

REF Cl_{dat} sat_{3PSG} behind

We compare our data with those studied by Acedo-Matellán (2017) for Latin, where, under certain circumstances a (locative non-directional) preposition incorporates into the verb and it licenses a DP which surfaces with dative case.

(7) Tibi ad-duxi hominem. (From Acedo-Matellán 2017)
you.dat at-lead.prf.1sg person.acc ‘I have brought the man to your presence.’

It is this process of incorporation that licenses movement of the complement of the (complex) preposition. A prediction of this claim is that no complement, including the dative DP, can appear between the preposition and the verb. This prediction is borne out:

(8) a. *Se le sentó a Juan detrás b. Se le sentó detrás a Juan
SE Cl_{dat} sat_{3PSG} to Juan behind SE Cl_{dat} sat behind of Juan

There are other facts which support this raising analysis for datives. First, the extraction of the dative with these constructions shows *me lui* restrictions (9). More important is the fact that the dative version yields an affected interpretation, as can be seen in (10b):

(9) *Me le pusieron delante
Cl_{ACCIP} Cl_{Dat3P} put in front ‘They put me in front of him/her’

(10) a. Escupe delante de Juan b. Le escupe delante (a Juan)
‘S/he spits in Juan’s presence’ ‘S/He spits on Juan’

In fact, the dative construction also gives rise to inalienable possession interpretation, as can be seen in the contrast in (11). Importantly, the *distributivity effect* described by Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) is obtained, as can be seen in (12b):

(11) a. Pintó algo detrás de Juan b. Le pintó algo detrás (a Juan)
S/he painted something behind Juan S/he painted something on Juan’s back

(12) a. Pusieron algo al lado de los niños b. Les pusieron algo al lado (a los niños)
They put something next to the kids They put something next to each kid

We will see that, as expected, idioms are only obtained from the dative version: *Ponerle la mano encima (a alguien)* ‘To beat someone vs. *Poner la mano encima de alguien* ‘put a hand on someone’ (only literal interpretation), *Echarle la vista encima (a alguien)* ‘To catch someone’ vs. #*Echar la vista encima de alguien* lit. ‘to throw the sight on someone’. This idiom possibility indicates that the PP is part of the main vP.

Doubling data will also be presented: different varieties of Spanish have different doubling possibilities for these structures, which suggests that different domains for doubling are computed depending on the dialect.

References: Acedo-Matellán, V. (2017): Latin datives with prefixed verbs and beyond: A view from the theory of applicatives, *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 16, 19-49. Bosque, I. & Demonte, V. (dirs.) (1999): Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. Cuervo, M.C. (2003): *Datives at Large*, PhD Thesis, MIT. Larson, R. & Samian, V. (2018): *Ezafe*, PP and the Nature of Nominalization. Paper presented at Stony Brook. Jackendoff, R. (1973): The Base Rules for Prepositional Phrases, in Anderson, S. & Kiparsky, P. (eds.), *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, New York, Holt. RAE/ASALE (2009-2011): Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. Rizzi, L. (1998): Il sintagma preposizionale, in Renzi, L. Salvi, P., Cardinaletti, A. (eds.) *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, Bologna: Il Mulino. Vergnaud, J.R & M.L. Zubizarreta (1992): The Definite Determiner and the Inalienable Constructions in French and in English, *LI*, 23:4.