

UPSHOT:

- the Double Object Construction [DOC] could not only be possible in Romance but also accommodate interesting facts:
- 1.SE-cl enabling DOC variants in Spanish.
- 2.Configurational asymmetries in DOC vs. dative constructions (Benefactive alternation, Pesetsky1995, Larson1990) may:
- (i)capture diverse readings in SE constructions in Romance, as an aspectually-relevant constituent (SE-cl for Recipient/Possessor) (ii)reveal finer structural contrasts among verbs otherwise lumped together, exposing deviant behavior.

ANALYSIS

- Combines
- Hale&Keyser’s [HK](2005) P-conflation
 - Larson’s (1990) Alternative Projection
 - Semantic works with new conclusions on DOC (cf. Levin 2008 i.a.).

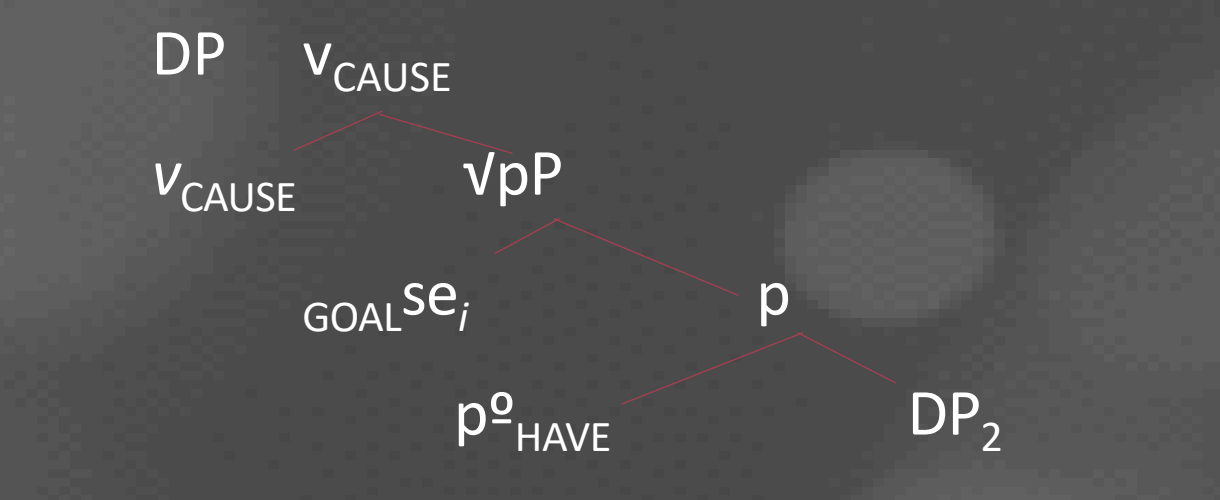
PROPOSAL

- ✓ *Comprar* type combines a nondynamic birrelational head (p°) (Kayne 1993; Guéron 1995), associated with *with* (HK 2002, McIntyre 2002, Rigau 2005, Rapoport 2012).
- ✓ P° yields the result state (POSS Small Clause) accounting for the contrasts above.
- ✓ The light verb combined with p° is not semantically null: *comprar* involves a caused event producing spatial contiguity (CENTRAL

Composition: 2 heads

v°: typically selects for SCs (vCAUSE, Harley 2004, Folli & Harley 2007)	p°: heads SC (result POSS state)
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- ✓ Asymmetry: composition with p° captures ①contrast CAUSED POSSESSION|CAUSED MOTION ②CAUSED POSS meaning across DOC|DC (10)
- ✓ Configuration used to explain possessive meaning in DOC in other languages (Harley & Jung 2015 i.a.)
- ✓ Consistent with instances motivating vCAUSE+PHAVE account in other languages (Harley & Miyagawa 2016).
- ✓ Reflects event complexity (see Krifka 2004)



RESULTS

- Unified explanation for contrasts in seemingly similar verbs, benefactive PPs distribution, and SE-cl interpretation.
- SE shown as aspectually-relevant element in a different way
- Preserves major oppositions in telicity calculation (measure-out|delimitness)
- Reveals a contrast with usually-regarded SE occurrences (4) (e.g. Kemmer’s 1993 opposition) seen as DOC in earlier works or treated as possessive or reflexive dative (cf. Campanini & Schäfer 2011, McDonald 2016)
- Could explain (11) (dative passivization)
- Compatible with major analyses (Pylkannen 2000, Miyagawa&Tsujioka 2004 [Japanese])
- Shows regularities linking verb meaning to argument frame
- Exposes contrasting morphosyntactic resources in each language for argument realization

change-of-possession [cop] verbs in Spanish: 2 subtypes

- (i) *vender* ‘sell’, *perder* ‘lose’, *pagar* ‘pay’ (1)a have passive-impersonal SE-cl reading (α)
- (ii) *comprar* ‘buy’, *asegurar* ‘secure’, *ganar* ‘win’, *robar* ‘steal’ (1)b allow both (α) and a benefactive reading (β) as well.

FACTS

- ①(β) unavailable in (1)a, and different to reciprocal (γ) SE (allowed for both)
- ②(β)-allowing verbs take an PP for COP beneficiary ((8) below) IF CLITICIZED.
- ③(β) is distinct from the usually-explored aspectual SE like (3) (cf. Campanini & Schäfer 2011, Mc Donald 2016) (4)
- ④In (β) the relation between SE and aspect is different. Telicity independent and quite different to (theme) measuring-out, in contrast to (α)|(γ)
- ⑤In (β) Event Endpoint is defined by a POSSSSIVE GOAL (Levin 2008) (5).

(1)a. Se vendieron los coches importados. (Lit. se sold the cars)	VENDER ‘SELL’
(α) ‘The imported cars were sold’	PASSIVE/IMPERSONAL
(γ) ‘They sold the imported cars to each other’	DISTRIBUTIVE
b. Se compraron los coches importados. (Lit. se bought the cars)	
(α) ‘The imported cars have been bought *[in/out]’	PASSIVE/IMPERSONAL
(β) ‘They bought the imported cars for themselves’	POSSESSIVE RESULT (= GO TO SUBJECT)
(γ) ‘They bought the imported cars to each other’	DISTRIBUTIVE
(2) a. (Se) {vendieron/perdieron} ??coches importados en una hora. ‘Imported cars were sold/lost within an hour’	(α)-READING
b. *(Se) {compraron/ganaron} coches importados en una hora. ‘They got (bought/won) imported cars [for themselves] in an hour’.	(β)-READING
(3) Se comió todo. (Lit. She ate all) ‘She ate it all [up]’	ARGUMENT-TO-EVENT HOMOMORPHISM
(4) a. Se compró (el) postre (para ella) ‘She bought (the) desert (for herself)’	INHERENTLY DISJOINT VERBS
b. Se comió *(el) postre (*para ella) She ate the desert *for herself ‘She ate up the desert’	INHERENTLY REFLEXIVE VERBS

ADVANTAGES:

- ✓ Explains the relation between the two arguments not being *change* (motion) but *stasis* (POSSstate) yielded by p° (shown by for-x-time adv (6))
- ✓ Explains the additional benefactive PP in (8), as further instantiation of the incorporated p° (expected in P-incorporation Mateu 2012, Haugen 2009) consistent with hyponymic (=possessor) interpretation.
- ✓ THEME trivial to telicity (2) follows: the DP is not in relevant position for measure-out.
- ✓ Telicity is instead defined based on the POSSstate yielded by the SC (expected in such configurations, Harley 2005) (5)
- ✓ SE, as silent ‘indefinite’ (possessor) subject of the predicative relation (subject binder, Torrego 2013) acts as adequate controller (8).
- ✓ Contrast with two other cases:

VERBS NOT ALLOWING P°HAVE COMPOSITION (*vender*)

- ✓ do not allow possessors to c-command possessees, and disallow (β), where GOAL would c-command theme.
- ✓ SE-cl is only ok with passivization and benefactive PPs are not selected
- ✓ the configuration is different: THEME in int argument position and GOAL (headed by the lexical P a ‘to’) as its complement (vs. *comprar*, allowing a DOC-like structure with GOAL as inner SC subject (Kayne 1993) and THEME as its complement. (cf. Harley 2002, Folli&Harley 2007 i.a.)

- ✓ Structural opposition in line with a major aspectual opposition between delimitness (GOAL-driven) and measure-out (THEME-dictated telicity) (Tenny 1994)

REVEALS STRUCTURAL CONTRASTS IN POTENTIAL ROLES OF SE IN ASPECT DETERMINATION

VERBS ALLOWING NON-DEFAULT (LEXICAL INHERENT) COMPOSITION (P°WITH)

- ✓ Leads to the expected CAUSED POSSESSION|CAUSED MOTION opposition,
- ✓ Explains why lexically-coded direction of motion is trivial (*traer/llevar* ‘bring from|to’ both give (β)) (9)a. Or why *dejar* (9)b and verbs of dispossession like *robar* ‘steal’ apparently similar to *vender*, readily allow (β)/DOC.

- (6) (se) *compró un coche por una hora*. ‘She bought a car for an hour’ (≈the car was hers/with her for 1h)
- (8) (Los inspectores) *(sei) {quedaron/acapararon/incautaron/alquilaron} coches (para ellosi). The officers kept/monopolized/confiscated/rented cars for themselves (≈they got them by renting)
- (9) a. *Se trajeron/llevaron los coches* ‘They brought/carried the cars to themselves’ (≈they got the cars).
b. *Se dejaron/cortaron/sirvieron/separaron postre* ‘Theyi left/cut/served/cut off dessert (for themi)’
- (10)a. DOC: *se compró el coche* (CAUSEDPOSSESSION)
b. DC: *compró el coche a Juan* (CAUSEDPOSSESSION)
- (11) DOC: *se llevó el coche* (CAUSEDPOSSESSION)
DC: *llevó el coche a Juan* (CAUSEDMOTION)
- (12)*El presidente fue robado* (lit. The president was stolen) ‘The president was burglarized’