

Dative constructions in Romance and beyond

Edited by

Anna Pineda

Jaume Mateu

Open Generative Syntax



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Contents

Dative constructions across languages: An introduction

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1 Presentation

1.1 Interest of the volume

The present volume offers a comprehensive account of dative structures across languages –with an important, though not exclusive, focus on the Romance family. As is well-known, datives play a central role in a variety of structures, ranging from ditransitive constructions to cliticization of IOs and DOM-marked DOs, and including also psychological predicates, possessor or causative constructions, among many others. As interest in all these topics has increased significantly over the past three decades, this volume provides an overdue update on the state of the art. Accordingly, the chapters in this volume account for both widely discussed patterns of dative constructions as well as some that are relatively unknown.

1.2 Structure of the volume

The book is organized into four main parts, comprising 15 papers, preceded by an overview by M. CRISTINA CUERVO. This contribution offers a cross-linguistic perspective on applicative heads, which over the past years have been widely assumed to be licensors of dative arguments cross-linguistically.

PART I is dedicated to analyzing datives in the context of ditransitive constructions, with focus on identifying the well-known *Double Object Construction*.

The literature on Double Object Constructions (e.g. *John gave Mary the book*), which is typically focused on English, is very rich (Larson1988; Oehrle1976; Kayne1984; Jackendoff1990structures; Jackendoff1990larson; Pesetsky1995; Harley2002, among many others). The three main analyses found in the literature which account for constructions with dative arguments, particularly ditransitive constructions, stipulate:

1. an extra structure above the lexical V (see Baker1988; Baker1997, Marantz1993's (Marantz1993) Applicative Hypothesis for Bantu and English, Anagnostopoulou2003 for Greek, MiyagawaTsuijoka2004 for Japanese, or MiyagawaJung2004 for Korean, a.o.);
2. an extra structure inside the lexical V (Small Clause, Kayne1984; Zero Morpheme, Pesetsky1995); and
3. a proposal reconciling the two approaches mentioned above by distinguishing Low and High Applicatives (Pylkkänen2002), which hypothesizes the existence of extra structure above the VP for High Applicatives (those for which the interpretation does not involve a Goal argument) and extra structure inside the VP for Low Applicatives (those for which the interpretation involves transfer of possession).

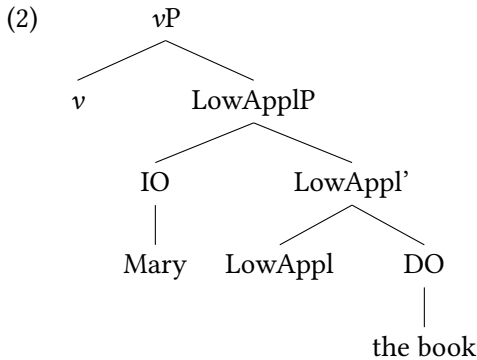
Since Pylkkänen's work on Applicatives in English, Finnish and Japanese, the use of these syntactic heads has been further developed and has given rise to works on many languages (McGinnis2001 for Albanian and Icelandic, Cuervo2003 for Spanish, McIntyre2006 for German, Fournier2010 for French, Pineda2013; Pineda2016; PinedaPress for Catalan). Additionally, more types of Applicatives have been proposed (for example, Cuervo2003's (Cuervo2003) Affected Applicatives).

One of the most important implementations of Applicatives involves a particular type of ditransitive construction, the aforementioned Double Object Construction (DOC), as in English *John gave Mary the book*. Although DOCs have been traditionally considered to be absent in Romance languages (Kayne1984; HolmbergPlatzack1995), over the past decades several researchers have claimed that Spanish indeed has this construction (Masullo1992thesis; Demonte1995; Romero1997; Bleam2003). On the basis of Pylkkänen2002's (Pylkkänen2002) aforementioned work on applicatives, the existence of DOCs in Spanish has again been argued to be correct (Cuervo2003). This proposal has been since extended

to other Romance languages, such as French (Fournier2010), Portuguese (TorresMoraisSalles2010), Romanian (DiaconescuRivero2007) and Catalan (Pineda2013; Pineda2016; PinedaPress2016).

However, while the existence of DOCs, usually assumed to be mediated by applicative heads, is widely established in the study of English ditransitive constructions (Baker1988; Marantz1993; Pylkkänen2002; Pylkkänen2008), their presence in other language families remains highly controversial, especially in the realm of Romance languages. Thus, it is generally assumed for English that an applicative head is the backbone of the DOC (??), introducing the IO in its specifier position and relating it to the DO, in its complement position (??):

- (1) John gives Mary the book.



For Romance languages, it has been argued that the DOC pattern, with an applicative head, is also attested. This gives rise to two different perspectives: those identifying the DOC with clitic-doubled ditransitives (see e.g. Cuervo2003) and those arguing that the presence or absence of dative clitic doubling is not structurally relevant for DOCs (see e.g. Pineda2013; Pineda2016; PinedaPress2016). That is, there is no consensus as to whether a doubling dative clitic is a *sine qua non* condition for Romance DOC. Romance languages offer an interesting landscape from which to consider a doubling dative clitic in ditransitive constructions. While this construction is possible in Spanish, Catalan and Romanian, it is impossible in French, Portuguese and Standard Italian. Moreover, doubling is compulsory in some American varieties of Spanish (Río de la Plata / Chile / Caracas) (Parodi1998; Senn2008; Pujalte2009) and Trentino (Cordin1993). Another point of controversy has to do with the (non-)existence of an English-like dative alternation (*John gave Mary the book*, *John gave the book to Mary*) in Romance. Most of the aforementioned authors defend the existence of two different ditransitive constructions, the double object one (with clitic doubling) and the prepo-

sitional one (without clitic doubling), featuring structural differences (opposite c-commanding relations between objects) and semantic differences (successful transfer of possession or not). However, **Pineda2013**; **Pineda2016**; **Pinedainpressa** challenged this claim by showing that the purported structural and semantic differences between clitic-doubled and non-clitic doubled ditransitives constructions are not as robust as suggested. This assertion brings Romance clitic-doubling languages such as Spanish, Catalan or Romanian (for the latter, see also Tigau & von Heusinger in press) close to non-doubling languages, such as French, Italian and Portuguese, for which the existence of two structural relations between the objects of ditransitive sentences has been acknowledged in the literature (see **Harley2002**; **Anagnostopoulou2003**; **Fournier2010**, and **BonehNash2011** for French; and **GiorgiLongobardi1991**; **McGinnis2001**; **Harley2002** for Italian).

In the present volume, this issue is tackled, with special attention extended to the situation in Portuguese, by ANA CALINDRO. This author discusses whether a particular diachronic change in the expression of indirect objects (generalization of *para* ‘to’ in ditransitive constructions) in Brazilian Portuguese distinguishes this language from other Romance languages. She treats the structural representation of ditransitives in this language by dispensing with applicative heads and instead making use of a *p* head (**Svenonius2003**; **Svenonius2004Arguments**; **Wood2012**) and the *i** single argument introducer proposed by **WoodMarantz2017**.

The situation of Portuguese and Spanish ditransitives is also analyzed by PAULA CÉPEDA & SONIA CYRINO. These authors explore the causes and the consequences of the two linear orders (DO>IO and IO>DO) allowed for the DO and the IO in Spanish, European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese ditransitives. They conclude that arguments supporting a DOC analysis for ditransitive constructions in these languages are inconclusive on both semantic and structural grounds. They argue that the two previously mentioned orders are derivationally related via an information structure operation.

Romanian ditransitives are also discussed in detail in this volume. ALEXANDRA CORNILESCU provides an account of the binding relations between the DO and the IO in Romanian ditransitives, focusing on the grammaticality differences triggered by clitic doubled IOs, differentially marked DOs and clitic doubled DOs. The data discussed in her paper, which have otherwise received scant attention, lead the author to propose a derivational account for ditransitive constructions to explain these differences.

Finally, French, Italian and Catalan ditransitives are also considered in the volume. In the paper by MICHELLE SHEEHAN, the author argues that ditransitives in these languages have two underlying structures so that a DP introduced by ‘a/à’

can be either dative, akin to the English DOC, or locative, akin to the English *to*-dative construction. SHEEHAN bases her claims on the relations between objects with a focus on Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects. The author contrasts PCC effects in ditransitives and in *faire-infinitive* causatives, providing evidence that such effects are not limited to clitic clusters, as previously suggested for Spanish by OrmazabalRomero2013. In causatives, clitics also trigger PCC effects because the *a/à* is unambiguously dative.

The debate regarding the existence or absence of an English-like dative alternation, with a DOC and a *to*-dative construction, has received interest outside Romance linguistics. Accordingly, the volume includes an exhaustive account of Russian ditransitives, by SVITLANA ANTONYUK. This author proposes that the well-known binary distinction between DOC and the prepositional *to*-counterpart is insufficient for Russian and a ternary distinction is needed. She formulates her claim on the basis of Russian quantifier scope freezing data, which demonstrate that Russian ditransitive predicates are not a homogeneous group, but rather subdivide into three groups with distinct underlying structures.

PART II is dedicated to other dative constructions, including possessor and experiencer constructions and related structures. The study of possessor datives is tackled from three different perspectives. First, in EGOR TSEDRYK's paper, the focus is extended to predicative possession and possessive modality in Russian, which allows both the dative ('Vanja_{DAT} be_{EXIST} this book') and the locative ('At Vanja_{GEN} be_{EXIST} this book') to occur with the existential BE. The dative has a directional meaning (possible possession), opposed to stative inclusion of the locative (actual possession). This construal of the dative is furthermore extended to modal necessity of imperfective infinitive constructions ('Vanja_{DAT} to get up early tomorrow'). Finally, building on the part-whole relation (possessum \subseteq possessor) described by dative (*give the books \subseteq to the woman*) and genitive possessors (*the books \subseteq of the woman*), as well as the reverse relation (possessor \supseteq possessum) found with instrumentals *the woman \supseteq with the books*, a discussion is offered by LUDOVICO FRANCO & PAOLO LORUSSO on the instances of such inclusive relations in the aspectual domain, when continuous/progressive tenses are combined with dative (*Gianni is at hunt* 'Gianni is hunting') or instrumental (*They eat with honey* 'They are eating honey') morphemes in different languages, such as Italian or Baka. Additionally, experiencer constructions are analyzed by ANTONIO FÁBREGAS & RAFAEL MARÍN, with focus on the stative meaning that characterize dative experiencers with Spanish psychological verbs (compare *A Juan le preocupan las cosas* 'To John _{CL_{DAT}} concern.3PL the things' stative vs. *Juan se preocupa por las cosas* 'John _{CL_{REFL}} concerns.3SG for the things' dynamic). A se-

mantic characterization of datives as not denoting a full transference relation, but only a boundary, allows one to account for the stativity associated with experiencer datives. This contrasts with other prototypical values of datives such as recipients or goals, which are claimed to denote a transfer and are therefore dynamic.

PART III contains two proposals regarding applicative heads, which recently have been considered a cross-linguistic licenser of dative arguments. Building on Pylkkänen2002's Pylkkänen2002; Pylkkänen2008 analysis of high and low applicatives, two proposals are advanced. The first, based on Bantu data, is elaborated by MATTIE WECHSLER. This author proposes the existence of a 'super high' applicative, and argues that (at least in Bantu) applicative heads are underspecified regarding their height. In the second proposal, which is based on data from Chukchi, West Greenlandic and Salish, DAVID BASILICO advocates for a different syntax of the low applicative head, which permits one to account for the presence of an antipassive morpheme in applicative constructions.

PART IV focuses on the study of case alternations involving dative case. A wide range of structures where case alternations occur are considered in this volume. Within the Romance family, alternations involving dative case are attested with agentive verbs whose single complement is dative or accusative-marked (see FernándezOrdóñez1999 and Sáez2009 for Spanish, Ramos2005; Morant2008; PinedaRoyo2017 and Pinedainpressb for Catalan, Ledgeway2000 for Neapolitan, Troberg2008 for French (on a diachronic perspective), and Pineda2016 for a comprehensive Romance view including Catalan, Spanish, Asturian and Italian varieties). In the present volume, a related case of variation is analyzed by ADAM LEDGEWAY, NORMA SCHIFANO & GIUSEPPINA SILVESTRI, where dative in the marking of the IO with agentive verbs alternates with genitive case, in constructions such as *I told* [GEN/DAT the boy] *to go* or *I spoke* [GEN/DAT the mayor]. The data discussed come from Southern Italian varieties, where the Romance-style dative marking (a 'to') alternates with a Greek-style marking (*di* 'of').

Another instance of case alternation involving dative case involves psychological predicates (BellettiRizzi1988), where the experiencer may show dative or accusative case in several Romance languages (see for example CabréMateu1998; PinedaRoyo2017 and Royo2017 for Catalan, and FernándezOrdóñez1999 for Spanish). In the present volume, CARLES ROYO offers an exhaustive account of dative/accusative alternations with psychological predicates in Catalan varieties, and analyses the connection between the case alternation and the causative vs. stative nature of the construction.

Variation involving dative structures in Catalan is further explored in the con-

tribution of TERESA CABRÉ & ANTONIO FÁBREGAS who examine the notion of dative from a morphological perspective. Catalan dialectal differences between Valencian and non-Valencian varieties suggest an analysis of the notion of dative as non-monolithic. Whereas the dative clitic exponent *li* in Valencian Catalan is case-marked with dative, the corresponding *li* in non-Valencian Catalan is claimed to correspond to a locative adverbial embedded under D (thus *l+i*), the locative element being attested independently in these varieties as *hi* (both in the plural dative clitic, *els hi* ‘them_{DAT}’, and in strictly locative contexts, *Hi sóc* ‘I am there’). The consequences of this dialectal divide for clitic combinations are also explored.

In the Romance context, dative/accusative alternations are also closely connected with the so-called *leísmo*, the use of dative clitics for DOs, and *loísmo/laísmo*, the use of accusative clitics for IOs. These phenomena are the object of a study by RITA MANZINI, who compares the realization of Romance *a*-DPs (including Goal arguments of (di)transitive, Goal arguments of unergative verbs, and differentially marked objects of transitive verbs) and their compatibility with a cliticized dative form. In *leísta* varieties, a dative clitic is used not only for Goal arguments, but also for differentially marked objects. However, in *loísta/laísta* varieties, accusative clitics are used not only for differentially marked objects but also for Goal arguments of unergative verbs. Both phenomena are exemplified using data from Spanish and Southern Italian varieties. MANZINI offers a unified account of Standard Spanish, as well as *leísmo* and *loísmo/laísmo* patterns in Spanish and Italian varieties, arguing that the case array may be set differently for lexical DPs and for clitics, the latter being optionally associated with DOM (whose syntactic structure of embedding is the same as *typical* dative arguments) and therefore giving rise to *leísmo*.

Finally, beyond the Romance linguistic domain, a well-studied language with case variation involving the dative is Icelandic, where dative/accusative has been extensively analyzed (see for example BBarðdal2001; Barðdal2008; Svenonius2002; Maling2002; JónssonEythórsson2005). The present volume also offers a contribution in this line of research, with particular attention extended to the degree of predictability of the use of dative case. JÓHANNES GÍSLI JÓNSSON & RANNVEIG THÓRARINSDÓTTIRÓNSSON analyze Icelandic case alternations in marking the object of borrowings and neologisms, and assess the conditions that motivate the use of the dative case, at the expense of the default accusative case, in the context of these novel transitive verbs.

Part I

Ditransitive constructions

Part II

Possessor datives, experiencer datives and related structures

Part III

Applicatives

Part IV

Case alternations involving datives

Chapter 1

The accusative/dative alternation in Catalan verbs with experiencer object

Carles Royo

Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Various Catalan psychological verbs that are part of causative sentences with an accusative experiencer (*Els nens van molestar la Maria* or *La van molestar* ‘The kids annoyed Maria or They annoyed her’) alternate with stative sentences that change the sentence order and have a dative experiencer (*A la Maria li molesta el teu caràcter* ‘lit. To Maria your character is annoying’). Other psychological verbs, however, can form both types of sentence without changing the accusative morphology of the experiencer (*Els nens van atabalar la Maria* or *La van atabalar* ‘The kids overwhelmed Maria or They overwhelmed her’; *A la Maria l’atabala el teu caràcter* ‘lit. To Maria your character is overwhelming’). I argue that in stative sentences of all these verbs the experiencer is a real dative, regardless of its morphology (dative or accusative). Differential indirect object marking (DIOM) explains why accusative morphology is possible in these constructions.

please revise according to guidelines:

provide translations

provide glosses for all source language words

do not use alternatives in the source line

do not use alternatives in gloss lines (/). Every morpheme has exactly one gloss. Instead of ‘He/She’, use ‘3.SG’

do not use zeros in source lines

do not use ‘+’; use ‘.’ for several meanings in a morpheme.

do not use () in the gloss line



1 Introduction

Since the first half of the 20th century (cf. Ginebra2003, Ginebra2015), some Catalan psychological verbs belonging to BellettiRizzi1988's type II – which make sentences with an accusative experiencer or AcExp (??)/(??) – have appeared with some frequency in both the written and spoken language with a change in sentence order and a dative experiencer (??)/(??). This accusative/dative alternation has generated considerable academic debate. In most instances, the rules of the Institute of Catalan Studies (IEC) governing the Catalan language do not countenance this change in case marking, although the IEC's new normative grammar (GIEC2016) and the changes introduced on 5 April 2017 to its online normative dictionary (DIEC2007) accept the dative case marking – as well as the accusative – in some particular predicates: including the verbs *encantar* 'delight', *estranyar* 'surprise', *molestar* 'annoy' and *preocupar* 'worry'.¹

- (1) a. Els nens van molestar la Maria (o la van
The kids AUX.3PL annoy.INF the Maria.ACC or 3FSG.ACC AUX.3PL
molestar).
annoy.INF
'The kids annoyed Maria (or They annoyed her).'
- b. A la Maria li molesten els nens.
to the Maria.DAT 3SG.DAT annoy.3PL the kids
(lit.) 'To Maria kids are annoying.'
- (2) CabréMateu1998
- a. Les teves paraules la van sorprendre, preocupar,
the your words 3FSG.ACC AUX.3PL surprise.INF worry.INF
molestar molt.
annoy.INF a_lot
'Your words surprised, worried, annoyed her a lot.'
- b. Li sorprèn, preocupa, molesta que la joventut d' avui fumi
3SG.DAT surprises worries annoys that the youth of today smoke
tant.
so_much
(lit.) 'To him/her that the youth of today smoke so much is surprising,
worrying, annoying.'

¹Before publication of the GIEC, the IEC accepted the intransitive nature of the verb *interessar* 'interest' as well as an accusative case marking.

many
ex. dont
have
proper
glosses-
translations.
please
revise.

This change has not had a uniform impact on Catalan dialects. Moreover, notable differences often occur within each dialect and even in the use that a specific speaker makes of these predicates (cf. **CabréMateu1998**). Indeed, some predicates have become more entrenched than others, something that is irregularly reflected in several lexicographical collections in the Catalan language. It is common for AcExp verbs in Spanish to present this argument alternation (cf. **MendivilGiro2005**; **MarínMcNally2011**, among others). For this reason, psychological verbs that are used with dative constructions in Catalan, when they have traditionally been used with accusative constructions (AcExp), have often been regarded as syntactic calques of the Spanish; yet, some studies describe the change as being inherent to the Catalan language.

This paper argues that in a stative sentence containing these verbs the experiencer is a real dative, not only when it presents the dative morphology, but also when it presents the accusative form (see also **chapters/cabre** and **chapters/ledgeway**, about the different natures of datives). I also argue that the accusative morphology of such stative sentences is facilitated by a mechanism of differential indirect object marking (DIOM).

2 Syntactico-semantic configuration of sentences with accusative and dative

Ynglès1991 and **CabréMateu1998** point out that the syntactico-semantic configuration differs when some AcExp verbs are used with the accusative and when they are used with the dative: see the contrast in (??).² In (??) and (??), three components of causative verbs imply a change of state: cause + process (change) + resulting state (cf. **LevinRappaportHovav1995**; **CabréMateu1998**; **Rossello2008**). The verb needs to be followed by an accusative in an eventive sentence of external causation and a neutral subject-verb-object (SVO) order. On the other hand, (??) and (??) do not have these three components, and the verb requires the dative in a stative sentence and a neutral object-verb-subject (OVS) order and clitic doubling (see also **chapters/fabregas**).

²For further information on the proof and examples that show that sentences such as that in (??)/(??) are configured differently from those illustrated in (??)/(??), see **Royo2017**.

- (3) a. Els nens van molestar la Maria *expressament* i els
 The kids AUX.3PL annoy.INF the Maria.ACC on_purpose and the
 mestres també *ho van fer*.
 teachers also it AUX.3PL do.INF
 ‘The kids annoyed Maria on purpose and the teachers also did it.’
- b. *A la Maria li molesten els nens *expressament* i els
 to the Maria.DAT 3SG.DAT annoy.3PL the kids on_purpose and the
 mestres també *ho fan*.
 teachers also it do

Two mechanisms help differentiate the causative structure in (??)/(??) from the stative structure in (??)/(??). On the one hand, their verbal aspect: the perfective aspect contributes to a causative interpretation while the imperfective aspect contributes to a stative interpretation; hence, there is a relation between the lexical aspect of the sentence (eventive or stative) and the verbal aspect of the predicate (perfective or imperfective). And, on the other, the sentence order: a neutral SVO order gives a causative interpretation and a neutral OVS order gives a stative interpretation.

In line with Ynglès1991; CabréMateu1998; Rossello2008 and GIEC2016 for Catalan, Pesetsky1995 for English, Bouchard1995 for French and Acedo-MatellánMateu2015 for Spanish, I consider that Catalan psychological verbs with an accusative experiencer (AcExp) generally cause a change of state:³ in these sentences subjects are agents or inanimate causes and accusative experiencers are strictly speaking patients, even though conceptually they can be regarded as experiencers. I also concur with several authors who point out that the OVS stative construction of some AcExp Catalan verbs is the same as that of psychological verbs with a dative experiencer (DatExp, for example *agradar* ‘to like’; cf. CabréMateu1998; Ramos2004; Rossello2008; Cuervo2010Cuestiones, among others): the subject is a stimulus or source of the psychological experience and the dative experiencer is not a patient, it does not undergo a change of state. What is more, clitic

³According to other authors, the characterization of these sentences is different or allows different structures: cf. vanVoorst1992; Arad1999; Landau2010; MarínMcNally2011 and Fabregas2015experimentante. Several authors, including FabregasMarín2012; FábregasMarínMcNally2012; MarínSanchezMarco2012; Ganeshan2014 and Viñas-de-Puig2014, study these constructions in their general analyses of the stative and eventive nature of Spanish sentences with psychological verbs (note Viñas-de-Puig do the same also with Catalan psychological verbs). Acedo-MatellánMateu2015) also accept that these verbs cause a change of state in Spanish but point out that there is a less common construction of AcExp verbs with the accusative, that is, stative causative transitive (*Este problema la ha preocupado desde siempre*).

doubling occurs when the experiencer phrase appears in preverbal position.⁴

These data suggest that many speakers need to change both the syntactical pattern of AcExp verbs and the sentence order when they use these verbs in a stative construction: the different semantic or lexical-aspectual interpretation of these sentences is reflected in the different syntactic configuration of constructions that contain Catalan AcExp verbs.⁵ According to (Ginebra2003), however, the examples in (??) show that Catalan can also denote a stative OVS construction without changing from the accusative to the dative with some predicates. These can be AcExp verbs (??) or non-psychological causative verbs that become psychological by means of a metaphorical expansion of the meaning (??) (the *psych constructions* described by Bouchard1995). Therefore, the lexical nature of the verb plays an important role in the alternation since some verbs tend not to construct stative sentences with the dative.

(4) Ginebra2003

- a. Al seu germà l' atabala la nova responsabilitat.
to.the his brother 3MSG.ACC overwhelms the new responsibility
(lit.) 'To his brother the new responsibility is overwhelming.'
- b. Al Xavier el destrossa aquesta tensió contínua.
to.the Xavier 3MSG.ACC destroys this tension constant
(lit.) 'To Xavier this constant tension is destroying.'

What is more, with AcExp verbs such as those identified by CabréMateu1998 – *molestar*, *preocupar*, *sorprendre* (see (??)) – speakers may hesitate between accusative and dative case marking in OVS stative sentences. Some examples of this hesitation in a Catalan/Spanish bilingual newspaper are shown in (??). The print edition of the paper includes an OVS sentence with the verb *preocupar* 'worry' that governs the accusative in Catalan (??) and the dative in Spanish (??); on the other hand, in the Catalan online edition the same sentence appears with a dative (??). Examples (??) and (??) show the same hesitation with the verb *molestar* 'annoy', in the same news item reported by six media in Catalan on 5 December

the gloss
ADJ is
probably
not nec-
essary
(also
else-
where)

⁴ Acedo-MatellánMateu2015 have questioned this assumption in psychological verbs in Spanish and draw a distinction between DatExp verbs (unaccusative statives) and AcExp verbs that are constructed with the dative (unergative statives). For a discussion of this issue, see Royo2017.

⁵ Several authors claim that the change between causative and stative interpretation implies a change in the Spanish case marking, between accusative and dative respectively: cf. Fabregas2015experimentante; Viñas-de-Puig2017 and Ganesan2019.

2012: three use the accusative (??) and three the dative (??).⁶

- (5) *La Vanguardia*, 15 May 2015, p. 15 (headline),
- a. Catalan, printed version
Per_què a Ciu la preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu.F 3FSG.ACC worries Ciutadans.SG
 - b. Spanish, printed version
Por_qué a Ciu le preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu.F 3SG.DAT worries Ciutadans.SG
 - c. Catalan, online version
Per_què a Ciu li preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu.F 3SG.DAT worries Ciutadans.SG
(lit.) ‘Why to Ciu Ciutadans is worrying.’
- (6) a. VilaWeb (headline)
Rigau: ‘A Wert el molesta l’ èxit del model d’
Rigau to Wert 3MSG.ACC annoys the success of.the model of
immersió’
immersion
(lit.) ‘Rigau: ‘To Wert the model of immersion’s success is annoying’.
- b. *El Periódico de Catalunya* (headline)
Rigau: “A Wert el molesta l’ èxit de la immersió
Rigau to Wert 3MSG.ACC annoys the success of the immersion
lingüística”
language
(lit.) ‘Rigau: “To Wert the language immersion’s success is annoying”.’
- c. *Ara* (headline)
Rigau: “A Wert, el_que el molesta és l’ èxit del model
Rigau to Wert what 3MSG.ACC annoys is the success of.the model
educatiu català”
educational Catalan
(lit.) ‘Rigau: “What is annoying to Wert is the Catalan educational
model’s success”.’

examples
adapted
up to
here

⁶The three sentences in the accusative use direct speech while the three in the dative use indirect speech, which may indicate that the person making the statement conceptualizes the verb differently from the journalists who report it.

- (7) a. 3/24, www.ccma.cat (headline)
 Rigau creu que a Wert li molesta “l’ èxit” del model
 Rigau believes that to Wert 3SG.DAT annoys the success of.the model
 català
 Catalan
- b. diari degirona.cat (headline)
 Rigau creu que a Wert li molesta “l’ èxit” del model
 Rigau believes that to Wert 3SG.DAT annoys the success of.the model
 català
 Catalan
 (lit.) ‘Rigau believes that to Wert the Catalan model’s “success” is
 annoying.’
- c. *El Punt Avui*
 La titular d’ Ensenyament, creu que a Wert li
 the minister of Education believes that to Wert 3SG.DAT
 “molesta” el model “d’ èxit” de l’ escola catalana.
 annoys the model of success of the school Catalan
 (lit.) ‘The minister of Education believes that to Wert the model “of
 success” of the Catalan school is annoying.’

In fact, if in (??) and (??) we replace the dative clitic with the accusative clitic – *A la Maria la molesten els nens*; (*A ella*) *La sorprèn, preocupa, molesta que la joventut d’avui fumi tant* – our discussion above about distinguishing these sentences from those in (??) and (??) is still valid: they are useful ways of characterizing both constructions differently, but they do not help determine the case marking.

The ability of Catalan to construct a stative sentence with an AcExp verb and an accusative experiencer makes it necessary to analyse this accusative in those cases of hesitation with the dative (that is, in OVS stative sentences). We need to know whether the order of the sentences and clitic doubling in Catalan are sufficient to denote a lexical-aspectual change in the sentence or whether a change in case marking is also required.

3 Nature of the accusative and dative experiencer in OVS stative sentences

In the sentences in (??)/(??) and (??)-(??), whether the verb governs the accusative or the dative, the subject is a stimulus of the emotion and the object is not a

patient but an experiencer of the whole event in a more prominent structural position than that occupied by the stimulus. It can be shown that this experiencer argument, regardless of whether it is accusative or dative, is not a topicalized element and that it has properties of a subject: cf. examples a and b in (??)-(??). It behaves just like the experiencer in sentences with DatExp verbs such as *agradar* ‘like’ (see the c examples in (??)-(??)) and other canonical subjects (see the d examples in (??) and (??) and example (??)): it behaves quite differently from topicalized objects (see the d examples in (??)-(??) and (??)).⁷

The experiencer can link an anaphora in the subject (cf. Demonte1989; EgurenFernándezSor 1999), be modified by the adverb *només* ‘only’ (cf. Cuervo1999) (??), allow *Wh*-extraction (cf. BellettiRizzi1988) (??), be an indefinite generalized quantifier in initial position (cf. BellettiRizzi1988; Masullo1992quirky; Cuervo1999) (??), control the subject of an infinitive clause (cf. Campos1999; Alsina2008) (??) and it cannot be separated, in Catalan, by a comma from the rest of the sentence (cf. Ginebra2003; Ginebra2005) (??).

- (8) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
 A l’ Albert_i {li_i / el_i} molesta aquesta fotografia de
 to the Albert 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys this photo of
 si_mateix_i.
 himself
 (lit.) ‘To Albert this photo of himself is annoying.’
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 A l’ Albert_i el_i neguiteja aquesta fotografia de si_mateix_i.
 to the Albert 3MSG.ACC disturbs this photo of himself
 (lit.) ‘To Albert this photo of himself is disturbing.’
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 A l’ Albert_i li_i agrada aquesta fotografia de si_mateix_i.
 to the Albert 3SG.DAT likes this photo of himself
 ‘Albert likes this photo of himself.’
- d. Subject, **dative**
 L’ Albert_i envia una fotografia de si_mateix_i/*_j a la Núria_j.
 the Albert.SBJ sends a photo of himself to the Nuria.DAT
 ‘Albert sends a photo of himself to Nuria.’

⁷In examples (??)-(??), as in the other examples employed in this paper, I conduct a descriptive rather than a prescriptive assessment.

- (9) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
 Només a l' Albert {li / el} molesta aquesta situació.
 only to the Albert 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys this situation
 (lit.) 'Only to Albert this situation is annoying.'
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 Només a l' Albert el neguiteja aquesta situació.
 only to the Albert 3MSG.ACC disturbs this situation
 (lit.) 'Only to Albert this situation is disturbing.'
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 Només a l' Albert li agrada la cervesa.
 only to the Albert 3SG.DAT likes the beer
 'Only Albert likes beer.'
- d. Topicalized dative
 ?Només a l' Albert li vaig prendre el bolígraf.⁸
 only to the Albert 3SG.DAT AUX.1SG take.INF the pen
- (10) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
 La situació que a l' Albert {li / el} molesta és
 the situation that to the Albert 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys is
 aquesta.
 this
 (lit.) 'The situation that to Albert is annoying is this.'
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 La situació que a l' Albert (el) neguiteja és aquesta.
 the situation that to the Albert 3MSG.ACC disturbs is this
 (lit.) 'The situation that to Albert is disturbing is this.'
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 Els llibres que a l' Albert (li) han agradat són aquests.
 the books that to the Albert 3SG.DAT have.3PL liked are these
 'The books that Albert liked are these.'
- d. Topicalized dative
 ??Els llibres que a l' Albert (li) he donat són aquests.
 the books that to the Albert 3SG.DAT have.1SG given are these
- e. Preverbal subject

⁸This sentence is acceptable with a stressed intonation: *Només A L'ALBERT...*

Els llibres que l' Albert m' ha donat són aquests.
the books that the Albert.SBJ 1SG.DAT has given are these
'The books that Albert gave me are these.'

- (11) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
A ningú (no) {li / el} molesta aquesta situació.
to nobody NEG 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys this situation
(lit.) 'To nobody this situation is annoying.'
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
A ningú (no) (el) neguiteja aquesta situació.
to nobody NEG 3MSG.ACC disturbs this situation
(lit.) 'To nobody this situation is disturbing.'
- c. DatExp, **dative**
A ningú (no) li va agradar la pel·lícula.
to nobody NEG 3SG.DAT AUX.3SG like.INF the film
'Nobody likes the film.'
- d. Topicalized dative
*A ningú (no) li vaig donar el quadre.
to nobody NEG 3SG.DAT AUX.1SG give.INF the painting
- (12) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
A l' Albert_i {li_i / el_i} molesta PRO_i parlar en públic.
to the Albert 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys PRO speak.INF in public
(lit.) 'To Albert speaking in public is annoying.'
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
A l' Albert_i el_i neguiteja PRO_i parlar en públic.
to the Albert 3MSG.ACC disturbs PRO speak.INF in public
(lit.) 'To Albert speaking in public is disturbing.'
- c. DatExp, **dative**
A l' Albert_i li_i agrada PRO_i parlar en públic.
to the Albert 3SG.DAT likes PRO speak.INF in public
'Albert likes speaking in public.'
- d. Subject
L' Albert_i vol PRO_i arribar aviat.
the Albert.SBJ wants PRO arrive.INF early
'Albert wants to arrive early.'

- (13) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
 A l' Albert(*,) {li / el} molesta aquesta situació.
 to the Albert 3SG.DAT / 3MSG.ACC annoys this situation
 (lit.) 'To Albert this situation is annoying.'
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 A l' Albert(*,) el neguiteja aquesta situació.
 to the Albert 3MSG.ACC disturbs this situation
 (lit.) 'To Albert this situation is disturbing.'
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 A l' Albert(*,) li agrada aquesta situació.
 to the Albert 3SG.DAT likes this situation
 'Albert likes this situation.'
- d. Topicalized object
 (A) L' Albert(*,) l' he vist que plorava.
 DOM the Albert 3MSG.ACC have.1SG seen that cried.3SG
 'Albert, I saw that he cried.'

4 OVS sentences with AcExp verbs and an accusative experiencer

The analysis conducted in section §?? highlights the similarity between the dative experiencer in sentences with DatExp verbs and the experiencer object in OVS stative sentences with AcExp verbs, whether the morphology is dative or accusative. When the experiencer has accusative morphology, there is evidence to show that it is in fact a dative if we place it in sentence-initial position by using a relative pronoun ((?)-(??)) (adjectival relative clause and noun relative clause),⁹ an interrogative pronoun ((?)-(??)) (direct and indirect interrogative) or a determiner phrase (??). In this context, the experiencer can optionally take either the accusative or dative morphology in the corresponding agentive sentences with AcExp verbs (??), which is similar to how the person semantic object behaves in transitive sentences of non-psychological verbs, whether they are causative or not (??). But in stative sentences with AcExp verbs (??), the experiencer in initial position behaves like the dative experiencer in the corresponding sentences with DatExp verbs (??): it can only be dative, even though in (??) the morphology is

⁹In the examples, I do not consider the use of the relative often referred to as the *relatiu popular* (cf. Ginebra2005), which is always marked with an asterisk.

still accusative clitic within the sentence (cf. **Royo2017**).

To illustrate this contrast, the examples below are of stative sentences with an imperfective verbal aspect (??)-(??) and causatives and non-causative transitives with a perfective aspect (??)-(??). What is more, in (??) and (??) I use an AcExp verb that can easily be conceived as causative of change of state, such as *atabalar* ‘overwhelm’, unlike other AcExp verbs such as *molestar* ‘annoy’, which in some contexts can have the meaning of *desagradar molt* (‘displease a lot’).

- (14) a. És una persona {a qui / *que} (I') atabala
 is.3SG a.F person.F to whom.DAT / who.ACC 3FSG.ACC overwhelms
 el record d' aquell fracàs.
 the memory of that failure
 (lit.) ‘He/She is a person to whom the memory of that failure is
 overwhelming.’
- b. {A qui / *Qui} (I') atabala el record d' aquell
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC 3SG.ACC overwhelms the memory of that
 fracàs és *(a) la Maria.
 failure is to the Maria.DAT
 (lit.) ‘To whom the memory of that failure is overwhelming it is to
 Maria.’
- c. {A qui / *Qui} (I') atabala el record d' aquell
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC 3SG.ACC overwhelms the memory of that
 fracàs?
 failure
 (lit.) ‘To whom the memory of that failure is overwhelming?’
- d. Voldria saber {a qui / *qui} (I')
 would_like.1SG know.INF to whom.DAT / who.ACC 3SG.ACC
 atabala el record d' aquell fracàs.
 overwhelms the memory of that failure
 (lit.) ‘I would like to know to whom the memory of that failure is
 overwhelming.’
- e. *(A) la Maria(*,) I' atabala el record d' aquell
 to the Maria.DAT 3FSG.ACC overwhelms the memory of that
 fracàs.¹⁰
 failure
 (lit.) ‘To Maria, the memory of that failure is overwhelming.’

¹⁰In examples (??) and (??) the asterisk indicates that these sentences cannot be constructed

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- (15) a. És una persona {a qui / *que} no (li) agrada el
 is.3SG a person to whom.DAT / who.ACC NEG 3SG.DAT likes the
 record d' aquell fracàs.
 memory of that failure
 'He/She is a person who doesn't like the memory of that failure.'
- b. {A qui / *Qui} no (li) agrada el record d' aquell
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC NEG 3SG.DAT likes the memory of that
 fracàs és *(a) la Maria.
 failure is to the Maria.DAT
 'Maria is the one who doesn't like the memory of that failure.'
- c. {A qui / *Qui} no (li) agrada el record d' aquell
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC NEG 3SG.DAT likes the memory of that
 fracàs?
 failure
 'Who doesn't like the memory of that failure?'
- d. Voldria saber {a qui / *qui} no (li)
 would_like.1SG know.INF to whom.DAT / who.ACC NEG 3SG.DAT
 agrada el record d' aquell fracàs.
 likes the memory of that failure
 'I would like to know who doesn't like the memory of that failure.'
- e. *(A) la Maria(*,) no li agrada el record d' aquell fracàs.
 to the Maria.DAT NEG 3SG.DAT likes the memory of that failure
 'Maria doesn't like the memory of that failure.'
- (16) a. És una persona {a qui (l') / que} han
 is.3SG a.F person.F to whom.DAT 3FSG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL
 atabalat contínuament amb insídies.
 overwhelmed continuously with malicious_acts
 'He/She is a person who somebody has overwhelmed continuously
 with malicious acts.'
- b. {A qui (l') / Qui} han atabalat
 to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL overwhelmed

without the preposition *a* at the beginning of the sentence. With the preposition *a*, they are fully acceptable sentences.

contínuament amb insídies és (a) la Maria.
 continuously with malicious_acts is DOM the Maria.ACC
 ‘Maria is the one who somebody has overwhelmed continuously with malicious acts.’

- c. {A qui (l') / Qui} han atabalat amb
 to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL overwhelmed with
 aquestes insídies?
 these malicious_acts

‘Who has somebody overwhelmed with these malicious acts?’

- d. Voldria saber {a qui (l') / qui} han
 would_like.1SG know.INF to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL
 atabalat amb aquestes insídies.
 overwhelmed with these malicious_acts

‘I would like to know who somebody has overwhelmed with these malicious acts.’

- e. (A) la Maria_(,) l' han atabalat contínuament
 DOM the Maria.ACC 3FSG.ACC have.3PL overwhelmed continuously
 amb insídies.
 with malicious_acts

‘Somebody has overwhelmed Maria continuously with malicious acts.’

- (17) a. És una persona {a qui (l') / que} han
 is.3SG a.F person.F to whom.DAT 3FSG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL
 {mullat / vist} amb una mànega.
 wet / seen with a hose

‘He/She is a person who somebody has {wet / seen} with a hose.’

- b. {A qui (l') / Qui} han {mullat / vist} amb una
 to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL wet / seen with a
 mànega és (a) la Maria.
 hose is DOM the Maria.ACC

‘Maria is the one who somebody has {wet / seen} with a hose.’

- c. {A qui (l') / Qui} han {mullat / vist} amb una
 to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL wet / seen with a

mànega?

hose

‘Who has somebody {wet / seen} with a hose?’

- d. Voldria saber {a qui (l')} / qui} han
 would_like.1SG know.INF to whom.DAT 3SG.ACC / who.ACC have.3PL
 {mullat / vist} amb una mànega.
 wet / seen with a hose

‘I would like to know who somebody has {wet / seen} with a hose.’

- e. (A) la Maria(,) l' han {mullat / vist} amb una
 DOM the Maria.ACC 3FSG.ACC have.3PL wet / seen with a
 mànega.
 hose

‘Somebody has {wet / seen} Maria with a hose.’

Bearing in mind that stative sentences of AcExp verbs are constructed with a real dative, regardless of the morphology of the experiencer clitic, I use the abbreviation Dat(>|<Ac)Exp to differentiate these constructions from both AcExp causatives and DatExp statives. The abbreviation can be used in cases of hesitation between the accusative and the dative form and, at the same time, to differentiate Dat(>Ac)Exp when the morphology is dative and Dat(<Ac)Exp when the morphology is accusative.

5 Argument structure of stative sentences with AcExp verbs

According to Rossello2008 and GIEC2016, one characteristic of Catalan psychological verbs with an experiencer object (AcExp and DatExp) is that they can elide their object in the absolute use of the verb. Sentences with the absolute use of these predicates can express the property of a stimulus to affect a hypothetical experiencer, a stative construction with both DatExp verbs (??) and AcExp verbs (??), which in this case does not express an action.¹¹

¹¹The GIEC (Section 21.2.2c) points out that in absolute use those verbs that have an instrumental value (*tallar* ‘cut’, *obrir* ‘open’, *tancar* ‘close’, *tapar* ‘cover’, etc.), which like AcExp verbs are generally causative of change of state, express a property of the subject rather than a particular action.

- (18) a. La xocolata agrada (‘és agradable’); La família importa (‘és the chocolate likes is pleasant the family matters is important’).
important
(lit.) ‘Chocolate is pleasant.’ (lit.) ‘Family is important.’
- b. Els nens molesten (‘són molestos’); El teu caràcter atabala the kids annoy are annoying the your character overwhelms (‘és atabalador’).
is overwhelming
(lit.) ‘Kids are annoying.’ (lit.) ‘Your character is overwhelming.’

Following Cuervo2003’s proposal (Cuervo2003) for verbs that she calls *predicational statives*, all the sentences in (??) have an underlying stative unaccusative structure. For sentences with an experiencer, we need a functional head that introduces a dative with experiencer semantics and the characteristics of a subject in a hierarchically superior position and which relates it to the whole event that indicates a property of the stimulus: a high applicative head (external argument), with the dative in the position of specifier (cf. Pykkänen2008; Cuervo2003; Cuervo2010Cuestiones; see also chapters/cuervo) (??).¹²

- (19) a. DatExp
A la Maria li agrada la xocolata.
to the Maria 3SG.DAT likes the chocolate
(lit.) ‘To Maria chocolate is pleasant.’
- b. Dat(>|<Ac)Exp
A la Maria {li / la} molesten els nens.
to the Maria 3SG.DAT / 3FSG.ACC annoy.3PL the kids
(lit.) ‘To Maria kids are annoying.’

The unaccusative structure of (??) for DatExp verbs matches BellettiRizzi1988’s (BellettiRizzi1988) characterisation of type-III predicates. The construction of (??), however, requires some additional clarifications. Apparently, we should reject an unaccusative structure with an accusative experiencer – and in Catalan

¹²Other authors explain the variability between the stative and the causative reading of these verbs without a high applicative head that introduces the experiencer in the stative construction (see Viñas-de-Puig2014; Viñas-de-Puig2017, and references therein). For example, Viñas-de-Puig proposes that in both readings the experiencer is licensed for a Sv_{EXP} head above the root, in a basic stative structure, which will take a causative reading by adding a Sv_{CAUS} above the Sv_{EXP}.

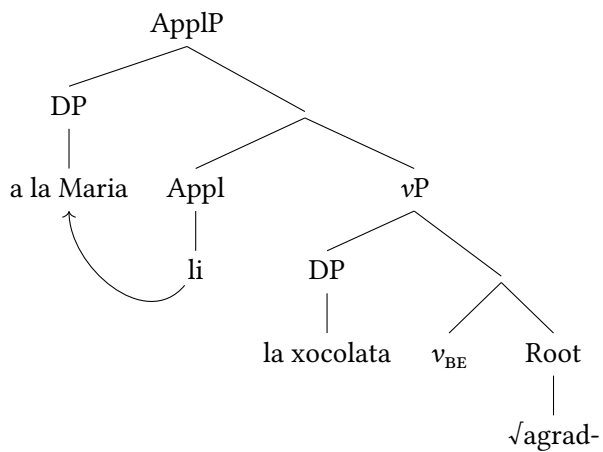


Figure 1: Structure of DatExp verb sentence

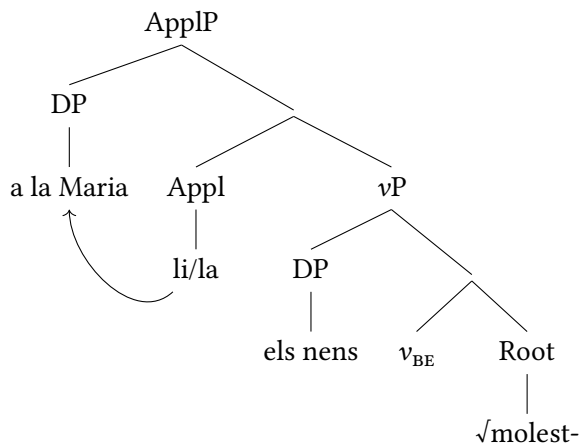


Figure 2: Structure of Dat(>|<Ac)Exp verb sentence

we do not expect an accusative to be an external argument – but if we bear in mind that it is a superficial accusative and that it is really a dative (cf. §?? and §??), this objection disappears. We also need to be explain how some verbs can optionally use the accusative and dative forms (??)-(??), and other verbs the accusative form in OVS stative sentences, whether they are AcExp (??) or causative predicates with a metaphorical psychological meaning (??).

In these sentences, the experiencer is a non-topicalized element with subject properties and a real dative, regardless of the form it takes. The syntactic mechanism that can explain sentences in which the experiencer has an apparent accusative morphology (??) is differential indirect object marking or DIOM (cf. **Bilous2011; Pineda2016, Pineda2019; PinedaRoyo2017**), which is not necessary when the clitic takes a dative morphology (??).

- (20) a. Dat(>)Exp
 A la Maria li molesten els nens.
 to the Maria.DAT 3SG.DAT annoy.3PL the kids
 (lit.) ‘To Maria kids are annoying.’
- b. Dat(<Ac)Exp
 A la Maria I’ atabala el teu caràcter.
 to the Maria.DAT 3FSG.ACC.DIOM overwhelm the your character
 (lit.) ‘To Maria your character is overwhelming.’

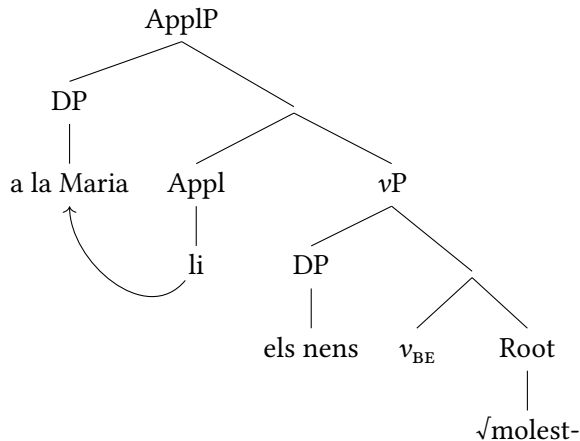


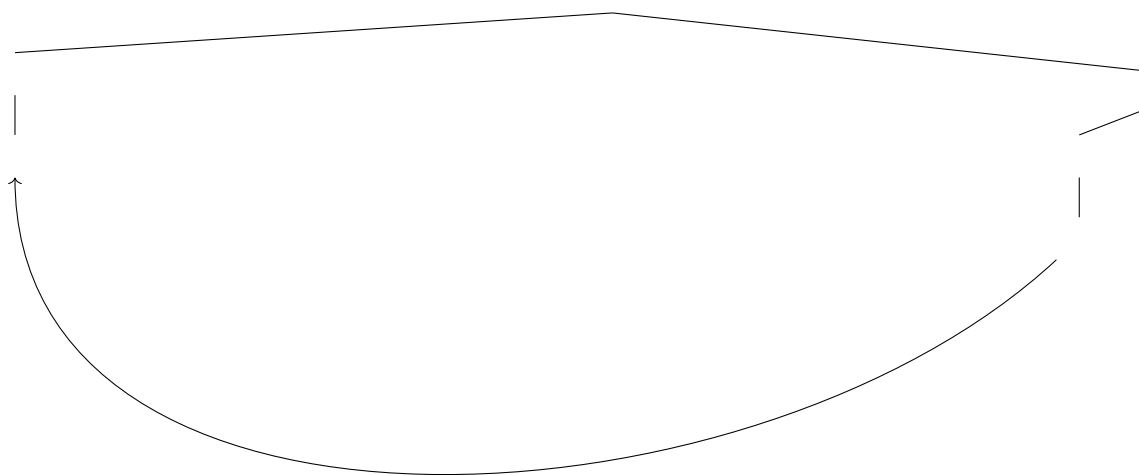
Figure 3: Structure of Dat(>Ac)Exp verb sentence

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ApplP

DP

a la Maria



The dative case marking of these sentences is congruent with the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the experiencer and with the function of the high applicative heads in a Romance language like Catalan. A DIOM accusative morphology would allow speakers to use these constructions with verbs that are difficult to conceive as stative, because in the minds of speakers they are closely related to verbs that cause a change of state (??). The morphological aspect of the experiencer depends on the lexical characteristics of the verb: even though the sentence is always stative, we can regard DIOM as being an anti-stativization mechanism in the minds of speakers. In this sense, it is significant that non-psychological causative verbs with a metaphorical psychological meaning present the superficial accusative form in OVS stative sentences (*destrossar* ‘destroy’, *enfonsar* ‘sink’). Like some psychological verbs (*commoure* ‘move, touch’, *espaventar* ‘terrify’),¹³ they are verbs that speakers conceptualize habitually as being causative of change of state, unlike other verbs that more readily permit a stative conceptualization in certain contexts: for example, *molestar* ‘annoy’, which can sometimes have the meaning of *desagradar molt* (‘displease a lot’).¹⁴

This explanation takes into account the conceptual mechanisms that can, according to several authors, affect the construction of sentences and syntactic change: the speakers’ conception of the world (cf. **Ramos2002**), the linguistic conception of particular communicative contexts (cf. **Rossello2008**) and the different conceptualisation of transitivity (cf. **Ynglès2011**; **Pineda2012**).

6 Conclusions

The main argument presented in this article is that in stative sentences of Catalan AcExp predicates, the experiencer is a real dative. In stative sentences of some AcExp verbs and other non-psychological causative verbs with metaphorical psychological semantics, the experiencer may present an external accusative morphology by means of differential indirect object marking (DIOM). DIOM is the manifestation in the minds of speakers of their difficulty to conceive certain verbs as being stative or, in other words, of their tendency to conceive them as being causative of change of state.

¹³**Ginebra2003** offers more examples of OVS stative sentences of this type with a superficial accusative in both verb types, that is, psychological and non-psychological verbs with metaphorical psychological meaning.

¹⁴For an explanation of other factors that intervene so that an AcExp verb can participate in sentences such as Dat(<Ac)Exp or Dat(>Ac)Exp, see **Royo2017**.

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Abbreviations

DOM differential object marking

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