



Monotransitivization in Catalan and Spanish dialects

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International Workshop
The Syntactic Variation of Catalan and Spanish Dialects
Barcelona, 26-28 June 2013

DAT/ACC alternations

- verbs of transfer of communication (**telefonar** ‘phone’, **escribir** ‘write’, **contestar** ‘answer’);
- verbs of transfer of possession (**pagar** ‘pay’, **robar** ‘steal’);
- verbs of contact (**pegar** ‘hit’, **disparar** ‘shoot’, **seguir** ‘follow’)
- verbs of saying, thinking and social interaction (**servir** ‘serve’, **entender** ‘understand’, **mentir** ‘lie’, **suplicar** ‘beg’, **silbar** ‘whistle’, **aplaudir** ‘applaud’)

(Pineda 2013b)

Dialectal and intergenerational variation

Theme + Goal:

- (1) *La Maria (li) telefona [ACC un missatge] [DAT a la seva mare]*
Maria (CL_{DAT}) phones [ACC a message] [DAT her mother]

(2) Only Goal:

Grammar 1

- a. *La Maria telefona [DAT a la seva mare] → Ella li telefona*
Maria phones [DAT her mother] → She **her**_{DAT} phones

Monotransitivization

Grammar 2

- b. *La Maria telefona [ACC la seva mare] → Ella la telefona*
Maria phones [ACC her mother] → She **her**_{ACC} phones



Proposal

Catalan dialects

- **G1:** always DAT

Most of Valencian, Balearic varieties



Monotransitivization

- **G2:** always ACC

Part of Central Catalan (Lluçanès, Ripollès, Osona, Garrotxa..)

► **See Ramos 2005.**

- **G3:** access to DAT and ACC

Part of Central Catalan + some Balearic varieties

+ Standard Catalan (normative dictionary)

What must we account for?

- As for G2(=ACC), what is monotransitivization?
- In what do G1(=DAT) and G2(=ACC) actually differ?
Syntax? Semantics?
- As for G3(=DAT/ACC), what does it consist of?
What do speakers do with two encoding options?

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What is monotransitivization?

- DIOM:

Differential IO Marking, Differently marked Goals

(Goals marked with ACC case, but still Goals)

(Bilous 2011 for Fr, Ukrainian)

- (3) a. *Uns desgraciats han robat* [_{ACC} *la meva àvia*]
b. *El portaveu ha respost* [_{ACC} *la senyora ministra*]
c. *Avui encara no* [_{ACC} *l'*]he telefonada, [_{ACC} *la mare*]

Not patients in the strict meaning; not highly/prototypically transitive events
(*phone, rob, shoot, pay...*)



Still Goals, but differently marked

More examples

- (4) a. Com està la teva mare? Fa temps que ni **la truco** ni **l'escric**
- b. Yo cuando tengo algún problema **la escribo** a ella (non-laïsta speaker)
- c. Duran va apuntar ahir en una entrevista a El Periódico que CiU estava perdent la centralitat. **El va respondre** també ahir el secretari d'organització de Convergència, Josep Rull, que li va dir que no era moment de la vella política de l'ambigüitat
- d. Li demanen si **l'han robat** i diu que no, que no eren lladres els qui l'han agredit
- e. Potser convindria cuidar-lo més. Ja **el pagueu** prou bé?
- f. Llavors l'agent **el va disparar** i el va matar
- g. No es pot **servir** dos amos ahora
- h. El gos **lladrava** el nen

Still Goals (but differently marked)

- **Evidence**

- Semantics (theta-role): whether they are DAT or ACC marked, the most appropriate thematic role is usually Beneficiary (or Maleficiary), or Recipient –generic term *Goal*.
- Cross-linguistic behavior (Blume 1998, Troberg 2008, Bilous 2011)
- Secondary Predication (IO vs DO)
- *Me-lui* restriction in analytic causatives, [+animate] feature in clitics (Sáez 2009, Ormazabal & Romero)

As any other Goal, ACC-marked Goals are introduced by a LowApplP (Pytkänen 2002, Cuervo 2003a)

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- As for G3(=ACC/DAT), what does it consist of? What do speakers do with two encoding options?

In what do G1 and G2 actually differ?

- If both ACC-marked and DAT-marked complements are Goals (IOs), and both are licensed by an Appl...
- ... the difference is to be found in the Appl.

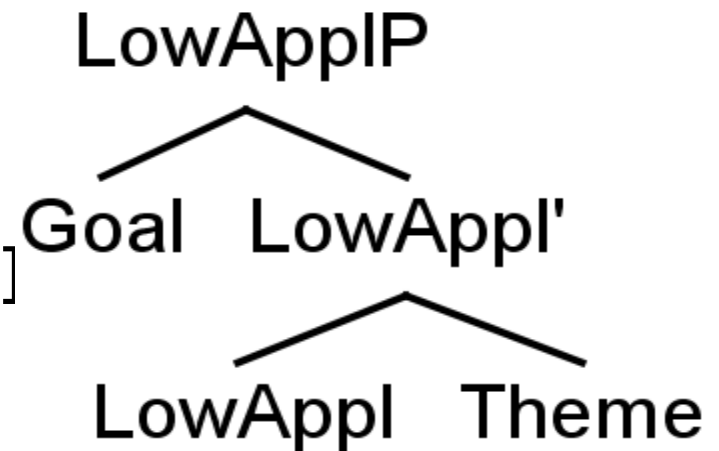
The structure

- The Goal (ACC- or DAT-marked) originates in the Spec position of a LowAppl Phrase and this is why it acquires the Goal interpretation.

- Hidden ditransitives

Telefona [_{GOAL} *el mestre/al mestre*]

[_{GOAL} *Li / El*] *telefona*

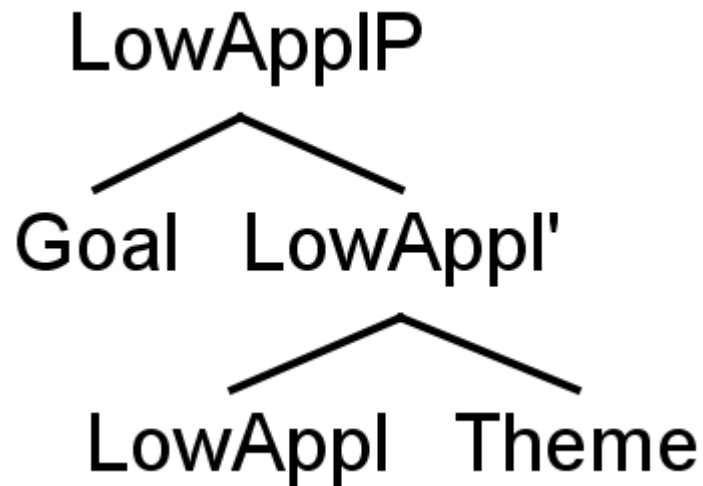


But... what Theme?

Cognate Theme

‘phone’= *fer una telefonada*, *dar un telefonazo*, *dei* egin

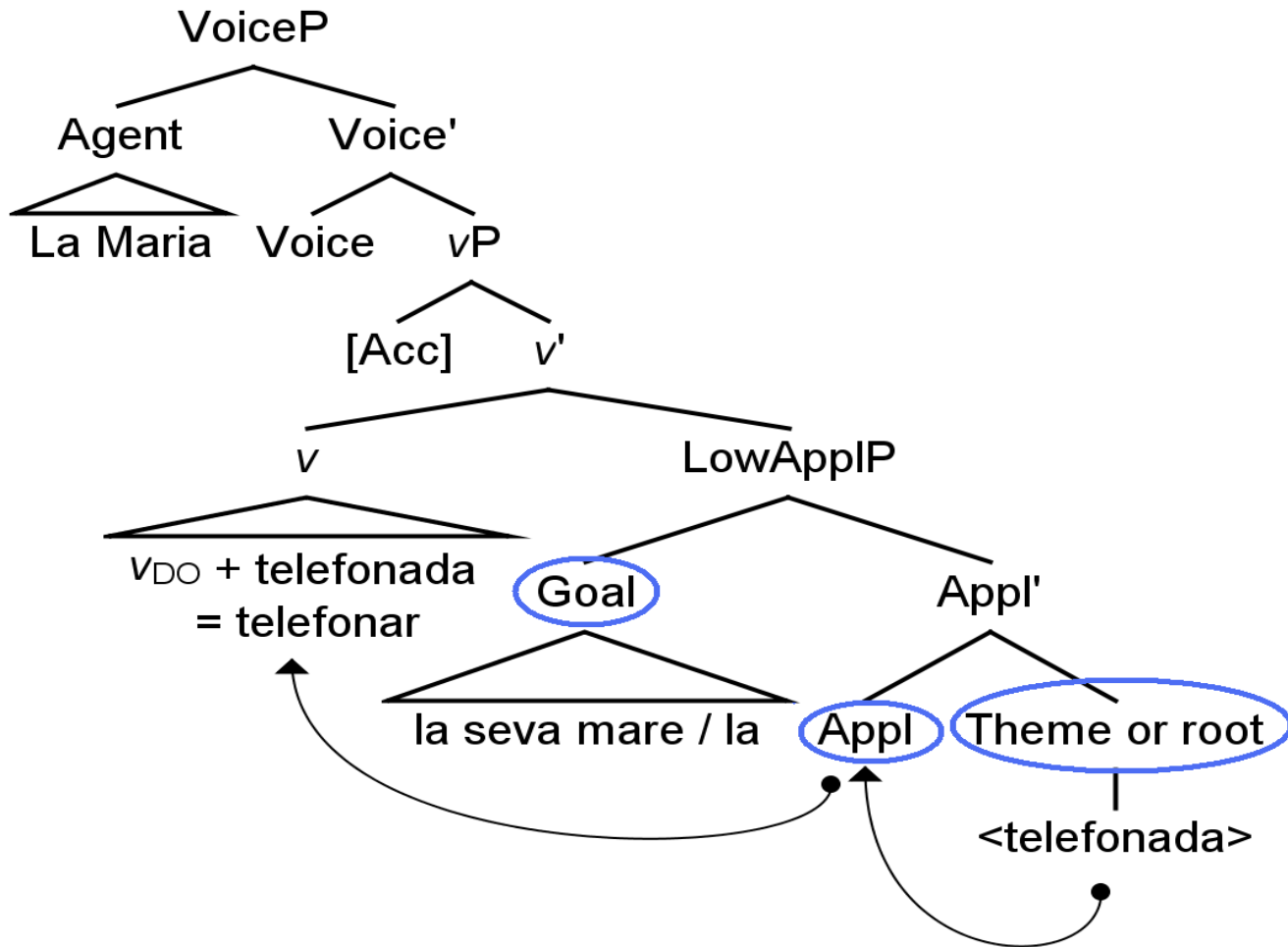
‘rob’ = *fer robatori*, *hacer robo*, *lapurtu* egin



The nominal head (cognate Theme) **conflates** into the verb and gives raise to the lexical verb: *telefonar*, *robar* (H&K 2002).

Torrego's (2010) proposal for «Spanish transitive accusative predicates with dative morphology», true IOs (*hablar a alguien*) and DOs with DOM (*contratar a alguien*).

La Maria telefona [ACC *la seva mare*] → *La Maria* [ACC *la*] telefona
Maria phones [ACC *her mother*] → *Maria* phones [ACC *her*]





The question:

Why ACC case is assigned to the Goal instead of DAT case?

Because...

- Defective LowAppl
- Richardson 2007

«Surface-contact verbs» (*hit, kick, slap*) in Slavic languages occur with Acc-compl, although no depictive predication is allowed, contrary to standard Acc-marked arguments.

Verkuyl 1993

The ACC-compl is equivalent to an IO

I kick John → *I gave a kick to John*

Levin & RH 2005

I broke the window → **I gave the window a break*

In many languages surface-contact verbs take oblique compl or V+N combinations

Cuervo 2003a

Juanita le pegó a la gata → *Juanita le dió una puña a la gata*

Defective Low Appl

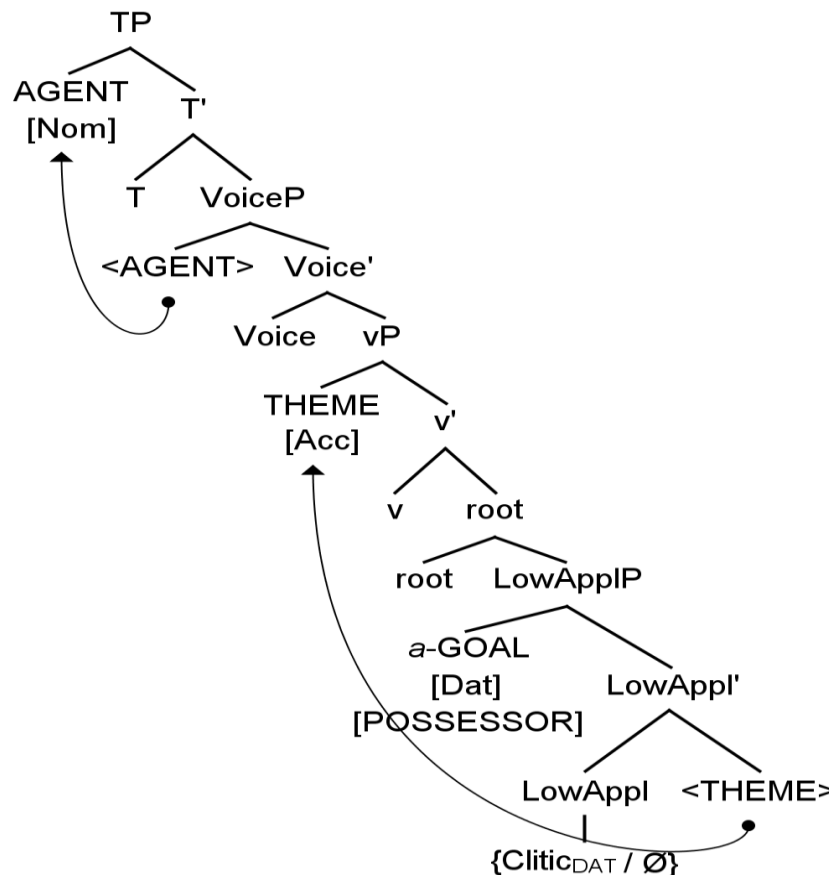
- «the internal argument of surface-contact verbs appears to merge with an applicative head that does not assign case, or anomalously assigns the accusative Case»
- «This [analogy] has rendered the ApplP defective in the sense that it does not assign an inherent dative case to the goal/beneficiary argument»
- Back to our verbs:

Is it really a defective or anomalous applicative?

Excursus: Current ditransitives

- In Cat/Sp ditransitive constructions, Appl assigns DAT to its specifier (Cuervo 2003a,b, Pineda 2013a,b)

(5) *La Maria (li) dóna [ACC el llibre] [DAT al Joan]*



SP/CAT: LowAppl
assigns inherent
DAT case to its
Specifier

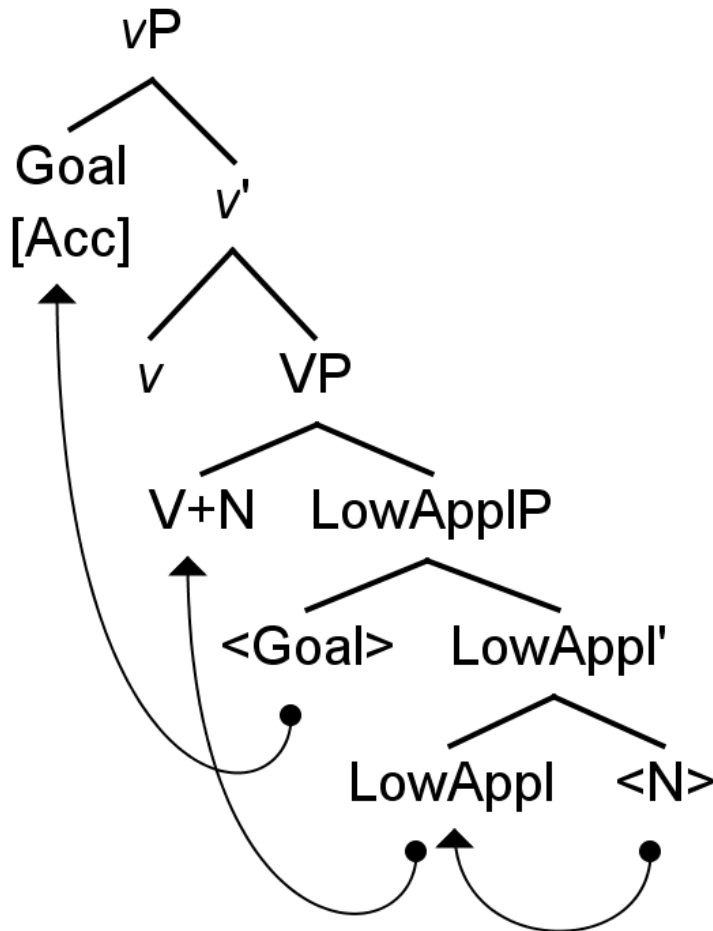
ENGLISH: LowAppl
assigns inherent
ACC case to its
Complement

Back to our hidden ditransitives

- With hidden ditransitive constructions, there are 2 options, G1 and G2:

G1	G2
Current Romance Appl	Anomalous Romance Appl = Germanic-like Appl
DAT case assigned: <i>La Maria telefona al seu pare</i> <i>La Maria li telefona</i>	ACC case assigned: <i>La Maria telefona el seu pare</i> <i>La Maria el telefona</i>

Case assignment



With *telefonar*, *robar*-verbs, the LowAppl head like in English Double Object Construcions: it assigns inherent ACC to the Theme, although it ends up conflated with V.

CONSEQUENCE: no inherent case available for the Goal, so that it must go up in order to check structural ACC case: this explains Goal passivization.

María fue telefoneada
Maria was phoned

Consequences

- If Cat has Germanic-like Appl heads, why do they disallow true *double object* / *double accusative* patterns?

(6) **La Maria dóna* [**ACC**-GOAL *el Joan*] [**ACC**-THEME *el llibre*]

Wait!!

- We **do have** true double accusative constructions

(7) a. *Els parents de Madrid...* ‘My relatives from Madrid...’

Hòstia, encara no els he trucat que em caso!

[_{IO}-ACC]

[_{DO}-ACC]

Hell, I have not called [_{IO}-ACC them] [_{DO}-ACC that I’m getting married] yet!

b. *L’ has de trucar que t’agrada molt el jersei*

[_{IO}-ACC]

[_{DO}-ACC]

You must call [_{IO}-ACC her] [_{DO}-ACC that you like the sweater very much]

Also in Basque ABS/DAT

- Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina (2009):

(8) *Abisa nazazu* [_{DO} zer balio duen sardinak]

Inform [_{ABS} me] [_{DO} how much the sardine costs]

Only with *that*-clauses

- This is a new tendency, not fixed but quite unstable
- Already found with *that*-clause
 - no danger of ambiguity (cf. DPs *Han robot la Maria el bolso*)
 - *that*-clauses can be considered caseless (cf. DPs)



Interim summary

Microvariation

- ▶ Conservative speakers (majority of Valencian, Balearic):
G1, DAT, Romance-like Appl
- ▶ Innovative speakers (part of Central Cat):
G2, ACC, Germanic-like Appl
- ▶ **G1** and **G2** differ in their syntax, but these syntactic differences do not map onto pragmatic or semantic differences.
- ▶ But an important part of speakers (specially in Central Cat and Balearic Catalan) combine **G1** and **G2**, and so do Catalan prescriptive grammar (Standard Catalan). This is **G3**.

What must we account for?

- As for G2(=ACC), what is monotransitivization?
- In what do G1(=DAT) and G2(=ACC) actually differ?
Syntax? Semantics?
- **As for G3(=DAT/ACC), what does it consist of?
What do speakers do with two encoding options?**

What does G3 consist of?

- G3 combines G1 and G2, since it has the Romance-like (DAT-assigning) Appl, and the Germanic-like (ACC-assigning) Appl.

What do G3 speakers do?

Do they exploit the two encoding options?

They do, but not always.

Diccionari de l'IEC 2:

explicit exploitation

- *Robar* + DAT → ‘appropriate wrongfully, with violence, with deception, secretly (what is the property of somebody else)’

(9) Això és robar *als pobres*

This is robbing [DAT PREP the poor]

- *Robar* + ACC → ‘dispossess (somebody) of the things which belong to him/her, wrongfully, with violence, with deception, secretly’

(10) *El van robar a la sortida del cinema*

They robbed [ACC him] at the exit of the cinema

Same author, same book

(II)

a. - *A qui vas confiar els diners?* (Who did you give the money to?)

- *A un home de confiança. El van matar. I [ACC **el**] **van robar.***

To a reliable man. They killed him. And **they.robbed** [ACC **him**].

b. *Vostè és un canalla.* (You are a swine)

*Li va robar el violí. I també **va robar** [DAT *al desgraciat Adrià Ar.*]*

You stole his violin. And also **you.robbed** [DAT the unfortunate Adrià Ar.]

(Jo confesso, Jaume Cabré)

Gran Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana: covered exploitation

One single definition: ‘take something from someone
committing robbery’

Ex. Això és robar [**DAT** als pobres]

P. ext. Pobre home, [**ACC** l’]han maltractat, insultat i robat

Ginebra & Montserrat 1999: no exploitation

- Only ACC pattern

(12) *Han robat el teu germà? Sí que l'han robat i ara farà la denúncia del robatori*

'Did they rob your brother?' 'Yes, they robbed him_{ACC} and now he will report the robbery

- This reflects what's going on in G2(=ACC) (innov. dial.):

(13) *Finalment em van portar a una oficina sota terra i em va entrevistar un policia.*

'They finally carried me to an office below ground and a policeman interviewed me'

-¿[_{ACC} l'] **han robat** a l'estació de tren?'

Did they rob [_{ACC} you] at the train station?'

-No, a l'hotel.

'No, in the hotel.'

-¿Què ha perdut?

'What did you lose?'

-Unes 100 lliures.

'About 100 pounds.'

Not all verbs allow exploitation

- Compare:

(14) **Lo** *telefonearon* = **Le** *telefonearon*

(15) **Lo** *dispararon* $\neq$ **Le** *dispararon*

(Romero & Ormazabal, p. c.)

- (16) a. A veure, **truca-li**, **truca-li** i així sabem què passa. Va, **truca'l**
b. Per què **li** hem de trucar a la nit si hem estat no sé quants dies sense trucar-**lo**?
- (17) a. *Le dispararon pero no le dieron.*
b. *Lo han disparado, está muerto.*

More questions

- Why is it possible for some speakers to exploit the two options with some verbs?

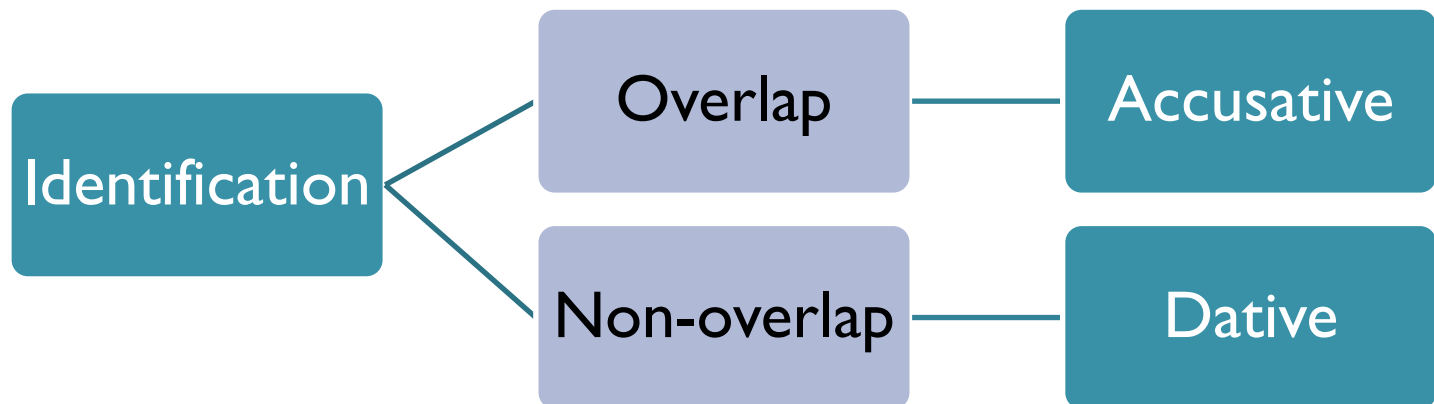
- Tentative answer

Are case differences in G3 linked to aspectual differences?

- Svenonius 2002 – Icelandic (temporal overlap)
- Richardson 2007 – Slavic languages (quantization)
- And so many others (Borer, Kratzer, Travis...)

Temptative 1: Case & Aspect

- Svenonius 2002: «case is properly seen as reflecting (interpretable) tense, aspect, or Aktionsart features»
- ACC is licensed when a particular relationship obtains between v and V . This relationship is defined using an aspectual notion: temporal overlap.



Temptative 2: Not in the syntax

- With some verbs, the use of ACC vs DAT appears to be related to differences in meaning (specially affectedness), but there are no systematic correspondences between case and meaning.
- It is not in the syntax because...
 - differences are not systematic (even *Truca-li. Va, truca'l*)
 - it is not true that G1(=DAT) speakers always have a non-affected meaning and G2(=ACC) speakers an affected meaning.

Then, it is in the interpretative component

- with some verbs:
 - context-dependent
 - pragmatics-semantic implications

What happens in the interpretative component?

- Only in certain cases speakers will exploit the ACC/DAT opposition.

Basing on what?

An option:

Scale: *holistic affectedness* *potentially partial affectedness*



L'han apallissat i l'han robat, li han pres tot. Els bancs **li** roben cada dia.



Scale: *impingement* *no necessary impingement*

L'han disparat, ara és mort.

Li han disparat, però no l'han tocat.

ALTERNATION

```
graph TD; A[ALTERNATION] --> B[DAT]; A --> C[ACC]; B --> D["Event conceptualization: the verb does not necessarily imply a holistic effect"]; C --> E["Event conceptualization: the verb implies a holistic effect of an action on the person, a change of state occurs"];
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DAT

Event conceptualization: the verb does not necessarily imply a holistic effect

ACC

Event conceptualization: the verb implies a holistic effect of an action on the person, a change of state occurs

Conclusions

- Behind DAT/ACC alternations there is DIOM
- Behind DIOM there is a Germanic-like accusative-assigning LowAppl head
- Catalan dialects variation can be accounted for by positing the existence of G1, G2 and G3 and the existence of two sorts of LowAppl heads.
- Syntactic differences (Romance-like vs Germanic-like Appl) are not always mapped onto meaning differences.
- Exploitation is only allowed for some verbs, for some speakers. It has to do with semantic-pragmatic implications.



Moltes gràcies!

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