

The pronominal realization of indirect objects in ditransitive constructions: the case of Dialectal and Standard Brazilian Portuguese

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Abstract: In this study, we investigate the pronominal realization of the (third person) indirect object in ditransitive predicates in a comparative perspective between Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (DPB) and Standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP), in the scenario of Romance languages, in particular European Portuguese (EP), in which microparametric variation arises. In our analysis the indirect object argument in the EP ditransitives is projected as a double object construction (DOC), which is syntactically and semantically licensed in the projection of a low applicative head, in terms of Pylkänen's analysis for English DOC (2002, 2008), as also assumed by Cuervo (2003) for Spanish, Fournier (2010) for French, Pineda (2014, 2020) for Spanish and Catalan, just to mention a few studies in the same line of research. We assume, following Torres Morais and Salles (2010, 2016, 2019), that in the Romance DOC, the applicative head bears an interpretable Person feature which enters an agreement/Concord relation with the inherently marked dative argument in the Appl domain, being also responsible for person restrictions in clitic cluster formation (PCC), as proposed in Pancheva and Zubizarreta's (2018) study on this topic. We further claim that the radical changes in the pronominal system of BP (both dialectal and Standard), in particular the loss of third person dative (and accusative) clitics, have important consequences in the syntactic expression and semantically motivated values of the interpretable person feature on the applicative head. In particular, in DBP ditransitives, the interpretable person feature is absent in the feature make-up of the applicative head, hence the indirect object argument is licensed under Structural Case, giving rise to a type of English DOC. In standard BP, however, in the absence of dative clitics, the pronominal indirect object is introduced by the transitive preposition *a/para* 'to', the low applicative head being absent. As a related fact distinguishing standard BP and DBP, we will take into consideration a type of DOM construction, found in the former, but not in the latter (cf. Pineda 2020; Manzini and Franco 2016).

1. Introduction

In this study, we investigate the pronominal realization of indirect objects in ditransitive predicates in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (DBP), in a comparative perspective with Standard BP and other Romance languages, particularly in European Portuguese (EP).

Our hypothesis: there is a microparametric variation in the grammatical encoding of the (third person) pronoun realizing the goal argument between these two varieties of BP (as opposed to EP and other Romance languages).

We propose an analysis in which the (third person) pronoun realizing the goal argument in DPB is licensed in two different configurations, thus implying a type dative alternation (see also Torres Morais; Salles 2010):

- ✓ a double object construction (DOC), which is projected in an applicative structure
- ✓ an oblique/PP-structure

We argue, following Torres Morais and Salles (2016, 2019), that in EP the applicative head bears an interpretable Person feature which enters an agreement/Concord relation with the inherently marked dative argument – by either the dative clitic (*lhe(s)*) or the dative preposition *a* (see also Pancheva and Zubizarreta's (2018) analysis of the PCC).

The occurrence of the DOC in DBP implies the absence of the interpretable P-feature on the applicative head. The interpretable Person feature is thus a crucial property expressing the microparametric variation in DBP, as opposed to Romance languages.

In turn the dative/ goal argument may be introduced by a lexical preposition (oblique/ PP-structure), in both DBP and Standard BP (as opposed to EP).

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2. Indirect Objects in DBP in a comparative perspective with BP and EP (and other Romance languages)

2.1 DBP in the Brazilian territory

Brazilian Portuguese dialectal distribution



The map with the distribution of the dialects of Portuguese spoken in the Brazilian territory is originally proposed in Nascentes (1953) (the image is extracted from Leite and Callou 2009).

The blue circle, which includes Goiás and Minas Gerais states, as well as part of Bahia state, identifies the area where the relevant ditransitive construction (namely DOC) is found – thus pointing to an expansion with respect to the Minas dialect area, as originally delimited by Nascentes (1953).

There is no time for elaborating on the social and historical reasons for establishing this area. In fact, we do not intend to postulate a dialectal area. We restrict ourselves to point out that the dialects spoken in these areas share the above-mentioned constructions as well as the pronominal system.

Indirect objects in DBP have been widely investigated in the literature (see Ramos 1992; Scher 1996; Salles 1997; Nascimento 2007; Torres Morais; Salles 2010; Pereira 2019; Ramos and Salles 2017, among many others; see also Lucchesi; Melo 2009, for an Afro-Brazilian dialect in Bahia).

The following properties characterize IO in DBP, as opposed to Standard BP.

2. 2 A type of Double Object Construction (DOC)

Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese has a type of DOC which alternates with the oblique construction (PP-construction)

DOC

(1)

- a. mandô pidi **el** um remédio... [ask *el*3s a remedy...]
- b. feiz um chá de aipo sabe ... e deu **ela** [[she] made tea... and gave *ela*3s]
- c. vô intregá **ela** o bolo qu'êa me pidiu [[I] will hand *ela*.3s the cake]

(Data from Ramos, 1992/ Projeto Minerês; Nascimento 2007; Rezende 2008; Pereira 2019)

PP-Construction

(2)

- a. Ele dava comida **pa/po's caboco** [she gave food **to**-the guys]
- b. aí deu um comprimido **p'ra mim** ... [...gave a medicine **to** me]
- c. oCÊ que vai busca ele **pra mim**... [YOU that goes to get it **for** me]

(Data from Ramos, 1992/ Projeto Minerês; Nascimento 2007; Rezende 2008; Pereira 2019)

First and second person dative clitics are productively used.

(3)

- a. Nossa Senhora cumá Maria eu cá aqui **me** dá a mão [*me*CL1s give hand]
- b. Aí ele **me** vendeu o violão (eu fui p'ra lá) [*me*CL1s sold the guitar]
- c. (...) não eu vô fazê o que eu pudê prá **te** dirrijibá eu vô **te** 'metê ferro.
[*te*CL2s push ... *te*CL2s put chain]

The use of the preposition 'para' with the goal argument allows for an alignment with the benefactive constructions, as in (4) (Salles 1997; Torres Morais; Salles 2010)

- (4) Fez comida **para** eles. [[she] made food **for** them]

Structural properties

DOC in DBP shows asymmetric c-command between the first and the second object.

On the assumption that quantifier binding requires asymmetric c-command, the possessive pronoun in the second object is bound by the quantifier in the first object in (4a), while the binding relation does not hold in the opposite order (cf. 4b) (cf. Scher 1996; Salles 1997; 2016; Torres Morais; Salles 2010) – a phenomenon that was originally discussed in Barss; Lasnik (1986:348) for English DOC (cf. (5)).

- (5) a. Pedro mostrou cada pai_i META seu_i filho
b. *Pedro mostrou seu_i pai META cada filho_i

- (6) a'. I denied each worker_i his_i paycheck.

b'. *I denied its_i owner each paycheck_j. (Barss; Lasnik, 1986: 348)

However, differently from English DOC, passivization affecting the goal DP (*pseudopassive*) is not possible with verbs of transference, such as *dar* 'to give', *entregar* 'to hand', as illustrated in (7).

- (7) *João foi dado um livro 'J. was given the book'

Interestingly, with verbs of saying, passivization of the goal argument is possible:¹

- (8) a. João foi perguntado o endereço. 'J. was asked the address'
b. João foi solicitado o formulário 'J. was asked to give the form.'
c. João foi ensinado o caminho. 'J. was taught the itinerary'
d. O imigrante foi negado o visto. 'The immigrant was denied the visa.'

As is well known, a relevant property of verbs of saying is their selectional properties, as the DO generally has a clausal status (thus implying that the DP in the above examples may be analysed as a concealed clauses).

Passivization is generally found in DBP/ BP (and in other languages) with verbs such as *informar* 'to inform', *avisar* 'to announce', which allow for two different syntactic structures (*theme* and *goal*), one in which the goal of the information/announcement/advise

¹ As noted in Ramos; Salles (2016), long passivization is blocked if the DO is pronominal – this blocking is also found in English (cf. Kayne 1984):

- (i) *Um copo de café foi negado ele/ Coffee was denied him
(ii) *Que que foi perguntado ele?/ What was asked him?

is mapped as a DO and another in which it is mapped as an IO, the former thus being the source for passivization – we shall leave these cases aside.²

DOC in DBP is not found with benefactive predicates (with creation verbs) – restricted to verbs of transference:

(8) *Eu fiz ela um bolo ‘I baked her a cake’.

Finally, DOC in DBP occur in either GOAL-THEME, as in (1), or THEME–GOAL order, as in (9), below – thus differing from English DOC, in which only the GOAL-THEME order is found:

- (9) a. Maria Lixande, vai dá *mão ela* ‘M. L. will give hand *ela*3s’
b. aí ês ficava dano *consei nós* ‘then *es*3s would give advise *us*1pl’
c. e nós ficô cá fazeno *ca/velóro ele* ‘we stayed doing mourning *he*3s’

(9’) *Mary gave a book John

In Standard BP, DOC is not found.

The IO is realized in the construction introduced by the lexical preposition *para/a* ‘to’, which patterns with the examples in (2) (cf. Salles 1997; Calindro 2015; 2020). First and second person clitics are found.

The pronominal system

A related fact is the (innovative) pronominal system of DBP and Standard BP (as compared to EP and other Romance languages) in complement position (for BP, see historical and sociolinguistic studies by Duarte 1986; Pagotto 1992; Berlinck 1996; Cyrino 1997; Freire (2005); for DBP, see Ramos 1992; Salles 1997; Nascimento 2007; Pereira 2019, among others).

The innovative properties:

- ✓ a pronominal split: (only) first and second person clitic pronouns, *me; te*, are found (as a corollary, third person clitics (*lhe(s)/ o(s); a(s)*) are not found)
- ✓ the honorific pronoun ‘*você(s)*’ is grammaticalized as a second person pronoun, occurring in variation with the clitic ‘*te*’ (also found in subject position, triggering third person singular inflection);
- ✓ the collective expression ‘*a gente*’ is grammaticalized as a first person plural pronoun (also found in subject position, triggering third person singular inflection) (mostly in Standard BP), which is found in variation with the strong pronoun *nós*;

² Double accusatives occur in various languages depending on the verb class. In Greek, as attested in Anagnostopoulou (2001), the verbs are: pagar ‘to pay’; servir ‘to serve’; ensinar ‘to teach’.

✓ the strong/ full pronominal series is found in the complement position of the dative preposition *para* (**para** *mim/ você(s)/ nós/ a gente/ ele(s)/ ela(s)*).

As noted in Torres Morais; Salles (2021; in preparation; see also Pereira 2019), the occurrence of clitics is not residual, pointing to the survival of the Romance grammar in the grammatical system of DBP and BP.

Table 1: The DBP pronominal system – realizing IO

	Clitic	Full / Strong Pronoun (DOC)	Oblique/ PP-construction	
1	Me	(eu)	<i>Para</i>	Mim
2	Te	Você		Você
3	---	Ele/ele		Ele/ela
1	---	Nó(i)s/ A gente		Nó(i)s/ a gente
2	---	Vocês		Você(s)
3	---	Ele(s)/ela(s)		Ele(s)/ Ela(s)

Table 2: The Standard BP pronominal system – realizing the IO/ Benefactives

	Clitic	Full Pronoun	Oblique/ PP-construction	
1	Me	---	<i>Para/ A</i>	Mim
2	Te	---		Você
3	---	---		Ele/ela
1	---	---		A gente/ nós
2	---	---		Você(s)
3	---	---		Ele(s)/ Ela(s)

2. 3 Double pronominalization in DBP and Standard BP

A direct consequence of the loss of third person clitic pronouns (particularly the accusative clitics) is that clitic clusters of the EP type are not found:

- <1,3>: *mo(s)/ ma(s); <2,3>: *to(s)/ ta(s); <3,3>: *lho(s)/ lha(s)

Double pronominalization is obtained with first and second person dative clitics and the full pronoun.

(10) Inácio *me*_{GOAL} deu *ele*_{THEME} [Inácio *me*.CL.1s gave *ele*.3s] ‘gave it to me’

(11) Inácio deu *ele*_{THEME} pra mim_{GOAL} [Inácio gave *ele*.3s **to** me]

(12) *O Inácio *me*_{THEME} apresentou *ele*_{GOAL} ‘Inácio introduced me to him’

(13) O Inácio *me*_{THEME} apresentou **para ele** [Inácio *me*.CL.1s introduced **to** him]

With third person pronouns (**lho(s)/lha(s)*)

- ✓ The Goal argument is always found in the P-Construction:

(14) *João apresentou *ela*_{GOAL} *ela*_{THEME}

(15) João apresentou *ela*_{THEME} **pra** *ela*_{GOAL} ‘João introduced her to them’

2. 4 Clitic Doubling

A type of clitic doubling is found in the DBP (cf. Diniz 2007; Machado Rocha 2016)

- ✓ restricted to first and second person clitics

Monotransitive predicates

(16) a. eu vou *te* jogá **ocê** no fogo. [I go *te*.CL.2s throw **you** in the fire]

b. tinha cinco médico lá *me* olhano *eu* assim. [five doctors *me*.CL looking *eu*.1s]

c. eu *te* ajudo **ocê**. [I *te*.CL.2s help **you**]

Ditransitive predicates

(17) a. eu to **te** falano **pra você** (PP-construction) [I am *te*.CL.2s talking to you]

b. deixa eu **te** pergunta **ocê** um negócio (DOC) [let I *te*.CL.2s ask you something]

3. An applicative analysis: datives as applied arguments (from EP to DBP)

3.1 The (low) Applicative

A well-known fact regarding European Portuguese (EP) is that IO can be a distinct structural class, morphologically identified by a dative marker.

As full DPs, indirect objects appear preceded by the dative-morpheme *a* (a-DP), whose corresponding dative clitic pronoun is *lhe/lhes* (3rd person singular and plural).

EP displays a full paradigm of clitics (thus differing from Standard BP and DBP)

Table 3: The EP pronominal system – realizing the IO

	Dative Clitics [a-DP]	Full Pronoun	Oblique/ PP- construction
1	Me [a-mim]	---	---
2	Te [a-ti]	---	---
3	Lhe [a-ele/a]	---	---
1	Nos [a-nós]	---	---
2	Vos [a-vós]	---	---
3	Lhe(s) [a-eles/as]	---	---

Another remarkable fact about datives in EP is its pervasive distribution. This is referred to in traditional grammars and in modern descriptive ones (cf. Raposo *et al.* 2013).

Dative DPs are very productive with activity verbs, including directional dynamic verbs of transference, creation verbs and non-directional dynamic verbs. It also appears with stative verbs. In all these contexts the goal argument cooccurs with a DO, and can have different meanings, including recipient, source, benefactive, possessor of the theme argument.

Based on Pylkkänen's (2002, 2008) theory of applicatives, and Cuervo's analysis of applicatives in Spanish (2003), Torres Morais (2007); Torres Morais; Salles (2010; 2016) propose that the variety of meanings of datives in EP derives from the different position in which the applicative head is licensed in the structure. As in Spanish, EP provides evidence for three types of applicative heads, namely, the high applicative, the low applicative and the affected applicative.

Also, it is possible to assume three subtypes of low applicatives: recipient (TO-applicative), source (FROM-App) and possessor (AT-App), as illustrated below.

Low Applicative-TO: applied argument-recipient/benefactive

(18) a. O Pedro deu o colar **à** Maria/ deu-**lhe** o colar
The Peter gave the necklace the Maria.DAT/gave-3SG.DAT the necklace
'Peter gave Mary the necklace.'

b. A Maria preparou um delicioso jantar **ao** Pedro/ preparou-**lhe** um jantar
The Mary prepared a delicious dinner the Pedro.DAT/ prepared-3SG.DAT a dinner
'Mary prepared a delicious dinner for Peter'

Low Applicative -FROM: applied argument-source

(19) O João roubou o colar **ao** Pedro/ roubou-**lhe** o colar
The João stole the necklace the Pedro.DAT/ stoled-3SG.DAT the necklace
'John stole the necklace from Peter'

Low Applicative-AT: applied argument-possessor

a. Transitive verbs of non-directional activity

(20) O Pedro beijou as mãos **à** Maria/ beijou-**lhe** as mãos
The Pedro kissed the hands the Maria.DAT/ kissed-3SG.DAT the hands
'Peter kissed Mary's hands.'

b. Stative transitive verbs

(21) O professor elogiou as provas **aos** alunos/ elogiou-**lhes** as provas

The teacher praised the assignment the students.DAT/ praised-3SG-DAT the assignments
'The teacher praised the student's assignments'

The possessive/ benefactive contrast reveals that both high and low applicative heads are active in EP, as shown by the ambiguous interpretation of the applied argument.

(22) a. O detetive desvendou o mistério **à** polícia (poss/ben)
The detective solved the mystery the policy.DAT
'The detective solved the mystery of/for the police'
(Miguel; Gonçalves; Duarte 2010)

b. Descasquei-**lhe** a laranja. (poss/ben)
(I) peeled 3SG.DAT the orange
'I peeled his orange'/ 'I peeled the orange for him'

c. Descasquei-**lhe** uma laranja. (*poss/ben/recipient)

(I) peeled-3SG.DAT an orange
'I peeled him an orange'
(Berlinck, 1996)

3. 2 Clitic clusters and PCC effects in EP

Clitic clusters in EP are formed under a Person Case Constraint (PCC) in the variety named 'Strong PCC'.

If DAT then ACC-3rd (Bonet 1991: ch. 4; 1994)

The clitic groups allowed by the strong PCC are the following:

- (23) a. *me/nos* + o(s)/a(s) = *mo; mos; ma; mas; no-lo; no-la; no-los; no-las*
b. *te/vos* + o(s)/a(s) = *to; ta; tos; tas; vo-lo; vo-la; vo-los; vo-las*
c. *lhe/lhes* + o(s)/a(s) = *lho; lhos; lha; lhas*

This constraint rules out the possibility of a First/Second person accusative clitic in the presence of a dative clitic (Kayne 1975, and others, on the PCC in French) – **me te/ *te me* ...

- (24) a. *O João não *te me* apresentou [*2P DAT, 1P ACC]
b. *O João não *me te* apresentou [*1P DAT 2P ACC]

Consequently a mixed structure involving (ACC) clitics and strong pronouns is found, as a repair strategy.

- (25) a. O João não *me*_{THEME} apresentou **a ti**
'John did not introduce me to you'
b. O João não *te*_{THEME} apresentou **a mim**
'John did not introduce you to me'

A 3rd person Dative clitic co-occurring with either a 1st or a 2nd person Accusative clitic is not tolerated either, giving rise to a distribution in which the DO occurs as the dative clitic and the IO is introduced by the strong pronoun,

- (26) a. *O João não *lhe me* apresentou. [*3P DAT, 1P ACUS]
a'. O João **me** apresentou **a ele**.
b. *O João *lhe te* apresentou. [*3P DAT, 2P ACUS]
b'. O João **te** apresentou **a ele**.

This is a particular context allowing a strong pronoun without clitic doubling.

In turn clitic combinations involving a 3rd person Accusative clitic preceded by a Dative clitic of any person exclude the use of the construction with the full pronoun.

(27)

a. A Maria não **mo** apresentou. [√ 1P DAT, 3P ACC]

a'. *A Maria não **o** apresentou **a mim**.

b. A Maria não **to** apresentou. [√ 2P DAT, 3P ACC]

b'. *A Maria não **o** apresentou **a ti**.

c. A Maria não **lho** apresentou. [√ 3P DAT, 3P ACC]

c'. *A Maria não **o** apresentou **a ele**.

3.3 Clitic Doubling in EP

In EP clitic doubling is restricted to personal animate/ human strong pronouns, found in the context of transitive and ditransitive predicates.

(28) a. Não **lhe** dei o livro **a ele**. (ele = human)
not him.Dat gave the book a-Dat him
'I did not give him the book'

b. Não **o** vi **a ele**. (ele = human)
not him.Acc saw Prep.him
'I did not see him.'

c. *Não **a** vi **a ela**. (ela = estrela)
not her.Acc saw Prep.her (ela=stars)_
'I did not see it'

A crucial property of IO in EP: strong pronouns are obligatorily doubled by the clitic.

(29) *Dei o livro **a ele**.
gave the book a-Dat him
'I gave him the book'

In (dative/ accusative) clitic doubling configurations, the dative marker **a** is required.

(30) Dei-lhe o livro **a/*para** ele/ela.

Our proposal is that the contrastive facts in (29) and (30) are evidence for the identification of *a* with the applicative projection in ditransitive constructions, as opposed to the PP-construction.

Accordingly, in EP, ditransitives constructions are projected as a double object construction (DOC), which is syntactically and semantically licensed in the projection of a low applicative head, in terms of Pytkänen's (2002, 2008) analysis for English DOC, as also assumed by Cuervo (2003) for Spanish, Fournier (2010) for French, Pineda (2020a; 2020b) for Spanish and Catalan, just to mention a few studies in the same line of research, as illustrated below.

- (31) a. O João deu um livro à Maria/deu-lhe um livro (EP)
- b. [_{VP} V_[acc] [_{VP} V [_{AppIP} DP_{GOAL} [_{AppI'} Appl [_{DP} DP_{THEME.Acc}]]]]]

We further assume, following Torres Morais and Salles (2016, 2019), that in the Romance DOC, the applicative head bears an interpretable Person feature which enters an agreement/Concord relation with the inherently marked dative argument in the Appl domain (an idea that stems from Roberts 2007).

In turn, the upper *v* head has uninterpretable phi-features that act as a Probe and enters an Agree relation with the (interpretable) phi-features of the DP_{THEME}.

The interpretable Person-feature is also responsible for the above-mentioned person restrictions in clitic cluster formation (PCC), as proposed in Pancheva and Zubizarreta's (2018) analysis.

The Person feature [P] on the applicative head has the following feature make-up:

- a. 1P: [+ proximate], [+ participant], [+ author]
 b. 2P: [+ proximate], [+ participant], [- author]
 c. 3P [+ proximate], [- participant], [- author]
 d. 3P [-proximate], [- participant], [- author]
 (Pancheva; Zubizarreta, 2018, p. 9)

- ✓ To be a perspective center, an argument must be [+proximate].
- ✓ The [+proximate] feature expresses the crucial property of IO as an affected argument, which entails the feature [+animacy].
- ✓ First and Second person are inherently [+animate], hence [+proximate].
- ✓ Third person [+animate], hence [+proximate] as as property of IO.

Based on this system we include the feature [*+proximate*] as a *default* feature for IO, as a condition licensing the interpretable P-feature on the Applicative head.

Going back to double pronominalization in DBP

Torres-Morais; Salles (2010) propose that the ditransitive predicate DBP is a projection of a *low applicative head*, which introduces a possession relation between the possessor/**goal** DP and the **theme** DP (cf. Pytkänen 2002, 2008), exactly in EP.

In DBP ditransitives, the interpretable P-feature is absent in the feature make-up of the applicative head, hence the indirect object argument is licensed under Structural Case, giving rise to a type of English DOC.

- (32) a. deu **ela** chá de aipo [[she] gave *ela*.3s tea]
 b. [_{VP} V_{acc} [_{VP} V [_{AppIP} DP_{GOAL/acc} [_{AppI'} Appl_{acc} [_{DP} DP_{THEME,acc}]]]]]

In the absence of the interpretable Person-feature, structural Case is activated: the uninterpretable *phi*-features of the applicative head enter an agree relation with the DP argument in its object position.

In turn the PP-construction is also found in DBP, as a projection of the lexical preposition *para*:

- (33) a. Ele dava comida **pa/po's caboco** [he gave food to-the guys]
 b. [_{VP} deu [_{VP} [_{DP} comida] V [_{PP} [_{P'} *para* [_{DP} OS cabocos]]]]

Crucially, Standard BP only has the PP-construction.

The occurrence of DOC in DBP is thus a crucial property expressing the microparametric variation, with respect to EP.

Recall that the PP-construction is also found in EP, introduced by *a*, as a repair strategy in double pronominalization:

- (34) O João não **te**_{THEME} apresentou a mim_{GOAL} [The João NEG *te*.2s introduced **to-me**]

This analysis relates to the idea that Romance PCC is not restricted to clitic clusters (cf. Ormazabal; Romero 2013):

- (35) a. Enviaron *(a) Mateo/ tu hijo a los doctores
 b. **Les** enviaron (*a) Mateo/ tu hijo a los doctores

Sheehan (2020) argues that the dative clitic indicates a radically different underlying structure, which is not morphologically disambiguated in Italian, French and Catalan.”

- ✓ The second ‘a-DP’ in (39) has a **different syntactic status**: in (39a), it is a **locative**, base-generated below the direct object; in (39b), it is a **dative, introduced by an Applicative head**.
- ✓ Clitic doubling implies DOC and in the absence of clitic doubling indirect objects have the possibility of functioning as locative PPs. (cf. Harley 2002)

These facts should be taken as a piece of evidence for the co-existence of DOC and PP-construction in EP.

But see Pineda (2020a), for a unified analysis of ditransitive constructions in Spanish (and other Romance languages) in terms of the applicative head (regardless of the presence of clitic doubling), thus excluding the PP-construction.

3.4 Partial conclusions

How does (standard)BP differ from DBP in ditransitive constructions?

Similarities

- ✓ Loss of third person accusative/dative clitics (*o(s)/ a(s); lhe(s)*)
- ✓ Ditransitive constructions with *para* – *an alignment between benefactives – oblique construction*

Differences

- ✓ Absence of DOC in Standard BP
- ✓ Absence of clitic doubling (with clitic+full pronoun) in Standard BP
- ✓ **BUT: An innovative DOM construction in (standard)BP, but not in DBP**

4. A related development: the innovative grammar of DOM in (Standard) BP

Monotransitive predicates

- ✓ An innovative fact about pronominal complementation in BP is that a number of monotransitive predicates do not take the dative clitic (as found in EP).
- ✓ These predicates involve a [+pronominal], [+human], [+affected/goal] argument.
- ✓ These predicates have been analysed as a DOM configuration, and more recently in terms of microparametric variation (cf. Manzini; Franco (2016); Pineda (2020a/b); Pineda; Royo (2017); Salles; Torres Morais (2020))

In the absence of (Third person) dative clitics (*lhe(s)*) in DBP and Standard BP, the relevant argument occurs in two configurations:

- ✓ as a DO; or
- ✓ as a DOM argument, introduced by a dative marker ‘**a**’:
(Torres Morais; Salles 2019; Salles; Torres Morais 2020)

(Innovative) DOM in predicates denoting (abstract) orientation/ transference to the internal argument

- (36) a. Obedecer [DP o pai] ‘to obey the father’
 b. Obedecer [DP ele]/ [a ele] (*para) [to obey *ele3s* / P_a *ele3s*’.DOM]
- (37) a. Agradar [DP o amigo] ‘to please his friend’
 b. Agradar [DP ele] [a ele/ (*para)] [to please *ele3s* / P_a *ele3s*’.DOM]
- (38) a. Servir [DP o cliente] ‘to serve the client’
 b. Servir [DP ele] [a ele]/ (*para) [to serve *ele3s* / P_a *ele3s*’.DOM]
- (39) a. Chamar [DP o aluno] ‘to call the student’
 b. Chamar [DP ele] [a ele]/ (*para) [to call *ele3s* / P_a *ele3s*’.DOM]

(Innovative) DOM in predicates denoting transference (of possession)

(Innovative) DOM is also found with predicates denoting **transference (of possession)/ orientation to the internal argument**, whether monotransitive or ditransitive.

- ✓ In some cases, the preposition ‘para’ is semantically possible (42).
- ✓ In some cases, the mapping as an accusative is excluded (43):

- (40) a. Ensinar [DP a criança] (a nadar) ‘to teach the child’
 b. Ensinar [DP ela] [**a-ela**] [para ela] [to teach *ela3s* / P_{para/a} *ela3s*]
- (41) a. Pagar [DP o vendedor] (a dívida) ‘to pay the seller’
 b. Pagar [DP ele] [**a-ele**] [para ele] [to pay *ele3s* / P_{para/a} *ele3s*]
- (42) a. Telefonar [DP*(para) um amigo] ‘to phone *(to) a friend’
 b. Telefonar [DP a-ele] [PP **para** ele] [to phone P_{para/a} *ele3s*]
- (43) a. Enviar a mensagem [DP *(**a/para**) um amigo] ‘to send a message to a friend’
 b. Enviar a mensagem [DP a-ele] [PP para ele] [to send a message P_{para/a} *ele3s*]

The above-mentioned facts should interact with what has been previously pointed out with respect to passivization of the goal argument in ditransitive predicates in DBP.

Interestingly similar facts, affecting the same class of verbs, have been discussed Pineda (2020a/b) and Pineda; Royo (2017), involving innovative strategies of object marking in Catalan (as compared to Spanish and other Romance languages), for which the authors provide an applicative-based analysis.

A low applicative analysis for DOM in BP

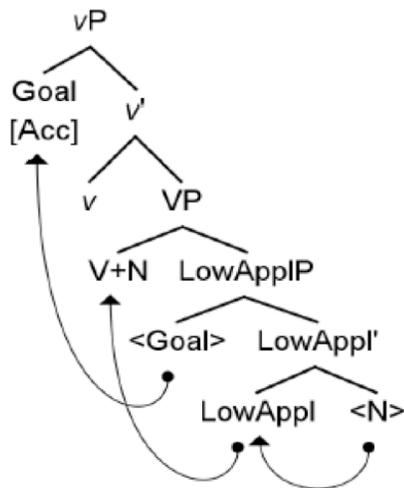
Monotransitive predicates:

- ✓ Goal argument: [+animate]; [+affected]
- ✓ A relation between the goal argument and the nominal (sub)event (cf. Hale; Keyser (1993); Torrego (2010); Manzini; Franco (2016); Pineda (2020a/b); Torres Morais; Salles (2019); Salles; Torres Morais 2020)).

Pineda's (2020b) applicative analysis of the accusative/dative alternation in monotransitives predicates, considering communicating verbs such as *telefonar/ trucar* 'to telephone', *preguntar* 'to ask', transfer of possession verbs, such as *pagar* 'to pay', *ensenyar* 'to teach'.

DIOM in Catalan (affecting one single verb, *trucare* 'to phone') – a (lexically marked) accusative

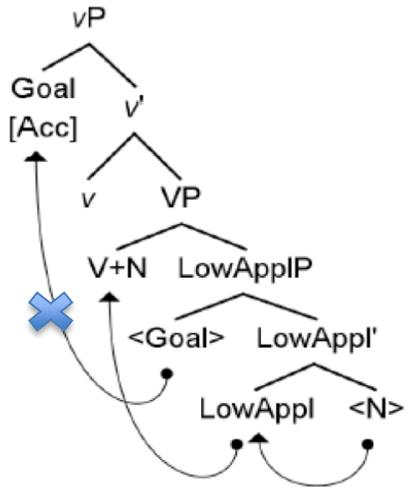
(44)



This analysis can be uniformly applied to the above-mentioned monotransitives in DBP – in which the preposition *a* is consistently absent (as opposed to EP) – that is, DBP displays a pervasive DIOM.

In Standard BP, in turn, the (pronominal) IO may be marked by preposition *a* with the above-mentioned monotransitives (in variation with the DO configuration), hence the goal argument does not enter an agree relation with *v* – a type of DOM.

(45)



5. Summary

A microparametric approach to the syntactic expression of *goal* arguments in ditransitive and monotransitive constructions, considering DBP, BP, EP.

Strategy	DBP	Standard BP	EP
Low Applicative Ditransitives	1p/ 2p clitics Clitic doubling with 1p/ 2p clitics (English type) DOC	1p/ 2p clitics --- ---	1p/ 2p/ 3p clitics Clitic doubling Clitic clusters (Strong PCC) DOC [lhe/a -ele(a)]
Low Applicative Monotransitives	Full/Strong pronoun [ele/a(s)]	Full/ Strong pronoun [ele(s)/ ela(s)]/ [a -ele/a(s)]	Dative/IO [lhe/a -ele(a)]
Oblique/ PP- construction	para + full pronouns	para/a + full pronouns	a + 1p/2p full pronoun (repair structure in double pronominalization)
Oblique/PP- construction	Benefactives Para + full pronouns	Benefactives Para + full pronouns	Benefactives [lhe/a -ele(a)]
			para + full pronouns

THANK YOU!

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