

# Non-selected reflexive datives in Southern American and Appalachian English vs. Spanish<sup>1</sup>

Ismael Iván TEOMIRO GARCÍA

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED)  
iteomiro@flog.uned.es

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## ABSTRACT

Southern American and Appalachian English allow the occurrence of non-selected reflexive datives (I need me some water) unlike Standard American and British English. This kind of non-selected arguments looks similar to ethical datives in some Romance languages like Spanish (Este niño no me come nada). However, non-selected reflexive datives have structural differences in Southern American and Appalachian English in comparison with Spanish. This paper sets out to look at these languages (Southern American and Appalachian English vs. Spanish), and describe the syntactic and semantic similarities and differences of non-selected reflexive datives across them. Finally, a theoretical analysis is sketched within the framework of Generative Grammar in order to explain some of such differences and similarities.

**Key words:** non-selected reflexive dative, non-selected argument, personal dative, ethical dative, applicative.

## Los dativos reflexivos no seleccionados en inglés suramericano y apalache frente al español

## RESUMEN

El inglés americano meridional y el inglés apalache permiten la presencia de dativos reflexivos no seleccionados (I need me some water) a diferencia del inglés americano y británico estándar. Este tipo de argumentos no seleccionados parecen similares a los dativos éticos que se pueden encontrar en algunas lenguas romances como el español (Este niño no me come nada). Sin embargo, los dativos reflexivos no seleccionados tienen diferencias estructurales en el inglés americano meridional y el inglés apalache en comparación con el español. Este trabajo se centra en el inglés meridional e inglés apalache en contraposición con el español, y describe las similitudes y diferencias sintácticas y semánticas de los

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dativos reflexivos no seleccionados en dichas lenguas. Finalmente, se esboza un análisis teórico dentro del marco de la Gramática Generativa para explicar algunas de las diferencias y similitudes encontradas.

**Palabras clave:** dativo reflexivo no seleccionado, argumento no seleccionado, dativo personal, dativo ético, applicativa.

**SUMMARY:** 1. Introduction. 2. Non-selected arguments in Southern American and Appalachian English. 2.1. Lexical and syntactic features. 2.2. Semantic and pragmatic properties. 3. Non-selected arguments in Spanish. 4. Left periphery and high applicatives. 5. Conclusions.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The occurrence of non-selected dative arguments is attested in many languages, and has been thoroughly studied (Cuervo, 2003; Rivero, 2003; Pyllkkänen, 2008; Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea, 2011; among others). This paper looks at two families of languages in which such datives are attested: Germanic (Southern American English and Appalachian English) and Romance (Spanish).

Southern American English consists of a series of dialects spoken across the South Eastern and South-Central United States, excluding the Southernmost areas of Florida and the extreme Western and South-Western parts of Texas. One group of dialects that belongs to Southern American English is Midland English, to which Appalachian English belongs. This dialect is spoken in North Georgia, North Alabama, East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, Western North Carolina, Eastern Kentucky, South-western Virginia, Western Maryland and West Virginia (Nagle & Sanders, 2003).

Both Southern American English dialects and Appalachian English share some peculiar properties that differentiate them from Standard American English, like the fact that they are *rhotic* (i.e. the phoneme “r” is produced wherever it appears in words, and sometimes even when it does not) (Nagle & Sanders, 2003). Apart from some peculiar phonological properties, Southern American English dialects are characterized by grammatical features like zero copula in third person plural and second person, the use of the simple past infinitive rather than the present perfect infinitive, the use of “yonder” as a locative, and the use of the contraction “y’all” as the second person plural pronoun. Also the use of double modals (*might could*, *might should*, *might would*, *used to could*, etc.) is characteristic of Southern American English (Nagle & Sanders, 2003).

A very peculiar property of Appalachian English is the fact that it retains the Welsh English tendency to pronounce words beginning with the letter “h” as though it were silent (i.e. “humble” as “umble”). This points towards the origin of this dialect as derived from the speech of the settlers from the British Isles (which will be

relevant to the discussion in §5). Another peculiarity is that an “n” is added to pronouns indicating “one” like in “his'n” (his one), “her'n” (her one), “yor'n” (your one) (Nagle & Sanders, 2003).

It is the use of reflexive-like pronouns in non-reflexive transitive clauses in Southern American English dialects that this paper is going to focus on. The aim is to investigate the similarities and differences between non-selected dative arguments across these languages (Southern American English and Appalachian English vs. Spanish), and to sketch a theoretical analysis within the theoretical framework of Generative Grammar in order to explain some of such differences and similarities.

The paper is structured as follows. First, I review the data in Southern American and Appalachian English in §2. Subsequently, I review the data in Spanish in §3. I sketch a theoretical analysis in §4 that accounts for some of the basic differences and similarities observed in the syntactic behaviour and semantic interpretation of non-selected arguments in the languages under study. Finally, I present the conclusions in §5.

## 2. NON-SELECTED ARGUMENTS IN SOUTHERN AMERICAN AND APPALACHIAN ENGLISH

Standard American and British English do not allow the occurrence of non-selected arguments (1) unlike standard Spanish (2), which allows their presence with a varied productivity depending on the regional variety we look at:

- (1) \*I need *me* a drink.  
Intended: “I need a drink.”
- (2) Este niño no *se* come la sopa.  
This child not CL<sub>3SG</sub> eats the soup.  
“This child does not eat the soup.”

Although excluded in standard English (1), optional non-subcategorized *personal dative* pronouns (PDs hereinafter) are attested in Southern American English and Appalachian English transitive clauses, as can be seen in the examples (3)-(6) below (taken from Conroy, 2007 and Horn, 2008):

- (3) Well, I'm a rake and a rambling' boy  
There's many a city I did enjoy  
And now I've married *me* a pretty little wife  
And I love her dearer than I love my life.  
(“Rake and Rambling Boy”, from Horn, 2008:169)
- (4) I'm gonna buy *me* a shotgun, just as long as I am tall.  
(Jimmie Rodgers, “T for Texas”, from Horn, 2008:169)

- (5) I had *me* a man in summer time.  
(Joni Mitchel, “Urge for Going”, from Horn, 2008:170)
- (6) Now the Union Central's pulling out and the orchids are in bloom,  
I've only got *me* one shirt left and it smells of stale perfume.  
(Bob Dylan, “Up to Me”, from Horn, 2008:170)

This section is going to focus on the use of reflexive-like pronouns (PDs) in non-reflexive transitive clauses in Southern American English dialects as seen in (3)-(6) above. I analyse the lexical nature and syntactic properties of PDs in §2.1, and their semantic contribution in §2.2.

## 2.1. LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES

English PDs are optional. In (3)-(6), its appearance is optional, and its presence does not trigger any change in the truth values of the proposition conveyed by the predicate. The predicates (7a) and (7b) have the same propositional meaning (i.e. the same predicate and the same participants) and the same truth values. However, this does not mean that the PD does not convey any meaning. The difference lies in the felicitous conditions: (7b) is neutral, whereas (7a) involves that the fact that I get some sandwiches affects me in some way (either positive or negative). Note, however, that the dative *you* in (7c) is a beneficiary argument selected by the verb, and thus it affects the truth values. I come back to this issue in the next section (§2.2).

- (7) a. I got *me* some sandwiches. (Conroy, 2007:63)  
b. I got some sandwiches.  
c. I got *you* some sandwiches.

In addition to the optionality of PDs, they are non-subcategorized. In other words, the PD does not denote any participant of the *eventuality* (event or state) denoted by the verb. Nor does it modify the eventuality or any of its participants by itself. On the contrary, the eventuality (the predicate and all its arguments) seems to somehow “affect” the individual referred to by the PD (see section §2.2).

In English (though not in the case of Spanish, which is analysed in §3), the subject of the clause obligatorily binds the PD, i.e. the PD is obligatorily subject-oriented, as can be seen in (8a) vs. (8b).

- (8) a. I need *me* a gun. (Conroy, 2007:86)  
b. \*I need *him/her/us/you* a gun.

PDs are most frequently used to refer to the 1st person (including the first person plural as in (10)), and less frequently used to refer to the 2nd person. However, most speakers would consider acceptable the use of 3rd person PDs as in (11). Nevertheless, some speakers exhibit a residual person-based asymmetry: 1st > 2nd > 3rd (Horn, 2008). Note that when the PD is a 3rd person pronominal as in (9d) and (9e), it must be locally bound by the subject despite the fact that this violates Principle B of Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981).<sup>2</sup>

- (9) a. I got *me* some candy. (Webelhuth & Dannenburgh, 2006)  
 b. We got *us* some candy.  
 c. You got *you* some candy.  
 d. He<sub>i</sub> got *him<sub>i/\*j</sub>* some candy.  
 e. They<sub>i</sub> got *them<sub>i/\*j</sub>* some candy.
- (10) We had *us* a cabin. (Wolfram and Christian, 1976)
- (11) She<sub>i</sub> wanted *her<sub>i</sub>* some liver pudding. (Wolfram and Christian, 1976)

Another characteristic of PDs is that they usually occur with quantified non-definite objects. However, this is a preference rather than a rule, as can be seen in (12).

- (12) I need *me* this coffee mug/keyboard/book/sign/here album. (Horn, 2008:178)

Despite their apparent anaphoric nature, they do not qualify as SELF-anaphors with (non-inherent) reflexive verbs, as can be seen in (13). In other words, PDs cannot reflexivize a predicate by themselves, unlike SELF-anaphors such as *myself* in (13).

- (13) I hurt *\*me/myself*. (Conroy, 2007:63)

On the other hand, PDs can appear in syntactic configurations where a reflexive SELF-anaphor is semantically odd, as in (14).

- (14) a. I'm gonna write *me/\*myself* a letter to the president. (Conroy, 2007:67)  
 b. I only need to sell *me/#myself* a dozen more toothbrushes. (Conroy, 2007:67)

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<sup>2</sup> So long as it is assumed that PDs are *pronominals* (Chomsky, 1981). Conroy (2007) argues that they are rather SE-anaphors in the sense of Reinhart & Reuland (1993), and hence they can escape both Principles A and B of Binding Theory (Reinhart & Reuland, 1993).

PDs and SELF-anaphors have the same distribution when the semantic contribution of the SELF-anaphor is not reflexive but emphatic, as in (15), (16), (17), and (18). These syntactic configurations ((15b), (16b), (17b), and (18b)) are part of what Horn calls *Contrastive Focus Pronominals* (2008:172).

- (15) a. She<sub>i</sub> went into the store to get *her<sub>i</sub>* a pair of shoes. (Conroy, 2007:66)  
 b. She<sub>i</sub> went into the store to get *herself<sub>i</sub>* a pair of shoes.
- (16) a. I bought *me* some sunglasses. (Conroy, 2007:65)  
 b. I bought *myself* some sunglasses.
- (17) a. I shot *me* a pheasant. (Conroy, 2007:66)  
 b. I shot *myself* a pheasant.
- (18) a. I finally did buy *me* a coffee pot. (Conroy, 2007:66)  
 b. I finally did buy *myself* a coffee pot.

The semantic contribution of the PD looks quite similar to the reflexive SELF-anaphor in sentences like (15), (16), (17), and (18). Nevertheless, PDs are semantically quite different from SELF-anaphors, as in (19). I come back to this issue in §2.2.

- (19) a. I whittle *myself* a stick. (Conroy, 2007:68)  
 b. I whittle *me* a stick. (Conroy, 2007:68)

As to the difference between the PD in (19b) and the SELF-anaphor in (19a), Conroy says the following:

The example with the Personal Dative (19b) means that *the whittling was for my own benefit*, as in, I did it for the enjoyment of whittling. However, (19a) does not have this interpretation, it only means that the stick went to *me* in the end, requiring a transfer of possession to the direct object.

Conroy (2007:67)

Furthermore, PDs fail to topicalize, passivize or alternate with a full lexical NP (Webelhuth & Dannenburgh, 2006) or PP (Horn, 2008), unlike Spanish ethical datives (see §3). In addition, PDs cannot be separated from the verb that precedes them and (seems to) case mark them (Horn, 2008; the parenthesis is mine). Very interestingly, PDs can occur in positions where a true indirect object is ruled out as in (20). Furthermore, they can co-occur with (rather than substituting for) overt dative/indirect objects as in (21).

(20) Kim would love *her*/\*him/\*Kim/\*Jane some flowers. (Horn, 2008:172)

(21) I'm gonna write *me* a letter *to the president*. (Conroy, 2007:67)

Horn (2008) notes that the fact that PDs cannot topicalize, points to the nature of PDs as WEAK PRONOUNS (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1996; Bresnan, 2001). Moreover, there is no consistent thematic role for PDs, although they sometimes resemble non-subcategorized *benefactives*. They somehow get Case (otherwise, they would not be licensed) but no theta-role, and thus, they do not represent true datives, recipients, or goals (Horn, 2008).

PDs, as Horn (2008) notes, do not affect truth-conditional content but are semantically relevant, unlike contrastive focus pronominals like those in (15b), (16b), (17b), and (18b), that contribute to truth-conditional content in the same way as the corresponding anaphor (Horn, 2008).

Finally, PDs are never interpreted as unintentional causers with anticausative predicates like (22), unlike non-selected datives in Spanish that may be interpreted as unintentional causers with anticausative predicates as in (23) (Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea, 2011).

(22) \*I fell *me* the ball.

Intended: I unintentionally let the ball fall.

(23) Se<sub>i</sub> *me* ha caído la pelota<sub>i</sub>.

CL CL<sub>1SG</sub> has fallen the ball.

“I unintentionally have let the ball fall.”

## 2.2. SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC PROPERTIES

English PDs convey meaning that is part of the modality of the utterance. In other words, the PD conveys information about the attitude of its referent (in the case of English, this must be the clausal subject) towards the content of the predicate conveyed by the utterance without modifying it.

I follow Horn's (2008) idea of the semantic contribution of the English PD as being a CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE in the sense of Grice (1975). He argues that the PD introduces a “neo-Fregean implicature of subject affect” that does not alter the truth conditions of the relevant sentence but does impose an appropriateness constraint on its felicitous assertion. In other words, the presence of the PD implies that the speaker assumes that the action expressed has or would have a positive (or negative) effect on the subject, typically satisfying the subject's perceived intention or goals.

(24) I bought *me* a car for my son

In (24) the PD introduces a CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE that implies that the fact of my having bought a car for my son affects me in a positive or a negative way. Without such an assumption about the affectedness of the clausal subject (the speaker, in this case), the sentence is infelicitous.

Horn further argues that this kind of CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE is part of the encoded content, i.e. it is semantically encoded although it is not part of the truth-conditional content of the sentence. I argue in §4 that this CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE is also encoded in the syntax and the lexicon, more concretely in the abstract relation of possession conveyed by a *high applicative head* (Pylkkänen, 2008) that is active in several languages and dialects such as Southern American English, Appalachian English, and Spanish, among many others (like French, German, Hebrew, and Old English; cf. Horn, 2008:169), but not in other languages such as standard American and British English.

### 3. NON-SELECTED ARGUMENTS IN SPANISH

In Spanish there is an abundance of dative clitics that are non-selected by the verb and can (but need not) refer to full PPs, like the examples in (25). These dative clitics have traditionally been called *ethical datives* (EDs, hereinafter), and can appear with a great variety of verbs (cf. Cuervo, 2003; Rivero, 2003, among others).

- (25) a. Este niño no *me/nos/os/le* come nada.  
This child not CL<sub>1SG/1PL/2PL/3SG</sub> eats nothing  
'This child eats nothing (, which affects me/us/you/him).'
- a'. Este niño no *le<sub>i</sub>* come nada a sus padres<sub>i</sub>.  
This child not CL<sub>3SG</sub> eats nothing to their parents<sub>i</sub>  
'This child eats nothing (, which affects his/her parents).'
- b. Este niño no se *me* sabe / ha aprendido la lección.  
This child not CL CL<sub>1SG</sub> knows / has learnt the lesson  
'This child does not know the lesson / has not learnt the lesson (, which affects me).'
- c. Se *me* siente aquí.  
CL CL<sub>1SG</sub> sit<sub>IMPERATIVE</sub> here  
'Sit here (, which affects me somehow).'
- d. Por estas tonterías, se *te* va a ir la inquilina.  
For this nonsense, CL CL<sub>2SG</sub> go to go the tenant.  
'The tenant is going to leave due to this nonsense (, which will affect you).'
- e. Este niño no *le<sub>k</sub>* lee nada.

This child not CL<sub>3SG</sub> reads nothing  
 ‘This child reads nothing (, which affects him/her).’

These EDs are non-subcategorized pronominal dative clitics that adjoin the verb. They do not affect the truth conditions of the sentence. However, they do convey some kind of information as to the attitude of the speaker (or the referent of the dative if it is bound by a full PP as in (25a)) towards the propositional content of the sentence.

Besides EDs, there is another class of non-selected dative arguments in Spanish that have subject-like properties. These *non-selected dative subjects* (26) appear with anticausative verbs and are morphologically similar to EDs. Nonetheless, non-selected dative subjects have syntactic and semantic properties that are very different from those of EDs, as shown by Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2011). They argue that in these cases the dative is introduced by a high applicative phrase between TP and *v*P (I will argue something similar for EDs in §4 but in a different syntactic position). Non-selected dative subjects have subject-like properties, while the internal object is never externalized despite the fact that it shows nominative Case and triggers verbal agreement. In these cases, the dative has an interpretation of EFFECTOR AFFECTOR and not of AFFECTED, as in the case of EDs.

- (26) a. Se<sub>i</sub> *me* ha caído la comida<sub>i,NOM</sub>.  
 CL CL<sub>1SG</sub> has fallen off the food  
 ‘I (unintentionally) dropped the food.’
- b. A Juan<sub>i</sub> se<sub>j</sub> *le*<sub>j</sub> ha roto la pelota<sub>j,NOM</sub>.  
 To Juan CL CL<sub>3SG</sub> has broken the ball  
 ‘Juan has (unintentionally) broken the ball.’
- c. Se<sub>i</sub> *te* ha cerrado la puerta<sub>i,NOM</sub>.  
 CL CL<sub>2SG</sub> has closed the door  
 ‘You have (unintentionally) closed the door.’

It can be seen that, though quite similar to English PDs, Spanish EDs in (25) do not need to co-refer to the subject of the clause. They can even refer to a full prepositional phrase (or rather, a dative noun phrase introduced by the “a” particle), as in (25a). As a matter of fact, Spanish EDs can never co-refer to the subject of the clause, unlike English PDs that have to co-refer to the subject of the clause obligatorily. If a dative clitic is co-referent to the subject of the clause, it then receives an interpretation other than the one typical of EDs, as in (27) in which the clitics are considered part of the verbal predicate and affect the aspectual properties of the predicates rather than expressing the affectation of someone by the propositional content (they are “aspectual clitics” rather than “ethical datives”, cf. De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla, 2000):

- (27) a. Yo *me* he caído.  
I CL<sub>1SG</sub> have fallen.  
“I have fallen” (but not “I have fallen, which affects me somehow.”).
- b. Tú *te* has comido toda la sopa.  
You CL<sub>2SG</sub> have eaten all the soup  
“You have eaten all the soup” (but not “You have eaten all the soup, which affects you somehow.”)

In other words, Spanish EDs are never subject-oriented (as opposed to English PD, which are always subject-oriented). In addition, a great range of variability can be observed across different dialects and regional varieties of Spanish. The examples below are acceptable for some speakers (this is conveyed by the symbol %): sentences in (28) sound good to speakers from the region of Cáceres (Spain), while sentence (29) has been found in “Cien años de soledad” by Gabriel García Márquez and sounds odd to speakers of Castilian Spanish.

- (28) a. Ayer *me* soñé que estaba allí.  
Yesterday pro<sub>1SG</sub> CL<sub>1SG</sub> dreamt that pro<sub>1SG</sub> was there  
‘Yesterday I dreamt that I was there (and I am still affected by the dream).’
- b. Ayer *me* lo soñé.  
Yesterday pro<sub>1SG</sub> CL<sub>1SG</sub> CL<sub>3SG.ACC</sub> dreamt  
‘Yesterday I dreamt it (and I am still affected by the dream).’
- c. Ayer *me* soñé contigo.  
Yesterday pro<sub>1SG</sub> CL<sub>1SG</sub> dreamt with-you  
‘Yesterday I dreamt about you (and I am still affected by the dream).’

- (29) Los amigos que lo<sub>i</sub> dejaron en la casa creyeron que pro<sub>i</sub> le<sub>j</sub>  
The friends that CL<sub>3SG,i</sub> left in the house thought that pro<sub>i</sub> CL<sub>3SG,j</sub>

había cumplido *a la esposa<sub>j</sub>* la promesa de no morir en la cama de la  
had fulfilled to the wife<sub>j</sub> the promise of not dying in the bed of the

concubina.  
concubine

‘The friends that left him in the house thought that he had fulfilled the promise that he made to his wife: that he would not die in the bed of the concubine.’

(from “Cien Años de Soledad” by Gabriel García Márquez)

Having introduced English PDs on the one hand, and Spanish EDs and non-selected dative subjects on the other hand, I move on to sketch an analysis of these non-selected arguments that rests on the presence of a high applicative head. Some of the observed differences between PDs, EDs and non-selected dative subjects are accounted for by resorting to whether they are *anaphors* subject to Principle A or *pronominals* subject to Principle B (Chomsky, 1981), as well as the position where the applicative head is merged.

#### 4. LEFT PERIPHERY AND HIGH APPLICATIVES

Table 1 below summarizes the main properties of non-selected arguments in Southern American and Appalachian English vs. Spanish. In this section I am going to sketch a theoretical analysis within the framework of Generative Grammar that accounts for some properties of non-selected arguments (mainly PDs and EDs) and their syntactic differences in the languages under study. As for non-selected dative subjects, most of their properties are left aside due to lack of space. What I want to explain is the following:

1. How are the non-selected arguments introduced?
2. How is their semantic contribution lexically and syntactically encoded?
3. Why are PDs obligatorily subject-oriented (and thus can never refer to an overt PP) whereas EDs are never subject-oriented (and thus can refer to overt PPs)?

SOUTHERN AMERICAN & APPALACHIAN ENGLISH	SPANISH	
	Personal Datives	Non-selected dative subjects
Optional.	Ethical Datives	Optional.
No changes in the truth values.	No changes in the truth values.	Changes in the truth values.
Non-subcategorized.	Non-subcategorized.	Non-subcategorized.
They do not alter the participant structure.	They do not alter the participant structure.	They alter the participant structure.
Obligatorily subject oriented.	Never subject oriented.	They are subjects.
Most frequently used to refer to 1st person.	Most frequently used to refer to 1st person.	Used to refer to any person.
Usually with quantified non-definite objects.	Usually with quantified non-definite objects.	Used with any kind of object.
Do not qualify as SELF anaphors.	It does not apply because they cannot be subject oriented.	It does not apply because they are subjects.

Same distribution as Focus Pronominals but with different readings.	It does not apply because there are no English-like (SELF-anaphors) Focus Pronominals in Spanish.	It does not apply because there are no English-like (SELF-anaphors) Focus Pronominals in Spanish.
Do not topicalize.	Do not topicalize (but the dative can refer to a PP that can topicalize).	Do not topicalize (but the dative can refer to a PP that can topicalize).
Do not passivize.	Do not passivize.	Do not passivize.
Cannot refer to a full lexical NP or PP.	Can refer to a PP.	Can refer to a PP.
Do not alternate with a full lexical NP or PP.	Do not alternate with a full lexical NP or PP.	Do not alternate with a full lexical NP or PP.
Adjacency with the verb required.	Adjacency with the verb required.	Adjacency with the verb required.
Can co-occur with over dative or indirect objects.	Can co-occur with over dative or indirect objects.	It does not apply because anticausative predicates do not usually occur with indirect objects.
They are WEAK PRONOUNS.	They are clitics.	They are clitics.
They do not have consistent theta-role.	They do not have consistent theta-role.	They do have consistent a theta-role (unintentional causer).
They convey a conventional implicature.	They convey a conventional implicature.	They introduce a subject that is unintentional causer.

**Table 1:** Characteristics of non-selected arguments in Southern American and Appalachian English vs. Spanish (differences are shadowed)

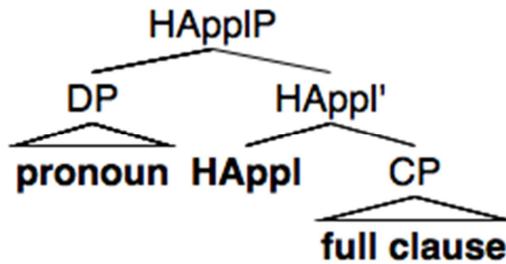
I pursue Pykkänen's (2008) idea that a *high applicative head* is responsible for the licensing (introduction) of non-selected arguments like the ones under study in this work. Pykkänen proposes that high applicatives are heads that introduce an argument (x), and relate it to an event (e) denoted by the VP, as formalized in (30), which is equivalent to the CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE introduced in §2. Schäfer (2008) proposes that all applicative heads (both high applicatives and low applicatives) have the same semantics: they denote an abstract relation of possession (HAVE) between two arguments (x and y), as formalized in (31). Depending on where the applicative head is merged, it takes scope either over a nominal item, and hence the possession relationship with the direct object typical of low applicatives, or over a VP, and hence the affectedness relationship typical of high applicatives and the indirect causer relationship typical of dative subjects with anticausative predicates similar to those in (26) studied by Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2011). We follow Schäfer's proposal because it allows us to explain the semantics of both PDs and EDs, as well as unintentional causers in Spanish.

- (30)  $\lambda x \lambda e \text{ Appl } (e,x) \approx \text{Horn's (2008) CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE}$
- (31)  $\lambda x \lambda y \text{ Appl } (\text{HAVE } y,x)$

The hypothesis I propose builds upon ideas of Pylkkänen's and Schäfer's, and states that the high applicative head is within the catalogue of functional heads made available by Universal Grammar (UG). Nonetheless, not all languages activate this head. Some languages have it active and make use of it, like Spanish and the dialects of American English described in §2, whereas some others do not have this applicative head active. As a result, such languages cannot license unselected dative arguments, as it occurs in standard American and British English.

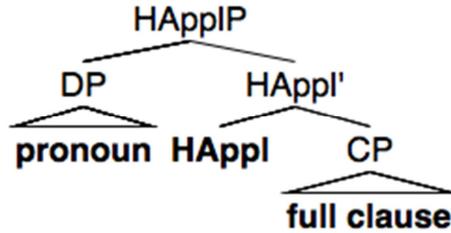
In Southern American and Appalachian English, the high applicative head introduces the PD in its Specifier position and establishes a relationship of abstract possession (HAVE) between the PD and the propositional content conveyed by the full clause (the CP), as specified in (31). This relationship is interpreted as affectation, as represented in (30).

- (32) Syntax of Southern American and Appalachian English *Personal Datives*:



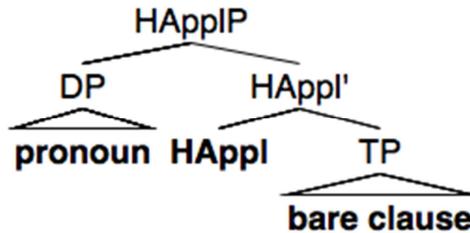
In Spanish, a high applicative head introduces the ED in its Specifier position too and establishes a relationship of abstract possession (HAVE) between the PD and the propositional content conveyed by the clause (the CP), as specified in (31). This relationship, as it occurs in Southern American and Appalachian English, is interpreted as affectation, as represented in (30).

(33) Syntax of Spanish *Ethical Datives*:



I pursue Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea's (2011) hypothesis that non-selected dative subjects in Spanish are introduced by a high applicative phrase. I propose that the difference between these non-selected dative subjects and EDs lies in that the high applicative phrase takes as complement a bare clause (TP) rather than a full clause (CP), as represented in (34). In other words, the applicative head merges lower in the left periphery of the sentence than in the case of EDs:

(34) Syntax of Spanish *non-selected dative subjects*:



The semantic effect is that the non-selected dative introduced by the high applicative establishes a relationship with the propositional content of the clause (and so, with the participant structure of the event) because the applicative takes scope over the bare clause (TP) rather than over the full clause (CP). As a result, the relation of possession denoted by the high applicative head (31) is not interpreted as affectedness as Pylkkänen states in (30). If the applicative head took scope over the full clause (CP), then the relation would be established with the utterance as a whole and not with the predicate. However, the applicative head takes scope over the bare clause (TP), and the relation is established with the predicate, so that its participant structure can be modified by adding the argument licensed by the applicative head (the unintentional subject). Nonetheless, I leave non-selected dative subjects aside at this point due to space reasons, and I refer the reader to the extensive study on the issue carried out by Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2011).

The fact that PDs obligatorily co-refer with the subject of the clause (i.e. they are subject-oriented) can be accounted for if they are characterized as *anaphors* subject to Principle A of Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). Since they are WEAK PRONOUNS, they adjoin the verb whence they can and have to be locally bound by the subject.

EDs can never co-refer with the subject of the clause (i.e. they are never subject-oriented). This can be accounted for if they are characterized as *pronominals* subject to Principle B of Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). Since they are clitics, they adjoin the verb whence they cannot be bound by the subject without violating Principle B. They can co-refer with non-local elements like PPs since no c-command relation holds between the PP (the *binder*) and the ED (the *bindee*), and so, Principle B is observed.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has inquired into non-argument datives attested in languages of different families, namely Germanic (Southern American English and Appalachian English) and Romance (Spanish). I have distinguished PDs in Southern American English and Appalachian English, as well as EDs and non-selected dative subjects in Spanish.

I have argued that they are all dative arguments introduced by a high applicative head that takes scope either over the full clause (CP), in which case (PDs and EDs) the semantic effect is a CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE of affectedness, or over the bare clause (TP), in which case (non-selected dative subjects) the argument introduced by the applicative head is added to the participant structure of the event. The subject-oriented nature of English PDs is accounted for by their anaphoric nature, i.e. PDs are subject to Principle A of Binding Theory and thus they must be locally bound by the subject. The non-subject-oriented nature of Spanish EDs is accounted for by their pronominal nature, i.e. EDs are subject to Principle B of Binding Theory and thus they cannot be locally bound by the subject.

The reason why standard American and British English do not allow non-selected arguments unlike Southern American and Appalachian English can be found in the lexicon: Standard American and British English do not have a high applicative head active in their lexicon. Therefore, there is no functional head in these languages that can license non-selected arguments. Southern American and Appalachian English have a high applicative head active in their lexicon, which allows the licensing of non-selected arguments.

The reason why these varieties of English have this functional head active may be related to their origin. Southern American English dialects originated from the language of immigrants from the British Isles who moved to the South in the 17th and 18th centuries, including groups from Ulster, Ireland, and Scotland (Nagle & Sanders, 2003). As for the origin of Appalachian English, there are several

hypotheses (Nagle & Sanders, 2003). One theory is that the dialect is a remnant of Elizabethan English. Another theory suggests that the dialect developed out of the Scots-Irish and Anglo-Scottish border dialects brought to the region by some of its earliest settlers. Nonetheless, recent research suggests that Appalachian English developed as a uniquely American dialect.

Old English and Middle English had non-selected datives too (Keenan, 2003; Horn, 2008:169), which would seem compatible with the hypothesis that these varieties of English originated from certain varieties of English of the British Isles in the 17th and 18th centuries that retained this ancient feature. Further work is, however, needed in order to determine the origin of PDs in Southern American and Appalachian English, and to improve their characterization by stating which kinds of predicates allow and disallow PDs. For example, PDs do not qualify as SELF-anaphors or reflexivizers, as seen in §3, and hence, they are incompatible with inherent reflexive verbs. Further investigation should pursue this line of work, and provide a complete characterization of both English PDs and Spanish EDs that includes which kinds of predicates are PDs and EDs compatible and incompatible with, and why.

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