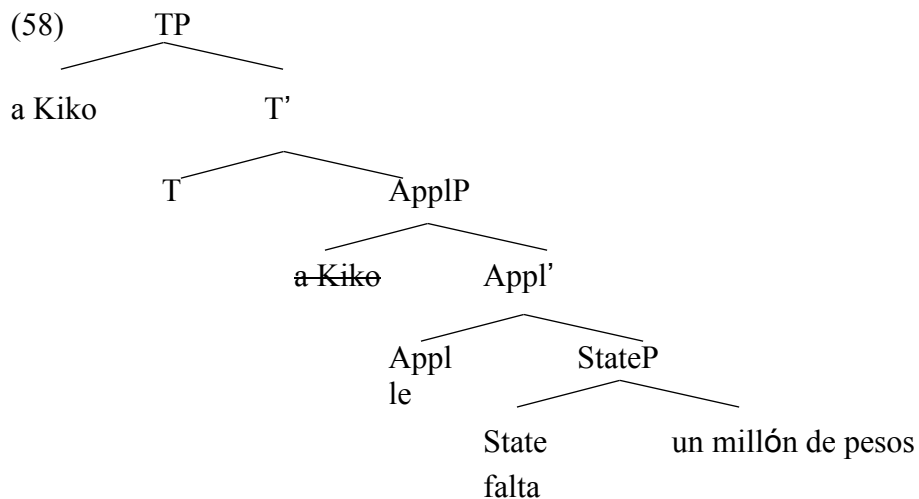
para construirse una piscina.

for to.build-REFL a pool

b. #*Un millón de pesos le falta a Kiko para construirse una piscina.*

‘Kiko doesn’t have a million pesos to build a pool for himself.’

The preference for (57a) supports my claim that in this type of construction the dative is generated in a high position and as such it is the closest element to move to spec-TP:



Finally, the Dative of Relation is the entity for which the experience denoted by the verb is valid, and was illustrated by examples such as (13a), repeated here as (59):

(59) *A Choche le pareció buenisima*

to Choche CL-DAT.3SG seem-PAST.3SG very.good

la idea de Ximena.

the idea of Ximena

‘Ximena’s idea seemed to Choche to be very good.’

The sentence in (59) displays the dative in first position, and precisely this is the most natural arrangement of constituents as a broad focus:

- (60) What's up?
- a. *A Choche le pareció buenisima*
to Choche CL.3SG.DAT seem-PAST.3SG very.good
la idea de Ximena.
the idea of Ximena
- b. *#La idea de Ximena le pareció a Choche buenisima.*
'Ximena's idea seemed to Choche to be very good.'

This strongly supports the claim that the dative of relation is generated in a high applicative (as in Cuervo 2003, p. 147, where this dative is clearly claimed to be interpreted as an Experiencer), and undergoes movement to spec-TP. The option in (60b) is informationally marked and can only be used if the DP *la idea de Ximena* 'Ximena's idea' is a topic.

To conclude this section, high applicatives are the theoretical explanation for why a dative appears in first position in all-focus contexts.

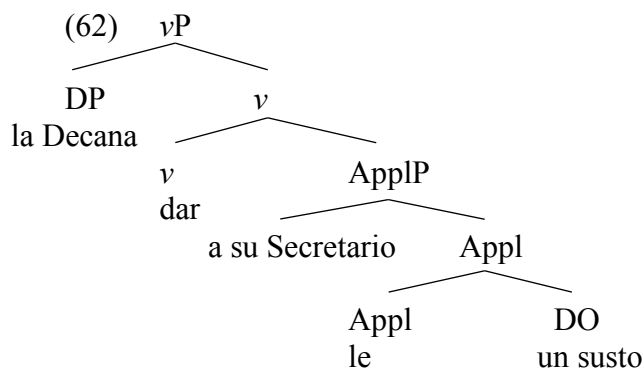
4.2. Low Applicatives, Information Structure and word order

In this section I turn to constructions where a dative has been generated in the specifier of a low applicative head. The idea that I am pursuing is that different datives trigger different orderings depending on their base position. We have seen that when the dative

comes first in all-focus sentences, it is because it has been generated in a high applicative within the verbal spine. The question arises as to those dative constructions where the dative occupies a postverbal position in DOCs and other transitive constructions where an indirect object shows up. Let me start with DOCs (focussing on constructions with a psychological interpretation), as illustrated in (28a), repeated as (61):

- (61) *La Decana le dio un susto a su secretario.*
 the dean CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG a fright to her secretary
 ‘The Dean gave her secretary a fright.’

Based on the analysis of DOCs proposed in Cuervo (2003), the following derivation can be suggested:



The derivation in (62) involves a low applicative where the dative is generated. The prediction as far as IS is concerned is that in broad focus the dative will still be in postverbal position since spec-TP is targeted by the subject *la Decana*, being the closest goal. The prediction is confirmed in light of the data in (63):

- (63) What's up?

- a. *Que la Decana le dio un susto al*
 that the dean CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG a fright to.the
secretario.
 secretary
- b. *#Que al secretario le dio la Decana un susto.*
 ‘That the Dean gave the secretary a fright.’

Sentence (63a) is the only option in terms of word order for an all-focus sentence, which can only be obtained if the dative is in a low applicative. In this configuration, the dative does not intervene between T and the nominative argument. Since the dative is base-generated in a position lower than the nominative DP, any ordering starting with the dative should be informationally marked. This IS-based distinction is confirmed for a variety of datives in DOCs (Jiménez-Fernández 2009).

A similar analysis can be put forth for English:

- (64) What’s up?
- a. John has given Mary a fright.
- b. **/#Mary, John has given a fright.*

The most natural answer is again with the Dative in postverbal position. This is achieved by generating the dative *Mary* in a low applicative.

Another group of Campos’ (1999) classification of datives includes the so-called Dative of Interest or *commodus-incommodus*, expressing an entity for whose benefit or harm something is done, and who is then interpreted as the person that comes to possess or be directly related to the object. The intuition is that these are low datives, and hence

they are generated in a low applicative. If this is on the right track, we should expect a postverbal dative in all-focus contexts. This is precisely what we find in (65):

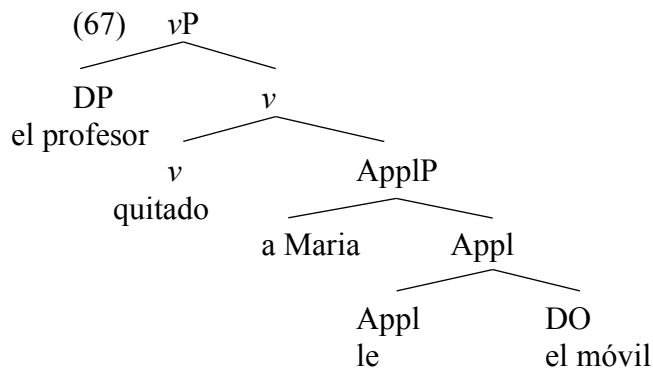
- (65) What's up?
- a. *Le corté el césped a Maggie.*
 CL-DAT.3SG cut-PAST.1SG the grass to Maggie
- b. *#A Maggie le corté el césped.*
 'I cut the grass for Maggie.'

As is clear, the most natural ordering for broad focus involves a postverbal dative, indicating that the applicative where the dative is generated is low in the verbal spine. (65b) is grammatical, but again it can be used if the dative is a topic, as a reply to *What's up with Maggie?*

Concerning Source datives, they express reverse transfer (the dative is the source from which the transfer occurs). This is illustrated in (66):

- (66) *El profesor le ha quitado a María*
 the teacher CL-DAT.3SG have-PRES.3SG removed to Maria
el móvil.
 the cell-phone
 'The teacher has taken Maria's phone from her.'

The syntactic derivation that I propose for this is one involving a low applicative head:



From the derivation in (67) we deduce that in all-focus contexts these datives will show up in a low position.¹⁹ This is confirmed, as shown in (68):

(68) What's up?

- a. *Que el profesor le ha quitado a*
 that the teacher CL-DAT.3SG have-PRES.3SG removed to
María el móvil.
 Maria the cell-phone
- b. *#Que a María le ha quitado el móvil el profesor.*
 'That the teacher has taken Maria's phone from her.'

Another type is the Dative of possession or sympathetic dative: entity having a relation of possession or intimacy with the object, as is the case in (11a), repeated in (69).

¹⁹ In line with Cuervo (2003) and Pujalte & Saab (2011), among others, the relative ordering of DO+Dat is obtained by moving the object to a higher position in search of its accusative case. Since this is not relevant for my IS-based analysis, I leave it aside.

(69) *Le besé la mano a María.*

CL.3SG.DAT kiss-PAST.1SG the hand to Maria

‘I kissed Mary’s hand.’

In this particular case, it seems that the dative is generated low in the structure. In a broad focus context the most natural ordering is that of (69), with the dative in postverbal position, which is derived from its low position:

(70) What’s up?

a. *Le besé la mano a María.*

CL.3SG.DAT kiss-PAST.1SG the hand to Maria

‘I kissed Mary’s hand.’

b. *#A María le besé la mano.*

‘I kissed Maria’s hand.’

As a conclusion, it should be clear that low datives will always remain in postverbal position in all-focus sentences, which supports my view that they are generated in a low Applicative Phrase.

5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have discussed different types of datives in Spanish, based on Campos’ (1999) typology of datives, and when relevant I have made a contrast with English. I have

assumed that all datives have some important psychological involvement in the event denoted by the verb.

I have proposed two novel diagnostics to discriminate between argument datives and adjunct datives, namely subextraction from datives and focalization of the dative by repeating it in a conditional clause. The results show that all types show some degree of argumenthood.

I have analysed all-focus sentences containing the whole variety of dative and found out that datives can be split into two groups. On the one hand, those datives which show up in first position in broad focus are generated in a high Applicative Phrase. Given that they are closer to the targeted spec-TP, the nominative subject is forced to remain in postverbal position (due to an intervention effect). On the other hand, those datives which most naturally occur postverbally in all-focus sentences have been argued to occupy a low Applicative Phrase. In this case, the nominative's movement to spec-TP is not blocked by the dative, since the latter is lower than the former in the syntactic configuration.

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