

# OBJECT TO SUBJECT RAISING IN SPANISH.<sup>1</sup>

Nora González M.

## 1. Introduction.

The grammar of Spanish contains a construction called Object to Subject Raising (OSR). This construction is governed by predicates like: fácil, 'easy', difícil, 'difficult', posible, 'possible'. The effect of this construction is to promote the direct object of the immediately embedded clause to subject of the matrix clause. The main goal of this paper is to present a detailed description of the OSR construction and to formulate the condition for the nominals that can raise. It is demonstrated here that when OSR interacts with constructions such as Clause Union and 3-2 Advancement, only the nominal which qualifies as a 'starter 2' and heads a final nuclear-term arc<sup>2</sup> can raise in the OSR construction. This condition makes reference to Grammatical Relations (GR's) and syntactic levels. The framework of RG, by recognizing such notions, makes it possible to capture the regularities of the construction under study.

The second goal of this paper is to provide empirical support for the Unaccusative Hypothesis proposed by Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984b), and for the

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<sup>2</sup>The notion 'starter 2' includes initial 2s and earliest 2s. This notion is discussed in detail in 6. The notion 'nuclear-term' includes 1s and 2s.

inclusion of the notion 'starter 2' as proposed by Johnson and Postal (1980) in linguistic theory. The CSR facts show that the group of nominals included in the notion 'starter 2' function as a distinct syntactic class. This notion is crucial in stating a generalization about CSR in Spanish.

## 2. OSR in Spanish and the Problem.

In order to facilitate the reader's understanding of the problems examined here, a brief description of the facts of OSR is given. The CSR construction is exemplified in (1b).

- (1) a. Es fácil hacer esas canastas.  
'It is easy to make those baskets'.  
b. Esas canastas son fáciles de hacer.  
'Those baskets are easy to make'.

In (1b), canastas, the direct object of the embedded clause has raised to subject of the matrix clause. However, certain cases of CSR remain unexplained.

### 2.1. Problem One.

Sentences (2)-(3) show that the subjects of intransitive clauses do not form a uniform class with respect to OSR. In (2) the subject of llorar cannot raise, while in (3), the subject of desaparecer is able to raise.

- (2) \*Los niños son fáciles de llorar  
'The children are easy to cry'.  
(3) Las cicatrices de la viruela son difíciles de desaparecer.  
'Small-pox scars are difficult to disappear'.

We need to explain why the subjects of different intransitive clauses behave differently with respect to CSR.

### 2.2. Problem Two.

Contrast (2) with (4) below:

- (4) a. Es fácil hacer llorar a los niños.  
'The children are easy to make (them) cry'.  
b. Los niños son fáciles de hacer llorar.  
'The children are easy to make (them) cry'.

In (4a) the embedded clause under fácil is an example of the so called causative Clause Union (CU) construction governed by hacer. (cf. Aissen (1974), Aissen and Perlmutter (1976), Bordelois (1974), and Gibson and Raposo (to appear)). Sentence (4b) shows that in a Causative CU construction, the subject of the intransitive clause embedded under hacer,

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<sup>3</sup>I systematically refer to nominals by their heads.

niños, is raised to subject of the matrix clause with the predicate fácil.

Note that in (2) and (4) the semantic role that niños bears to llorar is the same (Agent), however its behavior in each case is different with respect to CSR. Here, we need to explain why the subject of the same verb differ with respect to CSR.

### 2.3. Problem Three.

Spanish has pairs of related sentences such as the following:

- (5) Le recordé este asunto al presidente.<sup>4</sup>  
DAT DAT  
(I reminded this matter to the president).

- (6) Recordé al presidente de este asunto.  
ACC

'I reminded the president of this matter'.

In (5), asunto is the final direct object of the clause, but in (6) it is marked with the preposition de. Presidente, on the other hand, is the final indirect object of (5) and is marked dative. In (6) it is the final direct object. It is post verbal and marked accusative.<sup>5</sup> Consider (5) and (6) embedded under posible in (7) and (8) respectively.

- (7) a. Es posible recordarle este asunto al presidente.  
(It is possible to remind this matter to the president).

- b. Este asunto es posible de recordar(selo) al presidente.  
(This matter is possible to be reminded to the president).

- (8) a. Es posible recordarlo de este asunto.  
'It is possible to remind him of this matter'.

- b.\*Este asunto es posible de recordarlo.  
(This matter is possible to remind him).

In (7b) the embedded direct object, asunto, can raise; while

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<sup>4</sup> Le in this sentence is a copy of the final 3 presidente. This copy is optional under certain circumstances. See Eickford (1982) and Goldin (1972) for a discussion on the optionality of le.

<sup>5</sup> See 5.2.2. for a discussion on case marking.

<sup>6</sup> In Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) it is noted that in the CSR construction, speakers relax the requirement of having the clitic pronoun le as in (i).

(i) El perdón es posible de implorar (\*le) a Dios.  
'Forgiveness is possible to be implored to God'.

The omission of the clitic le is not uniform in the CSR

in (8b) asunto cannot.<sup>7</sup> The semantic role of asunto in both (7) and (8) is the same: 'patient' or theme; however the two cases behave differently with respect to CSR.

Another crucial contrast between (5) and (6) is that in (5), asunto is the final direct object of the clause, while in (6) presidente is the final direct object. However, these two nominals behave differently with respect to CSR. In (7b), asunto can raise, but in (9) below presidente fails to raise.

(9) \*El presidente es posible de recordar de  
la cita.

(The president is possible to remind of  
the appointment).

#### 2.4. Problem Four.

It was mentioned above that asunto in (6) is marked with the preposition de. Another construction where the prepositional de marking occurs is in the CSR construction itself. Note in (1)-(4) that the predicates difícil, imposible are followed by the preposition de in the CSR construction. The question arises: Can these different occurrences of de be accounted for in a uniform manner?

Finally, the issue of whether the appropriate condition on CSR should be stated in terms of syntactic notions or semantic notions is addressed throughout this paper. In what follows, an analysis that accounts for the problems raised here is presented.

construction. Note that (11c) below is grammatical with the clitic, while (i) is ungrammatical with the clitic. However, (i) with the clitic le can be made grammatical if there is a clitic copy of the raised object as in (ii).

(ii) El perdón es posible de implorarselo a Dios.

Dat-Acc

'Forgiveness is possible to be implored to God'.

In fact, some speakers prefer (ii) over (i).

Sentence (7b) can have double clitics, under the same circumstances as (ii) can. Some speakers prefer (7b) with the dative and accusative clitics on the embedded verb. The details of the distribution of clitics in the CSR construction is not directly relevant to the present discussion.

<sup>7</sup>Note in (8) that presidente has been cliticized to the accusative clitic pronoun lo (cf. 5.2.2. for a discussion on cliticization and case marking).

### 3. The OSR Construction and the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

#### 3.1. The OSR Construction in Spanish.

The OSR construction is also known as 'Tough movement'. This construction has been studied in English by Postal (1974) and others. The interaction of the OSR construction in Spanish with Clause Reduction and Reflexive Passive has been studied by Aissen and Perlmutter (1976). OSR optionally promotes the 2 of the immediately embedded clause to 1 of the matrix clause, as in (10b).

- (10) a. Es fácil traducir estos poemas.  
'It is easy to translate these poems'.  
b. Estos poemas son fáciles de traducir.  
'These poems are easy to translate'.

In (10a) the nominal poemas is the 2 of the embedded clause. In (10b) poemas is the final 1 of the matrix clause. It determines agreement with the matrix verb and adjective; son and fáciles are plural in agreement with poemas.

The examples in (11) show that a 3 cannot raise in the OSR construction, but the 2 of the clause can.

- (11) a. Es fácil cambiarles los pañales a los niños.  
'It is easy to change the diapers for the children'.  
b. \*Los niños son fáciles de cambiar los pañales.  
'The children are easy to be changed the diapers'.  
c. Estos pañales son fáciles de cambiarles a los niños.  
'These diapers are easy to change for the children'.

In (11b), niños, the 3 of the clause fails to raise, but pañales, the 2 of the clause raises in (11c).

The following set of examples show that an oblique cannot raise in the OSR construction in Spanish.

- (12) a. Es imposible reír el día entero.  
'It is impossible to laugh the whole day'.  
b. \*El día entero es imposible de reír.  
(The whole day is impossible to laugh).  
(13) a. Es difícil patinar en el hielo.  
'It is difficult to skate on the ice'.  
b. \*(En) el hielo es difícil de patinar (en).  
'(On) the ice is difficult to skate on'.

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<sup>8</sup> Other arguments for the final 1-hood of the raised nominal can be found in Aissen and Perlmutter (1976).

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 6. Some speakers prefer 11c with the benefactive para los niños rather than the indirect object a los niños.

- (14) a. Es difícil cantar para este público.  
 'It is difficult to sing for this audience'.  
 b. \*(Para) este público es difícil de cantar (para).  
 '(For) This audience is difficult to sing for'.

Note that (12-14) exemplify clauses with obliques. In (12a) the nominal día (an oblique without preposition) heads a temporal-arc in the embedded clause. (12b) shows that día fails to raise in the CSR construction. Similarly in (13a) the nominal hielo heads a locative-arc in the embedded clause. In (13b) hielo cannot raise. Finally, in (14) the nominal público heads a benefactive-arc in the embedded clause. (14b) shows that público cannot raise in the CSR construction. Observe that, crucially, sentences (12-14) are ungrammatical with the occurrence of the preposition de, which is signaling that the CSR construction has taken place. These sentences are grammatical without the preposition de but in this case they exemplify topicalization of the oblique nominal.

A condition is needed on the possible nominals that can raise in the CSR construction. A preliminary version is given in (15). It will be modified in 6.

- (15) Condition on OSR (first version):  
 Only a nominal heading a 2-arc can raise in the CSR construction.

According to (15), a nominal need not be a final 2 in order to raise. This can be seen in the following Passive examples:

- (16) a. Es posible que tu poema sea publicado  
 en mi revista.  
 'It is possible that your poem be published in my magazine'.  
 b. Tu poema es posible de ser publicado en  
 mi revista.  
 'Your poem is possible to be published in my magazine'.

In (16a) poemas is the final 1 of the embedded clause by Passive. The fact that it raises in (16b) constitutes evidence that it heads a 2-arc.<sup>10</sup>

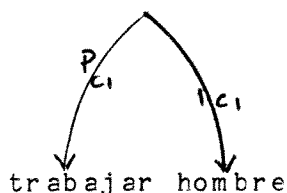
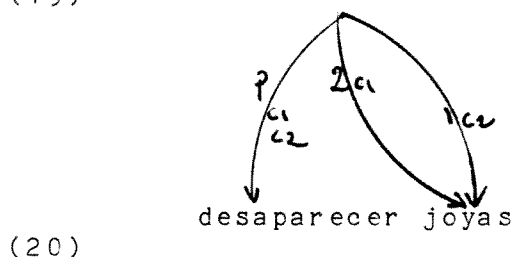
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<sup>10</sup>There is dialectal variation with respect to Passive sentences like (16), Unaccusatives like (32-37), Causative CU like (46-47). For the speakers who judge these sentences ungrammatical, the condition on CSR must be stated in terms of the notion 'initial and final 2'. However, the fact that there are many speakers who accept these sentences posits an interesting problem which is addressed in this paper.

### 3.2. The Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH).

Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984b) have argued that there are two types of intransitive clauses, according to the form of the initial stratum: Unaccusative and Unergative clauses. To exemplify, consider two intransitive sentences from Spanish, with their corresponding relational networks, which are justified in the next section.

- (17) Las joyas desaparecieron.  
'The jewels disappeared'.  
(18) El hombre trabajó ayer.  
'The man worked yesterday'.  
(19)



Under the UH, the initial stratum in (19) is unaccusative, it has an initial 2 but no initial 1. The advancement to 1 in (19) is called Unaccusative Advancement (an advancement of a 2 to 1 from an intransitive stratum). On the other hand, the initial stratum in (20) is unergative, it has a 1 but no 2.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Evidence for the UH can be found in Italian, Rosen (1981), and Perlmutter (1983b); in Dutch, Perlmutter (1978); in Welsh, Perlmutter and Postal (1984a); in Turkish, Özkaragöz (1980); in French, Olié (1982); in Lakota, Williamson (1979); in Albanian, Hubbard, (1979), in Choctaw, Davies (1982); and others.

<sup>12</sup>The question of how to determine which intransitive clauses have initial unaccusative stratum and which have initial unergative stratum is addressed in Perlmutter (1978); Rosen (1984) and Perlmutter (to appear). The latter two contrast different languages and show that there are differences from one language to another with respect to initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity of semantically equivalent clauses. This argues against the Universal Alignment Hypothesis (UAH) assumed in Perlmutter (1978). If the UAH is given up, then it

### 3.2.1. Evidence for the UH in Spanish.

Perlmutter (to appear) has given arguments for the UH based on the Past Participle as Adjective and the Participial Absolute constructions for Italian. Parallel arguments can be constructed for Spanish.

### 3.2.2. Past Participle as Adjective (PPA)

- (21) a. La bruja hechizó a la princesa.  
           'The witch enchanted the princess'.  
       b. La princesa hechizada durmió profundamente.  
           'The enchanted princess slept soundly'.  
       c. \*La bruja hechizada odia a la princesa.  
           'The enchanted witch hates the princess'.

In this construction, the past participle can modify a noun only if it heads an initial 2-arc with respect to the past participle. In (21b) princesa is modified by hechizada. On the other hand, bruja, the initial and final 1 in (21a) cannot be modified as shown in (21c).

Consider (22) where the nominal gigante can be interpreted both as initial 1 and as initial 2.

- (22) a. El gigante venció.  
           'The giant (won) triumphed'.  
       b. David venció al gigante.  
           'David (won) defeated the giant'.

Contrast (22) with (23):

- (23) El gigante vencido durmió por largo tiempo.  
       a. \*The triumphed giant slept for a long time.  
       b. The defeated giant slept for a long time.

(23) can only be interpreted in the sense where gigante is initial 2.

What is of interest here is that, given the UH and the statement of the rule for Past Participle as Adjective in terms of the notion nominal heading an initial 2-arc,<sup>13</sup> it

is necessary to find evidence internal to each language to make the distinction between initially unergative vs. initially unaccusative clauses. This paper assumes a grammar without the UAH.

<sup>13</sup>The crucial evidence for initial 2-hood comes from the following sentences:

- (i) a. Le recordé la fecha.  
           (I reminded the date to him).  
       b. Las fechas recordadas con mayor facilidad son las de los nacimientos de los hijos.  
           'The most easily reminded dates are those of our children's births'.  
       (ii) a. Recordé al presidente de la fecha.  
           'I reminded the president of the date'.



is predicted that in an intransitive clause with an unaccusative stratum, the nominal heading an initial 2-arc and a final 1-arc should be able to be modified by the PPA. On the other hand, in unergative clauses, the nominal heading an initial and final <sup>14</sup>1-arc should not. This prediction is shown to hold below.

(24) Unaccusatives:

- a. La mujer desmayada fue llevada al hospital.  
'The fainted woman was taken to the hospital'.
- b. Las joyas desaparecidas son de un gran valor.  
'The disappeared jewels have a great value'.
- c. Las murallas agrietadas cayeron con el terremoto.  
'The cracked walls fell down with the earthquake'.
- d. El hecho sucedido (ocurrido) se supo en todo el mundo.  
'The happened fact was known all over the world'.
- e. El metal expandido funciona como termostato.  
'The expanded metal works as a thermostat'.
- f. La bomba explotada en la embajada hizo noticia.  
'The exploded bomb at the embassy was a big news'.

(25) Unergatives:

- a. \*El hombre trabajado está muy cansado.  
(The worked man is very tired).
- b. \*Los niños hablados están en el patio.  
(The spoken children are in the playground).
- c. \*El payaso reído apareció en el circo.  
(The laughed clown appeared in the circus).
- d. \*La niña jugada se fue a dormir.  
(The played girl went to sleep).

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- b. \*El presidente recordado de la fecha se fue a la reunión.  
'The reminded president of the matter went to the meeting'.

In section 5, presidente in (iia) is analyzed as an initial 3 that advances to 2. The ungrammaticality of (iib) follows from this analysis; presidente does not meet the requirement of initial 2-hood for the PPA construction, while fechas in (ia) is an initial 2 and can be modified by PPA as in (ib). (iib) then, also provides evidence for the non-initial 2-hood of the advanced nominal.

<sup>14</sup>There are some unergative clauses that constitute apparent counterexamples to this prediction,

(i) Juan está bebido.

'Juan is drunk'.

The predicate beber is in the past participle form, used as modifier. However, it is used not in its perfective meaning (as examples (24-25)), but rather in an imperfective (or generic) meaning.

- e. \*La Mona Lisa sonreí<sup>1</sup>de aparece en el retrato.  
(The smiled Gioconda appears in the portrait).
- f. \*El niño caminado se fue a descansar.  
(The walked child went to rest).

The fact that the sentences in (24) are grammatical provides evidence for the 2-hood of the nominal in question, and for the UH.

### 3.2.3. The Participial Absolute (PA) Construction.

Consider the following transitive clause:

- (26) Juan compró la casa.  
'Juan bought the house'.

Based on (26) the following PA construction can be constructed:

- (27) Comprada la casa, la familia se mudó.  
'The house bought, the family moved in'.

In the PA construction, the verb is accompanied by its initial 2.<sup>15</sup> In (27), the PA clause contains the past participle form of comprar and the initial 2 of the PA clause, casa. Consider again (22) and contrast it with (28).

- (28) Vencido el gigante, los pastores quedaron en paz.  
a. \*The giant triumphed, the shepherds remained in peace.  
b. 'The giant defeated, the shepherds remained in peace'.

As was the case for (23), sentence (28) can only be interpreted in the sense where gigante is initial 2. In the PA construction, the understood subject of the reduced clause cannot occur in the surface as the initial 2 does,

- (29) a.\*Comprada Juan la casa, la familia se mudó.  
b.\*Juan comprada la casa, la familia se mudó.  
'Juan bought the house, the family moved in'.

The relevance of the data presented here is that it shows that in the PA construction the initial 2 must appear but the initial 1 must not. Evidence for the UH comes from the fact that Unaccusatives can occur in the PA construction:

- (30) Desaparecidas las joyas, llamaron a la policía.  
'The jewels disappeared, they called the police'.

However, Unergatives cannot occur in the PA construction:

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<sup>15</sup> There is another PA construction where the object is absent in the PA clause, but must be the subject of the main clause. This construction is not studied here. Consider,  
(i) Vencido, el gigante se quejó.  
'Defeated, the giant complained'.

(31) \*Hablado el profesor, los alumnos se retiraron.

'The teacher spoken, the students left'.

Thus, the contrast between (30) and (31) provides evidence for the UH.

### 3.3. OSR and the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

The condition for OSR stated in (15) together with the UH predict that in initially unaccusative clauses, the nominal heading an initial 2-arc should be able to raise. On the other hand, in initially unergative clauses, the nominal heading an initial 1-arc should not be able to raise. This prediction is confirmed, as shown below.<sup>16</sup>

- (32) a. No es fácil que las cicatrices de la viruela desaparezcan.  
'It is not easy for the smallpox scars to disappear'.  
b. Las cicatrices de la viruela no son fáciles de desaparecer.  
'The smallpox scars are not easy to disappear'.  
(33) a. Es posible que una desgracia ocurra (suceda) en cualquier momento.  
'It is possible that a misfortune happens any minute'.  
b. Una desgracia es posible de ocurrir (suceder) en cualquier momento.  
(A misfortune is possible to happen any minute).  
(34) a. Es posible que la violencia política explote en cualquier momento.  
'It is possible that political violence explode any minute'.  
b. La violencia política es posible de explotar en cualquier momento.  
(Political violence is possible to explode any minute).

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<sup>16</sup>It is pertinent to note that depending on the speaker not all unaccusative clauses allow their subjects to raise (e.g. terminar "finish", empezar "start", crecer "grow", brotar "sprout"). It cannot be claimed that these predicates are unergatives for the speakers for whom CSR is not allowed, since these predicates do behave like unaccusatives with respect to the PPA and the PA constructions.

- (35) a. Es posible que esta enferma se desmaye con estos calores.  
'It is possible for this sick woman to faint with this hot weather'.  
b. Esta enferma es posible de desmayarse con estos calores.  
(This sick woman is possible to faint with this hot weather).
- (36) a. Es posible que el metal se expanda con el calor.  
'It is possible that metal expands with the heat.'  
b. El metal es posible de expandirse con el calor  
(The metal is possible to expand with the heat).
- (37) a. Es posible que estas murallas se agrieten después del terremoto.  
'It is possible that these walls get cracked after the earthquake'.  
b. Estas murallas son posibles de agrietarse después del terremoto.  
(These walls are possible to get cracked after the earthquake).

In sentences (32)-(37), the subjects of the embedded clauses have raised to 1 of the matrix clause. The fact that these nominals can raise constitute evidence for their initial 2-hood and for the UH.

Contrast now (32)-(37) with the set of unergative clauses below:

- (38) a. Es imposible que ese flojo trabaje.  
'It is impossible for that lazy one to work'.  
b. \*Ese flojo es imposible de trabajar.  
'That lazy one is impossible to work'.
- (39) a. Es fácil que los niños rían con el payaso.  
'It is easy for the children to laugh with the clown'.  
b. \*Los niños son fáciles de reír con el payaso.  
'The children are easy to laugh with the clown'.
- (40) a. Es difícil que mi equipo juegue el sábado.  
'It is difficult for my team to play this Saturday'.  
b. \*Mi equipo es difícil de jugar el sábado.  
'My team is difficult to play this Saturday'.

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<sup>17</sup> Note in (35-37) that the complement clauses have an inherent reflexive or in RG terminology, they are Reflexive-Unaccusatives as evidenced by the reflexive morphology marked with se in the complement verb. This construction is discussed in González (in preparation). What is relevant here is that the subjects of Reflexive-Unaccusatives are initial 2s, since they are able to raise in the OSR construction.

- (41) a. Es posible que los niños caminen al año de edad.  
'It is possible for the children to walk at 12 months old'.  
b. \*Los niños son posibles de caminar al año de edad.  
(Children are possible to walk at 12 months old).

In (38)-(41), the nominal that has raised heads only a 1-arc in the embedded clause. This nominal does not meet the condition in (15), therefore the result is ungrammatical.

Thus, positing an unaccusative initial stratum for sentences like (32)-(37) is crucial in obtaining a generalization with respect to CSR. Condition (15), stated in terms of the notion "nominal heading a 2-arc", together with the UH, explains the grammaticality of sentences (32)-(37) as well as the ungrammaticality of sentences (38)-(41).

#### 4. OSR and Causative Clause Union (CU) in Spanish.

##### 4.1. Causative Clause Union in Spanish.

In Clause Union constructions, two clauses (a main one and a complement one) show up on the surface as a simple clause. In Spanish the predicates that govern Causative CU are hacer "to make", and dejar "let"<sup>18</sup> (cf. Aissen (1974) Aissen and Perlmutter (1976), and Bordelois (1974), for a discussion of this construction in Spanish). Causative CU in Spanish can be characterized by the following:

##### (42) Causative Clause Union in Spanish:

- (i) If the complement is intransitive, the 1 of the complement verb becomes the 2 of the matrix verb.
- (ii) If the complement is transitive, the 2 of the complement verb becomes the 2 of the matrix verb and the 1 of the complement verb becomes the 3 of the matrix verb.

The following examples illustrate Causative CU in Spanish:

- (43) Lo hice trabajar duro.  
'I made him work hard'.

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<sup>18</sup>CU can also occur with Clause Reduction (CR) governors (cf. González (in preparation)) and with Subject to object raising (SOR) governors.

<sup>19</sup>From Aissen and Perlmutter (1976). This is a descriptive characterization of CU. The Universal rule for CU is given in Gibson and Raposo (to appear).



Consider an alternative grammar that adopts the following condition:

(50) Semantic condition on OSR:

Only a "patient" or "theme" can  
raise in the CSR construction.

Note that the statement in (50) in terms of a semantic notion will fail to account for the grammaticality of sentences like (49), holding the following reasonable assumptions: a) The semantic role of niños to llorar is the same in (48)-(49) and, crucially, b) niños in (49) bears no semantic role to hacer.

Thus, the Unaccusative Hypothesis, the characterization of Causative CU in (42) and the statement of the condition on CSR in (15) account in a straightforward manner for the data presented above.

5. 3-2 Advancement and OSR.

5.1.    3-2   Advancement in Spanish.<sup>20</sup>

In Spanish there are pairs of related sentences such as the following:

(51) La segretaria le ricordò la cita al presidente.  
DAT DAT

(The secretary reminded the appointment to the president).

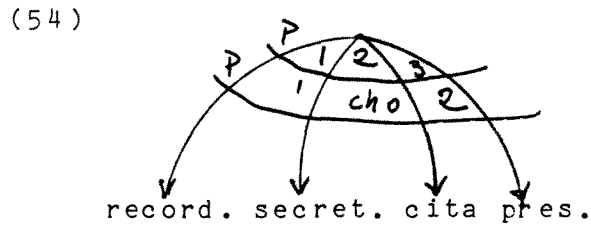
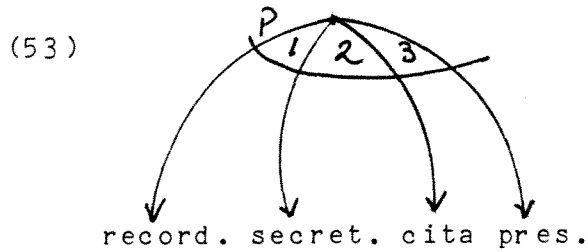
(52) La secretaria recordó al presidente de la cita.  
ACC

'The secretary reminded the president of the appointment'.

In (51), cita is the final direct object of the clause (it is postverbal and accusative: zero marking), but in (52) it is marked with the preposition de. On the other hand, presidente, is the final indirect object in (51) (it is marked dative), while in (52) it is the final direct object (it is postverbal and marked accusative)<sup>21</sup>. These facts can be accounted for by positing a 3-2 Advancement analysis of sentence (52). Under this analysis, (51) is claimed to be monostratal as represented in (53), while (52) is claimed to be bistratal as represented in (54).

20 3-2 Advancement in Spanish is optional. It is governed by a small class of predicates which includes: recordar 'remind', advertir 'warn', proveer 'provide', aprovisionar 'provide' and suplir 'supply'.

<sup>21</sup>Case marking is discussed below.



In (53), presidente is both the initial and final 3 of the clause, and cita is both the initial and final 2 of the clause. This accounts for the case marking in (51). In (54) the initial 3 presidente is<sub>2</sub> advanced to 2. This accounts for its postverbal position<sup>22</sup> and its accusative marking in (52). On the other hand, cita, the initial 2 is demoted to chômeur. This accounts for the de marking in (52).

A 3-2 Advancement analysis has been motivated for Chamorro (Crain (1977)), for Bahasa Indonesia (Chung (1976)), for Tzotzil (Aissen (1983)), for Southern Tiwa (Allen and Frantz (1983)) and others.

## 5.2. Arguments for the Final-2-hood of the Advanced Nominal.

I propose that presidente in (51)-(52) is an initial 3. Evidence that it has advanced to 2 in (52) comes from Passive and Case marking.

### 5.2.1. Personal Passive.

Passive in Spanish follows Perlmutter and Postal's (1977) universal characterization. It involves an advancement of a 2 to 1 from a transitive stratum. This is illustrated in (55b). A 3 cannot advance to 1 as illustrated in (55c):

<sup>22</sup>The unmarked word order in Spanish is: 1, P, (2), (3), (Nonterms).



- (55) a. El director le escribió una carta al presidente.  
'The director wrote a letter to the president'.  
b. La carta le fue escrita al presidente por el director.  
'The letter was written to the president by the director'.  
c. \*El presidente fue escrito una carta por el director.  
'The president was written a letter by the director'.

Contrast (56) with (57).

- (56) \*El presidente fue recordado la cita por la secretaria.  
'The president was reminded of the appointment by the secretary'.  
(57) El presidente fue recordado de la cita por la secretaria.  
'The president was reminded of the appointment by the secretary'.

In (57) presidente can advance to 1. This fact is consistent with an Advancement analysis where presidente is an initial 3 that advances to 2 in (52) and to 1 in (57).

### 5.2.2. Case Marking and Cliticization in Spanish.

Dative and accusative case marking can be informally stated as:

- (58) Dative case marking:  
A nominal heading a final 3-arc in the highest clause in which it heads an arc must have dative marking.  
(59) Accusative case marking:  
A nominal heading a final 2-arc in the highest clause in which it heads an arc must have accusative marking.

In Spanish, final 3s are<sup>23</sup> regularly preceded by the preposition a, but also certain final 2s are marked with a. Final 3s can cliticize with the dative pronoun clitic le. Final 2s can cliticize with the accusative pronoun clitic lo/la. Therefore the contrast between dative and accusative case of pronominal clitics, rather than the occurrence of a, must be used to differentiate final 2s from final 3s in

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<sup>23</sup>In general, final 2s are zero marked if [-animate], and marked with a if [+animate]; however, this is not true across the board. For a discussion on the occurrence of a with final 2s, see Luján (1978), and Roldán (1971).

Spanish. Consider the following sentences:

- (60) La secretaria le recordo' la cita.  
'The secretary reminded the appointment to him'.  
(61) a. La secretaria lo recordo' de la cita.  
b. \*La secretaria le recordo' de la cita.  
'The secretary reminded him of the appointment'.

In (60), presidente, the final 3 in (51) has cliticized as the dative clitic pronoun le. In (61) the advanced nominal, presidente in (52), has cliticized as the accusative clitic pronoun lo, while in (61b) it has cliticized as the dative le and the result is ungrammatical. The fact that the advanced nominal cliticizes as the accusative clitic pronoun lo provides evidence for its final 2-hood.

### 5.3. Argument for the Final Non-2-hood of the Initial 2.

#### 5.3.1. Personal Passive.

As was pointed out before, in Personal Passive only 2s can advance to 1. Consider again sentence (51) with its analysis (53). Cita is an initial and final 2 and therefore can advance to 1. This is illustrated below.

- (62) La cita le fue recordada por la secretaria.  
'The appointment was reminded to him by the secretary'.

On the other hand, in sentence (52) cita is a chômeur as proposed in (54). If it is a chômeur, then it will not advance to 1. This is shown to be correct in (63).

- (63) \*La cita lo fue recordada por la secretaria.  
(The appointment was reminded him by the secretary).  
Thus, (63) is consistent with the analysis (54) where cita is a chômeur.

All of the arguments presented so far are compatible with a monostratal analysis in which verbs like recordar have a double subcategorization: One in which its arguments have the GR's 1, 2, 3, and a second one in which its arguments have the GR's 1, Obl, 2. The semantic relatedness would be captured by means of a redundancy rule. Evidence supporting a bistratal analysis of the 3-2 Advancement construction<sup>24</sup> is provided by the interaction of 3-2 Advancement with CSR.

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<sup>24</sup>A further argument for the 3-2 Advancement analysis is provided by the PPA construction. See footnote 13 for the discussion of the relevant sentence.

5.4. 3-2 Advancement and OSR.

From our working condition (15) on OSR and the bistratal analysis of the 3-2 Advancement construction it is predicted that the initial 2 of a clause without 3-2 Advancement, as well as the advanced 2 in a clause with 3-2 Advancement will be able to raise in the CSR construction. The former prediction is confirmed in (64b), however the latter prediction does not hold, as exemplified in (65b).

- (64) a. Es posible recordarle este asunto al presidente.  
'It is possible to remind the president of this matter'.  
b. Este asunto es <sup>25</sup>posible de recordar(selo) al presidente.  
(This matter is possible to be reminded to the president).  
(65) a. Es posible recordar al presidente de este asunto.  
'It is possible to remind the president of this matter'.  
b. \*El presidente es posible de recordar de este asunto.  
(The president is possible to remind of this matter).

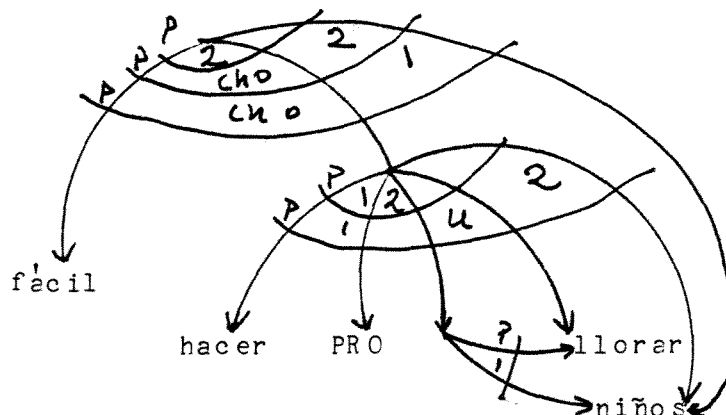
In (64b) the embedded clause is without 3-2 Advancement and the initial 2, asunto, can raise. On the other hand, in (65b) the embedded clause is with 3-2 Advancement, and the advanced 2, presidente, fails to raise. A revision of condition (15) is needed to capture this fact. A statement in terms of the notion 'initial 2' would exclude (65b), because president in the structure (54) is not an initial 2 but rather an advanced 2; if it is not an initial 2, then, the ungrammaticality of (65b) is explained.

A statement in terms of the notion initial 2 would also exclude the grammatical sentence (49). Let us consider the stratal diagram of (49), a Causative CU sentence, embedded under facil.

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<sup>25</sup>See footnote 6.

(66)



It can be observed in (66) that the 2-relation borne by niños, the embedded subject of clause c, is not an initial relation of clause b, since it does not occur in the  $c_1$  stratum of clause b. However, it is the earliest relation borne by that nominal in clause b. Recall from section 3 that OSR raises the 2s of the clause immediately embedded under fácil. In (66), niños, the subject of clause c, bears the 2-relation of clause b at  $c_2$ . The 2-relation is the earliest relation borne by niños, in clause b, and as an earliest 2 it is able to raise to subject of fácil in clause a. Thus, the facts of CU with respect to OSR suggest that there is a need for grouping together initial 2s and earliest 2s.

## 6. The Notion 'Starter'.

Johnson and Postal (1980) have proposed the notion 'starter' which includes both initial relations and earliest relations. The notion 'starter' has been used for Chamorro (Gibson, 1980), to formulate the condition for -in nominalization.

(67) Definition of 'Starter':<sup>26</sup>

A nominal a is a 'starter n' of a clause b if a bears the n-relation to b at level  $c_1$  and there is no  $c_j, j < i$  such that a bears a relation to b at  $c_j$ .

According to this definition a nominal that bears an initial relation is also a starter, since there are no strata before  $c_1$ . In the case of the Causative CU clause embedded under an OSR triggering predicate, illustrated in (66), niños, the embedded subject of clause c is a starter 2 of clause b, since it bears the 2-relation at  $c_2$  and no relation at  $c_1$  of clause b.

<sup>26</sup> From Gibson (1980) p.227.

With the notion of 'starter' available, it is possible now to restate the condition on CSR in such a way as to include the Causative CU 2s, but exclude advancees to 2. ((68) is a revised version).

(68) Condition on OSR (second version):

Only a nominal that is a starter 2  
can raise.

Condition (68) together with a bistratal analysis of the 3-2 Advancement clauses account for the ungrammaticality of (65b). Note that (68) excludes advanced 2s. On the other hand, a monostratal analysis in which both asunto and presidente are initial 2s, would have to list (65b) as an exception to the general rule.

The question which now arises is whether the 2-chômeur in a clause with 3-2 Advancement can raise or not. The condition in (68) predicts that it can because it is a starter 2. Consider the following sentences:

(69) a. Es posible recordarlo de este asunto.

'It is possible to remind him of this  
matter'.

b.\*Este asunto es posible de recordarlo.

'This matter is possible to remind him (of)'.

In (69) the embedded clause is with 3-2 Advancement. (69b) is an attempt to raise the 2-chômeur. The result is ungrammatical.

Note that (69b) constitutes a further piece of evidence against a proposal which states the condition on CSR in terms of a semantic notion such as 'Patient' or 'Theme'. Asunto in both (64b) and (69b) has the same semantic role, but it behaves differently with respect to OSR.

Condition (68) needs to be restated in such a way as to exclude 2-chômeurs and advanced 2s. The notion 'starter 2 and final nuclear term'<sup>27</sup> would exclude the ungrammatical (65b) and (69b):

(70) Condition on OSR (final version):

Only a nominal which is a starter 2  
and heads a final nuclear-term arc in  
the clause immediately beneath the OSR  
predicate is able to raise.

(70) accounts for all the data presented in this paper.<sup>28</sup> It

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<sup>27</sup>See footnote 2.

<sup>28</sup>Condition (70) also accounts for sentences that involve Clause Reduction. The following is an example from Aissen and Perlmutter (1976):

(i) Estos mapas serán difíciles de empezar a hacer.

'These maps will be difficult to begin to make'.

Note that mapas, the 2 of hacer is a starter 2 of empezar as a result of Clause Reduction. As a starter 2,

states two conditions that the raisee must meet. It must be a 'starter 2' and must head a final nuclear-term arc. The condition 'starter 2' includes initial 2s and causative 2s and excludes advanced 2s. The condition 'final nuclear-term arc' excludes 2-chômeurs.

The condition on possible raisees in (70) is given as the intersection of two sets of GR's. This type of condition has been used for other languages. For example, Harris (1981) states the condition on (possible) antecedents of tav-reflexive in Georgian in terms of the notion 'nominal heading an initial 1-arc and a final term arc'. Similarly, Gibson (1980) states the condition on -in nominalization for Chamorro in terms of the notion 'starter 2 and acting 2'.

## 7. De-marking.

In section 5 de-marking was observed in the 3-2 Advancement construction (cf. (52)). The analysis proposed in (54) characterizes the nominal marked with de as a 2-chômeur. Thus, the occurrence of de can naturally be accounted for as follows:<sup>29</sup>

- (71) De-marking Condition in Spanish  
A 2-chômeur is marked with the preposition de.

The 3-2 Advancement analysis in (54) together with condition (70) account for the de marking on cita in sentence

it can raise. Note that (70) states that the starter 2 must be in the clause "immediately below" the CSR predicate. This is needed to account for another fact observed in Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) which involves raising of an object which is not immediately embedded under an CSR governor (from Aissen and Perlmutter (1976)):

- (ii) \*Errores como esos son imposibles de seguir  
insistiendo en corregir.  
(Mistakes like those are impossible to keep on  
insisting on correcting.)

The structure of the Subject to object raising (SOR) construction also contains a starter 2. The interaction of SOR and CSR is discussed in detail in González (in preparation).

<sup>29</sup>Condition (71) does not attempt to cover all nominals marked with de in Spanish. Note that the preposition de can also mark obliques like (i) and possessives like (ii):

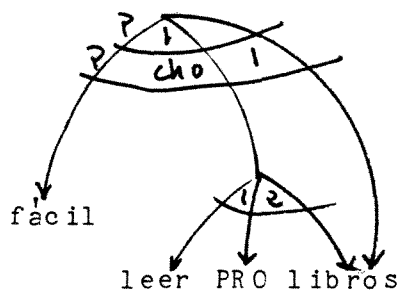
- (i) Vengo de la oficina. 'I come from the office'.  
(ii) El auto de Juan es rojo. 'Juan's car is red'.

(52).

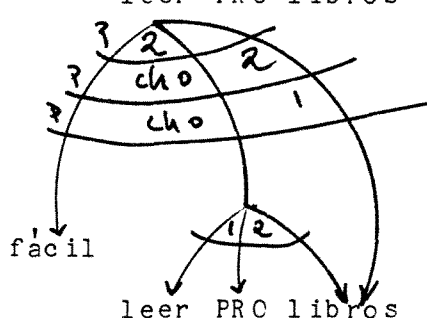
### 7.1. De-marking in OSR.

If condition (71) is correct, one should be able to extend it to clausal 2-chômeurs. Let us consider the CSR construction again. Recall from section 3 that when the embedded object is raised to subject of *fácil*, the adjective is followed by the preposition *de*. The CSR construction raises two interesting questions: First, what is the initial GR of the complement clause? Second, Why is this construction marked with the preposition *de*? To answer the first question two possible analyses can be posited, which are illustrated in (72) and (73).

(72)



(73)



The claim in (72) is that *fácil* is an unergative predicate; thus the initial GR of the complement clause is a 1. Given the Relational Succession Law (RSL) (Perlmutter and Postal (1983a)), which states that the ascende must assume the GR of its host in the clause into which it ascends, the nominal heading a 2-arc in the complement clause must ascend to 1 of the matrix clause. Although this analysis is consistent with the RSL, it does not explain the occurrence of the preposition *de*. On the other hand, the analysis in (73) claims that *fácil* is an unaccusative predicate. The initial GR of the complement clause is a 2. According to the RSL, the raisee must ascend to 2 of the matrix clause, putting the initial 2 en chômage. Then, by Unaccusative Advancement the 2 of the matrix clause at  $c_2$  advances to 1, satisfying the requirement of the Final 1 Law (Perlmutter and Postal (1983b)). The initial unaccusativity of predicates like *fácil* is argued for by González (in preparation)). based on Pseudocleft.

It is interesting to note that in this RG view of raising, 'Object to subject raising' is nothing more than a convenient term. Theoretically, this is 'Object raising': the fact that it is to 2 or to 1 is dependent upon the RSL.

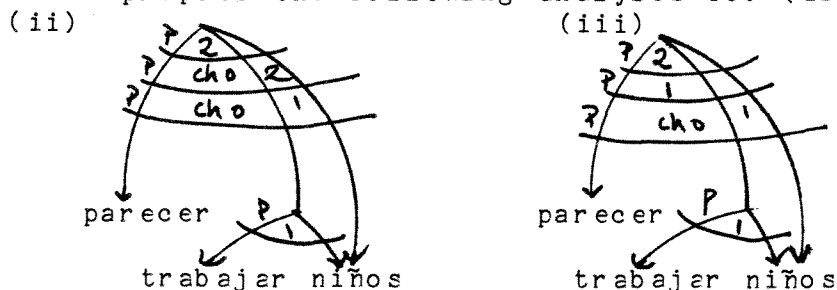
Given the condition in (71) and the analysis in (73) for the OSR construction, the occurrence of de follows automatically; the embedded clause is marked with de because it is a 2-chômeur. Furthermore, (73) is in accord with Perlmutter and Postal (1984a), where the universal claim that intransitive Raising constructions are initially unaccusative, is made.

Thus, the analyses presented in this paper (for 3-2 Advancement in (54), and for the OSR construction in (73)) positing the notion 2-chômeur account for the two different occurrences of de in a uniform manner. The generalization stated in (71) characterizes the nominals (and clauses) marked with de as a distinct syntactic class. As far as I know this generalization has not been noted before.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Given the structure in (73) for OSR, the following question arises: Why do other raising predicates like parecer 'seem', which can be assumed to be initially unaccusative, do not have a de marking? Consider the following sentences:

- (i) a. Parece que los niños trabajan mucho.  
'It seems that the children work hard'.  
b. Los niños parecen trabajar mucho.  
'The children seem to work hard'.

Assuming that parecer is an unaccusative predicate, one could propose the following analyses for (ib).



The claim in (ii) is that niños ascends to 2 of the matrix clause putting the initial 2 en chômage, while in (iii) the clause advances to 1 before the raising of niños. If (iii) is the correct structure for (ib), the absence of de marking in the SSR construction follows automatically. The initial unaccusativity of predicates like parecer is argued for in González (in preparation) based on Pseudocleft. A further argument in favour of the structure (iii) (with unaccusative advancement) for SSR in Spanish is given in González (in preparation) based on the interaction of different



## 8. Conclusions.

The main goal of this paper was to formulate the condition on the nominals that can raise in the CSR construction. It was demonstrated that an adequate grammar of Spanish must contain a condition on CSR stated in terms of a nominal which is a 'starter 2 and heads a final nuclear-term arc.' This condition makes reference to GR's and syntactic levels. These notions are recognized in the framework of RG, making it possible to state the relevant condition in a straight-forward manner.

In particular, it was demonstrated that contrasts such as (2) and (3) (examples of two types of intransitive clauses) follow automatically from condition (70) together with the Unaccusative Hypothesis. The contrast between (2) (an unergative intransitive clause) and (4) (an example of a Causative CU construction) follows from (70) and the characterization of Causative CU in (42). This constitutes an argument for stating the relevant condition in terms of GR's, rather than in terms of a semantic notion.

Futhermore, a bistratal analysis of 3-2 Advancement clauses; together with condition (70), explains why neither the advanced 2 nor the 2-chômeur of a clause with 3-2 Advancement can raise. It was argued that a monostratal analysis would have to consider the failure of the advanced 2 to raise as an exception to the general rule of CSR.

Finally, it was shown that the prepositional de marking can be naturally accounted for by utilizing the notion 2-chômeur. The occurrences of de-marked nominals and clauses are characterized as belonging to a distinct syntactic class, the 2-chômeur class.

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types of raising as well as on the interaction of Inversion and CR together with the 1 AEX Law. I must add that the analysis in (iii) for parecer could be a third alternative for the CSR construction with facil, but again, as was the case with (72), it does not explain the occurrence of de.

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