

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.

1 Introduction

Since the first half of the 20th century (cf. Ginebra 2003: 16, Ginebra 2015: 147), some Catalan psychological verbs belonging to Belletti & Rizzi (1988)’s type II – which make sentences with an accusative experiencer or AcExp (1a)/(2a) – have appeared with some frequency in both the written and spoken language with a change in sentence order and a dative experiencer (1b)/(2b). 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 (d’Estudis Catalans 2016) and the changes introduced on 5 April 2017 to its online normative dictionary (DIEC2) 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

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

- (1) a. Els nens van molestar la Maria (or
The kids annoyed.AUX+INF ART Maria.ACC (or her.CL.ACC:3
la van molestar).
annoyed.AUX+INF)
b. A la Maria li molesten els nens.
to ART Maria.DAT CL.DAT annoy the kids
TRANSLATION

(2) Cabré & Mateu 1998: 77

- a. Les teves paraules la van sorprendre,
ART your words her.CL.ACC:3.F surprised.AUX+INF /
preocupar, molestar molt.
worried / annoyed a lot
TRANSLATION
b. Li sorprèn, preocupa, molesta que la joventut d’ avui
CL.DAT:3 surprises worries annoys that the youth of today
fumi tant.
smoke so much
TRANSLATION

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. Cabré & Mateu 1998: 70). 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. Mendivil Giró 2005; Marín & McNally 2011, 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

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

when it presents the accusative form (see also [and](#) , 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

Ynglès (1991) and Cabré & Mateu (1998) 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 (3).² In (1a) and (1a), three components of causative verbs imply a change of state: cause + process (change) + resulting state (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Cabré & Mateu 1998; Rosselló 2008). 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, (1b) and (2b) 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).

- (3) a. Els nens van molestar la Maria expressament i
on purpose and the teachers also it did.AUX+INF
els mestres també ho van fer.

- b. * A la Maria li molestien els nens expressament i els
on purpose and the teachers also it do
mestres també ho fan.

Two mechanisms help differentiate the causative structure in (1a)/(1a) from the stative structure in (1b)/(2b). 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.

²For further information on the proof and examples that show that sentences such as that in (1a)-(1a) are configured differently from those illustrated in (1b)/(2b), see Royo (2017: Section 4.1)

In line with Ynglès (1991), Cabré & Mateu (1998), Rosselló (2008) and d'Estudis Catalans (2016: Section 21.5) for Catalan, Pesetsky (1995) for English, Bouchard (1995) for French and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015) 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. Cabré & Mateu 1998; Ramos 2004; Rosselló 2008; Cuervo 2010a, 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 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 (Ginebra 2003: 29-30), however, the examples in (4) 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 (4a) or non-psychological causative verbs that become psychological by means of a metaphorical expansion of the meaning (4b) (the psych constructions described by Bouchard 1995). Therefore, the lexical na-

³According to other authors, the characterization of these sentences is different or allows different structures: cf. Voorst1992; Arad (1999); Landau (2010) and Marín & McNally (2011) and Fabregas2015. Several authors, including FabregasMarín2012, Fábregas, Fábregas et al. (2012), Marín & Sánchez Marco (2012) Marco2012, Ganeshan (2014) and Viñas-de-Puig (2014), 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-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 83) (4)) 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*).

⁴Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015) 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 Royo (2017: Section 6.2.4.1)

⁵Several authors claim that the change between causative and stative interpretation implies a change in the Spanish case marking, between accusative and dative respectively: cf. Fabregas2015, Viñas-de-Puig (2017) and Ganeshan (2019).

ture of the verb plays an important role in the alternation since some verbs tend not to construct stative sentences with the dative.

(4) Ginebra 2003: 29-30

- a. Al seu germà l' atabala la nova responsabilitat.
to+ART his brother CL.ACC:3.M overwhelms the new responsibility
- b. Al Xavier el destrossa aquesta tensió contínua.
to+ART Xavier CL.ACC:3.M destroys this tension constant.ADJ

What is more, with AcExp verbs such as those identified by Cabré & Mateu (1998) – *molestar*, *preocupar*, *sorprendre* (see (2)) – 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 (5). The print edition of the paper includes an OVS sentence with the verb *preocupar* ‘worry’ that governs the accusative in Catalan (5a) and the dative in Spanish (5b); on the other hand, in the Catalan online edition the same sentence appears with a dative (5c). Examples (6) and (7) show the same hesitation with the verb *molestar* ‘annoy’, in the same news item reported by six media in Catalan on 5 December 2012: three use the accusative (6) and three the dative (7).⁶

(5) La Vanguardia, 15 May2015, p. 15 (headline),

- a. Catalan, printed version
Per què a Ciu la preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu CL.ACC:3F worries Ciutadans
- b. Spanish, printed version
Por qué a Ciu le preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu CL.DAT:3 worries Ciutadans
- c. Catalan, online version
Per que a Ciu li preocupa Ciutadans
why to Ciu CL.DAT:3 worries Ciutadans

(6) a. VilaWeb (headline)

Rigau: ‘A Wert el molesta l’ èxit del model d’
Rigau to Wert CL.ACC:3.M annoys the success of-the model of
immersió’
immersion

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.

- b. El Periódico de Catalunya (headline)
 Rigau: “A Wert el molesta l’èxit de la immersió
 CL.ACC:3.M of the immersion language.ADJ
 lingüística”
- c. Ara (headline)
 Rigau: “A Wert, el que el molesta és
 what CL.ACC:3.M model educational.ADJ Catalan.ADJ
 l’èxit del model educatiu català”
- (7) a. 3/24, www.ccma.cat (headline)
 Rigau creu que a Wert li molesta “l’èxit” del
 Rigau believes that to Wert CL.DAT:3 annoys the success of-the
 model català
 model Catalan.ADJ
- b. diari degirona.cat (headline)
 Rigau creu que a Wert li molesta “l’èxit” del model
 Rigau believes that to Wert CL.DAT:3 annoys the success of-the
 català
 model Catalan.ADJ
- c. El Punt Avui
 La titular d’Ensenyament, creu que a Wert li
 the minister of Education CL.DAT:3 the model of success
 “molesta” el model “d’èxit” de l’ escola catalana.
 of the school Catalan.ADJ

In fact, if in (1b) and (2b) 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 (1a) and (2a) 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 (1b)/(2b) and (4)-(7), 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 (8)-(13). It behaves just like the experiencer in sentences with DatExp verbs such as *agradar* ‘like’ (see the c examples in (8)-(13)) and other canonical subjects (see the d examples in (8) and (12) and example (10e)): it behaves quite differently from topicalized objects (see the d examples in (9)-(11) and (13)).⁷

The experiencer can link an anaphora in the subject (cf. EgurenFernandez2004; Demonte 1995) (8), be modified by the adverb *només* ‘only’ (cf. Cuervo 1999) (9), allow *Wh*-extraction (cf. Belletti & Rizzi 1988) (10), be an indefinite generalized quantifier in initial position (cf. Belletti & Rizzi 1988; Masullo 1992; Cuervo 1999) (11), control the subject of an infinitive clause (cf. Campos 1999; Alsina 2008) (12) and it cannot be separated, in Catalan, by a comma from the rest of the sentence (cf. 2005; Ginebra 2003) (13).

- (8) a. OVS AcExp, dative/accusative
A l' Albert_i {li_i / el_i} molesta aquesta fotografia de
to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys this photo of
si mateix_i.
himself
translation
- b. DatExp, dative
A l' Albert_i el_i neguiteja aquesta fotografia de si mateix_i.
to ART Albert CL.ACC:3.M annoys this photo of himself
translation
- c. OVS AcExp, accusative
A l' Albert_i li_i agrada aquesta fotografia de si mateix_i.
gloss
translation

⁷In examples (8)-(13), as in the other examples employed in this paper, I conduct a descriptive rather than a prescriptive assessment.

d. Subject, dative

L' Albert_i envia una fotografia de si mateix_{i/*j} a la
 ART Albert sends a photo of himself to ART Nuria
 Núria_j.

translation

(9) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**

Només a l' Albert {li / el} molesta aquesta
 only to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys this
 situació.
 situation

translation

b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**

Només a l'Albert el neguiteja aquesta situació.
 CL.ACC:3.M disturbs GLOSS

translation

c. DatExp, **dative**

Només a l'Albert li agrada la cervesa.
 CL.DAT:3 likes the beer GLOSS gloss gloss

translation

d. Topicalized dative

(10) a. OVS AcExp, dative/accusative

La situació que a l' Albert {li / el} molesta és
 the situation that to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys is
 aquesta.
 this

'La situació que a l'Albert (el) neguiteja és aquesta.'

b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**

La situació que a l'Albert (el) neguiteja és aquesta.
 GLOSS CL.ACC:3.M disturbs

translation

c. DatExp, **dative**

Els llibres que a l' Albert (li) han agradat són
 the books that to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 liked.AUX+PART are these

aquests.

translation

- d. ?? Topicalized dative

Els llibres que a l'Albert (li) Ø he donat són
GLOSS CL.DAT:3 I gave.AUX+PART
aquests.

translation

- e. Preverbal subject

Els llibres que l'Albert m' ha donat són aquests.
GLOSS CL.DAT:1 gave.AUX+PART

translation

- (11) a. OVS AcExp, dative/accusative

A ningú (no) {li / el} molesta aquesta situació.
to nobody (NEG) CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys this situation
translation

- b. OVS AcExp, accusative

A ningú (no) (el) neguiteja aquesta situació.
GLOSS CL.ACC:3.M disturbs
translation

- c. DatExp, dative

A ningú (no) li va agradar la pel·lícula.
GLOSS CL.DAT:3 liked.AUX+INF the film
translation

- d. * Topicalized dative

A ningú (no) li vaig donar el quadre.
CL.DAT:3 gave.AUX+INF the painting gloss
translation

- (12) a. OVS AcExp, dative/accusative

A l' Albert_i {li_i / el_i} molesta PRO_i parlar en
to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys speak.INF in public
públic.

translation

- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 A l'Albert_i el_i neguiteja PRO_i parlar en públic.
 GLOSS textbfCL.ACC:3.M disturbs
 translation
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 A l'Albert_i li_i agrada PRO_i parlar en públic.
 GLOSS CL.DAT:3 likes
 translation
- d. Subject
 L'Albert_i vol PRO_i arribar aviat.
 GLOSS wants arrive.INF early
 translation
- (13) a. OVS AcExp, **dative/accusative**
 A l' Albert_(*, / Ø) {li / el} molesta aquesta
 to ART Albert CL.DAT:3 / CL.ACC:3.M annoys this situation
 situació.
 translation
- b. OVS AcExp, **accusative**
 A l'Albert_(*, / Ø) el neguiteja aquesta situació.
 CL.ACC:3.M disturbs GLOSS
 translation
- c. DatExp, **dative**
 A l'Albert_(*, / Ø) li agrada aquesta situació.
 CL.DAT:3 likes GLOSS
 translation
- d. Topicalized object
 (A) L'Albert_(,) l' Ø he vist que Ø plorava.
 CL.ACC:3.M I saw.AUX+PART that he cried GLOSS
 translation

4 OVS sentences with AcExp verbs and an accusative experiencer

§??

The analysis conducted in section §3 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 ((14a)-(14b)) (adjectival relative clause and noun relative clause),⁸ an interrogative pronoun ((14c)-(14d)) (direct and indirect interrogative) or a determiner phrase (14e). In this context, the experiencer can optionally take either the accusative or dative morphology in the corresponding agentive sentences with AcExp verbs (16), which is similar to how the person semantic object behaves in transitive sentences of non-psychological verbs, whether they are causative or not (17). But in stative sentences with AcExp verbs (14), the experiencer in initial position behaves like the dative experiencer in the corresponding sentences with DatExp verbs (15): it can only be dative, even though in (14) the morphology is still accusative clitic within the sentence (cf. Royo 2017: Section 4.3.4).

To illustrate this contrast, the examples below are of stative sentences with an imperfective verbal aspect (14)-(15) and causatives and non-causative transitives with a perfective aspect (16)-(17). What is more, in (14) and (16) 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. Ø És una persona {a qui / *que} (I') atabala
 He/She is a person to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.ACC) overwhelms
 el record d' aquell fracàs.
 the memory of that failure GLOSS
 translation
- b. {A qui / *Qui} (I') atabala el record d' aquell fracàs
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.ACC) is to / Ø ART
 és {a / *Ø} la Maria.
 Maria.DAT GLOSS
 translation
- c. {A qui / *Qui} (I') atabala el record d' aquell fracàs?
 to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.ACC) GLOSS
 translation

⁸In the examples, I do not consider the use of the relative often referred to as the *relatiu popular* (cf. Ginebra 2005: 154-155), which is always marked with an asterisk.

- d. Ø Voldria saber {a qui / *qui} (l') atabala el record
I would like to know to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.ACC) GLOSS
d'aquell fracàs.

translation

- e. {A / *Ø} la Maria(*,) l' atabala el record d'aquell fracàs.
to / Ø ART Maria.DAT CL.ACC GLOSS

translation

- (15) a. Ø És una persona {a qui / *que} no (li) agrada el record d'aquell fracàs.
He/She is a person to whom.DAT / who.ACC doesn't (CL.DAT) likes
translation

- b. {A qui / *Qui} no (li) agrada el record d'aquell
to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.DAT) is to / Ø ART
fracàs és {a / *Ø} la Maria.
Maria.DAT GLOSS

translation

- c. {A qui / *Qui} (l') atabala el record d'aquell fracàs
to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.ACC) is to / Ø ART
és {a / *Ø} la Maria.
Maria.DAT GLOSS

translation

- d. {A qui / *Qui} no (li) agrada el record d'aquell
to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.DAT) GLOSS
fracàs?

translation

- e. Ø Voldria saber {a qui / *qui} no (li) agrada el
to whom.DAT / who.ACC (CL.DAT) GLOSS
record d'aquell fracàs.

translation

- f. {A / *Ø} la Maria(*,) no li agrada el record d'aquell
to / Ø ART Maria.DAT CL.DAT GLOSS

fracàs.

translation

- (16) a. Ø És una persona {a qui (l') / que}
 He/She is a person to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC
 Ø han atabalat contínuament
 somebody.PL overwhelmed.AUX+PART continuously with
 amb insídies.
 malicious acts

translation

- b. {A qui (l') / Qui} Ø han
 to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC overwhelmed continuously
 atabalat contínuament amb insídies és {a / Ø} la Maria.
 is to.DOM/ Ø ART Maria.ACC

translation ⁹

- c. {A qui (l') / Qui} Ø han atabalat amb aquestes
 to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC these GLOSS
 insídies?

translation

- d. Ø Voldria saber {a qui (l') / qui} Ø han atabalat amb
 to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC GLOSS
 aquestes insídies.

translation

- e. {A / Ø} la Maria Ø l' han atabalat contínuament
 to.DOM / Ø ART Maria.ACC CL.ACC GLOSS
 amb insídies.

translation

- (17) a. Ø És una persona {a qui (l') / que}
 He/She is a person to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC
 Ø han {mullat / vist} amb una
 somebody.PL {wet.AUX+PART / saw.AUX+PART} with a

⁹DOM = Differential object marking (see Manzani, this volume).

mànegà.

hose

translation

- b. {A qui (l') / Qui} Ø han {mullat / vist} amb
to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC is to.DOM / Ø ART Maria.ACC
una mànegà és {a / Ø} la Maria.

translation

- c. {A qui (l') / Qui} Ø han {mullat / vist} amb una
to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC GLOSS
mànegà?

translation

- d. Ø Voldria saber {a qui (l') / qui} Ø han {mullat / vist}
to whom.DAT (CL.ACC) / who.ACC GLOSS
amb una mànegà.

translation

- e. {A / Ø} la Maria_(,) Ø l' han {mullat / vist} amb una
to.DOM / Ø ART Maria.ACC CL.ACC GLOSS
mànegà.

translation

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 Rosselló (2008: Sections 13.3.6.2a-b and 13.3.7.2b) and d'Estudis Catalans (2016: 21.2.2b and 21.5a), 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 (18a) and AcExp verbs (18b), which in this case does not express an action.¹⁰

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

Following Cuervo's proposal (2003: Section 1.3.3.2) for verbs that she calls predicational statives, all the sentences in (18) 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. Pylkkänen 2008; Cuervo 2003; 2010b; see also) (19).¹¹

- (19) a. DatExp
A la Maria li agrada la xocolata.
GLOSS
(lit.) 'to Maria chocolate is pleasant'

Cuervo,
this vol-
ume

¹⁰The 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.

¹¹Other 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-Puig 2014; 2017, 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} .

- b. Dat(>|<Ac)Exp
A la Maria li/la molesten els nens.
GLOSS
(lit.) ‘to Maria kids are annoying’

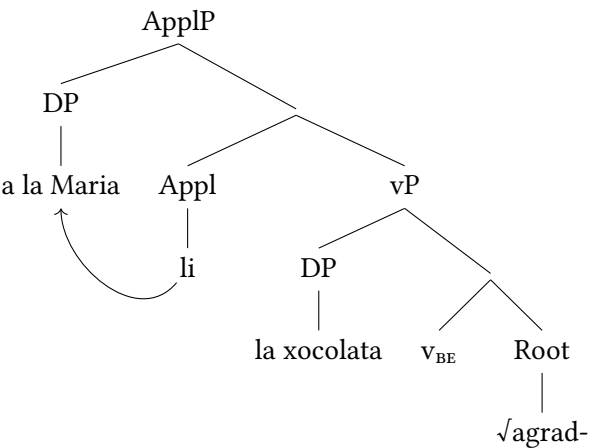


Figure 1: Please provide a caption

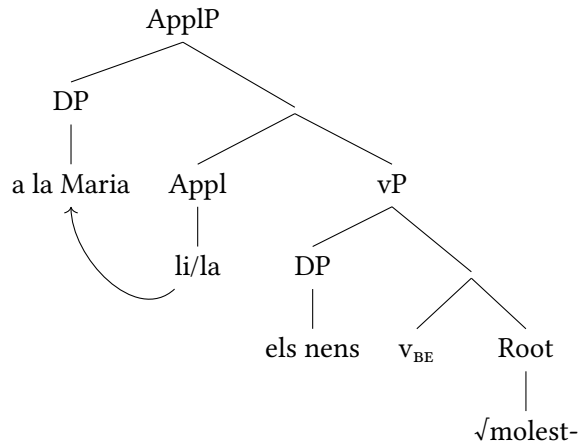


Figure 2: Please provide a caption

The unaccusative structure of (19a) for DatExp verbs matches (Belletti & Rizzi 1988) characterisation of type-III predicates. The construction of (19b), however,

requires some additional clarifications. Apparently, we should reject an unaccusative structure with an accusative experiencer – and in Catalan 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. §3), this objection disappears. We also need to explain how some verbs can optionally use the accusative and dative forms (5)–(7), and other verbs the accusative form in OVS stative sentences, whether they are AcExp (4a) or causative predicates with a metaphorical psychological meaning (4b).

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 (20b) is differential indirect object marking or DIOM (cf. Bilous 2011; Pineda 2016; 2019; Pineda & Royo 2017), which is not necessary when the clitic takes a dative morphology (20a).

- (20) a. Dat(>)Exp
A la Maria li molesten els nens.
GLOSS
(lit.) ‘to Maria kids are annoying’
b. Dat(<Ac)Exp
A la Maria l’atabala el teu caràcter.
GLOSS
(lit.) ‘to Maria your character is overwhelming’

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 (4). 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’),¹² they are verbs that speakers conceptualize habitually as being causative

¹²Ginebra (2003: 14, 29–30) offers more examples of OVS stative sentences of this type with a

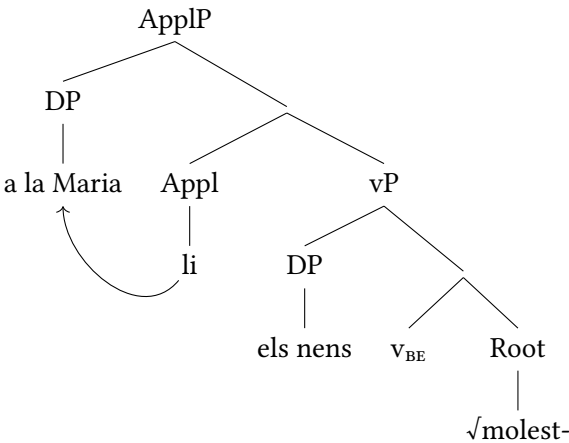


Figure 3: Please provide a caption

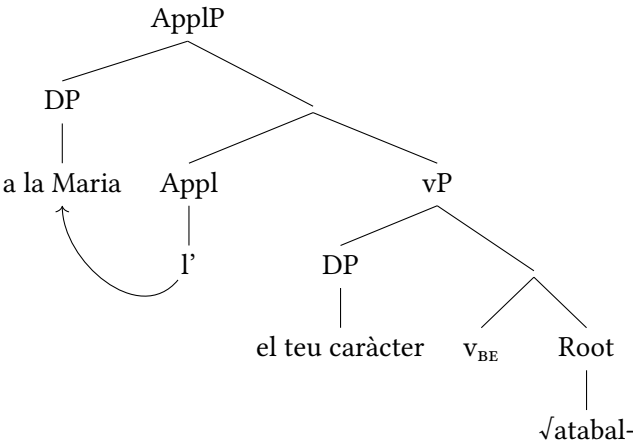


Figure 4: Please provide a caption

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’).¹³

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.

Acknowledgments

This study has been supported by research project FFI2014-56258-P (Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad). I would like to thank Jaume Mateu for specific comments made in relation to this paper and Anna Pineda for encouraging me to present this research in public and to have it published.

%%move bib entries to localbibliography.bib

```
@article{BellettiRizzi1988,  
  author = {Belletti, Adriana and Luigi Rizzi},  
  journal = {Natural Language and Linguistic Theory},  
  volume= {6},  
  pages = {291--352},  
  title = {Psych-Verbs and Theta-Theory},  
  number = {3},  
  year = {1988}  
}
```

superficial accusative in both verb types, that is, psychological and non-psychological verbs with metaphorical psychological meaning.

¹³For 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 Royo (2017: Section 5).

```
@PhDthesis{Bilous2011,  
author = {Bilous, Rostyslav},  
address = {\biberror{Toronto}}  
school = {University of Toronto.},  
title = {Transitivité et marquage d'objet différentiel},  
year = {2011}  
}
```

```
@book{Bouchard1995,  
address = {Chicago, London},  
author = {Bouchard, Denis},  
publisher = {University of Chicago Press},  
title = {The Semantics of Syntax: {{A}} {Minimalist} Approach to Grammar},  
year = {1995}  
}
```

```
@article{CabreMateu1998,  
author = {Cabre, Teresa and Mateu, Jaume },  
journal = {Quaderns: {{R}}evista de traducció},  
pages = {65--81},  
sortname = {Cabre, Teresa and Jaume Mateu},  
title = {Estructura gramatical i normativa lingüística: {{A}} propòsit dels verb  
volume = {2},  
year = {1998}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Campos1999,  
address = {Madrid},  
author = {Campos, Héctor},  
booktitle = {Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española},  
note = {3rd vol.},  
editor = {Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte},  
pages = {1519--1574},  
publisher = {Espasa Calpe},
```

```
sortname = {Campos, Hector},  
title = {Transitividad e intransitividad},  
year = {1999}  
}
```

```
@article{Cuervo1999,  
author = {Cuervo, M. Cristina},  
journal = {{MIT} Working Papers in Linguistics},  
pages = {213--227},  
title = {Quirky But Not Eccentric: {{D}}ative Subjects in {Spanish}},  
volume = {34},  
year = {1999}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Cuervo2010,  
address = {Santiago de Chile},  
author = {Cuervo, M. Cristina},  
booktitle = {Cuestiones gramaticales del español: {{Ú}}ltimos avances},  
editor = {Marta Luján and Mirta Groppi},  
pages = {194--206},  
publisher = {ALFAL},  
title = {La estructura de expresiones con verbos livianos y experimentante},  
year = {2010}  
}
```

```
@book{Demonte1989,  
address = {Madrid},  
author = {Demonte, Violeta},  
publisher = {Síntesis},  
title = {Teoría sintáctica: {{D}}e las estructuras a la rección},  
year = {1995}  
}
```

```
@book{DIEC2 - Institut d'Estudis Catalans,  
address = {Barcelona},  
author = {DIEC2 - Institut d'Estudis Catalans},
```

```
publisher = {Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Enciclopèdia Catalana, Edicions 62},
sortname = {DIEC2 = Institut d'Estudis Catalans},
title = {Diccionari de la llengua catalana},
note = {2nd edn.},
year = {2007}
}
```

```
@book{EgurenFernandezSoriano2004,
address = {Madrid},
author = {Eguren, Luis and Fernández Soriano, Olga},
publisher = {Gredos},
sortname = {Eguren, Luis and Olga Fernandez Soriano},
title = {Introducción a una sintaxis minimista},
year = {2004}
}
```

```
@incollection{Fabregas2015,
address = {Madrid},
author = {Fábregas, Antonio},
booktitle = {Los predicados psicológicos},
editor = {Rafel Marín},
pages = {51--79},
publisher = {Visor Libros},
sortname = {Fabregas, Antonio},
title = {No es experimentante todo lo que experimenta o cómo determinar que un v},
year = {2015}
}
```

```
@incollection{FabregasMarin2012,
address = {Amsterdam, Philadelphia},
author = {Fábregas, Antonio and Marín, Rafael},
booktitle = {{Romance} Languages and Linguistic Theory 2010: {{S}}elected Papers},
editor = {Franco, Irene and Lusini, Sara and Saab, Andrés},
pages = {41--64},
publisher = {John Benjamins Publishing Company},
}
```

```
title = {State nouns are {Kimian} states},  
year = {2012}  
}
```

```
@incollection{FabregasEtAl2012,  
address = {New York},  
author = {Fábregas, Antonio and Marin, Rafael and McNally, Louise},  
booktitle = {Telicity, Change, and State: {{A}} Cross-Categorical View of Event Str  
editor = {Violeta Demonte and Louise McNally},  
pages = {162--185},  
publisher = {Oxford University Press},  
title = {From psych verbs to nouns},  
year = {2012}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Ganeshan2014,  
address = {Fresno},  
author = {Ganeshan, Ashwini},  
booktitle = {{Proceedings} {of} {{WECOL}} {2013} (held at {Arizona} State Universi  
editor = {Renaud, Claire and Ghanem, Carla and González López, Verónica and Pruitt  
pages = {73--84},  
publisher = {Department of Linguistics, California State University, Fresno},  
title = {Revisiting {Spanish} {ObjE}xp Psych Predicates},  
year = {2014}  
}
```

```
@article{Ganeshan2019,  
journal = {Studies in {Hispanic} and {Lusophone} Linguistics},  
author = {Ganeshan, Ashwini},  
pages = {137--157},  
volume = {12},  
number = {1},  
title = {Examining Animacy and Agentivity in {Spanish} Reverse-psych verbs},  
year = {2019}  
}
```

```
@book{GIEC=Institutd'EstudisCatalans2016,  
  address = {Barcelona},  
  author = {GIEC - Institut d'Estudis Catalans},  
  publisher = {Institut d'Estudis Catalans},  
  title = {Gramàtica de la llengua catalana},  
  year = {2016}  
}
```

```
@misc{Ginebra2003,  
  author = {Ginebra, Jordi},  
  note = {Ms.},  
  title = {El règim verbal i nominal},  
  year = {2003}  
}
```

```
@book{Ginebra2005,  
  address = {Tarragona},  
  author = {Ginebra, Jordi},  
  publisher = {Servei Lingüístic de la Universitat Rovira i Virgili},  
  title = {Praxi lingüística: {III}. {C}riteris gramaticals i d'estil},  
  series= {6},  
  note = {Textos de normalització lingüística }  
  year = {2005}  
}
```

```
@article{Ginebra2015,  
  author = {Ginebra, Jordi},  
  journal = {Caplletra},  
  pages = {137--157},  
  title = {Neologia i gramàtica: {{E}}ntre el neologisme lèxic i el neologisme sin  
  volume = {59},  
  year = {2015}  
}
```



```
@book{Landau2010,  
  address = {Cambridge, Mass.},  
  author = {Landau, Idan},  
  publisher = {MIT Press},  
  title = {The locative syntax of {{E}}xperiencers},  
  year = {2010}  
}
```

```
@book{LevinRappaport-Hovav1995,  
  address = {Cambridge, Mass.},  
  author = {Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav},  
  publisher = {MIT Press},  
  title = {Unaccusativity: {{A}}t the syntax-lexical semantics interface},  
  year = {1995}  
}
```

```
@article{MarinMcNally2011,  
  author = {Marín, Rafael and Louise McNally},  
  journal = {{Natural} {Language} {and} {Linguistic} {Theory}},  
  pages = {467--502},  
  sortname = {Marin, Rafael and Louise McNally},  
  title = {Inchoativity, change of state and telicity},  
  volume = {29},  
  year = {2011}  
}
```

```
@article{MarinSanchezMarco2012,  
  journal = {Borealis: {{A}}n International Journal of {Hispanic} Linguistics},  
  author = {Marín, Rafael and Sánchez Marco, Cristina },  
  pages = {91-108},  
  volume = {1},  
  number={2}  
  title = {Verbos y nombres psicológicos: {{J}}untos y revueltos},
```

```
year = {2012}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Masullo92,  
  address = {\biberror{missing}},  
  author = {Masullo, Pascual José},  
  booktitle = {Proceedings of the 4th {{M}}eeting of {SCIL}, {MITWPL}, 16},  
  editor = {Kathol, Andrea and Beckman, Jill},  
  pages = {89-104},  
  title = {Quirky Datives in {Spanish} and the {{N}}on-{{N}}ominative {{S}}ubject  
  year = {1992}  
}
```

```
@incollection{MendivilGiro2005,  
  address = {Frankfurt},  
  author = {Mendivil Giró, José Luis},  
  booktitle = {Entre semántica léxica, teoría del léxico y sintaxis},  
  editor = {Gerd Wotjak and Juan Cuartero Ota},  
  pages = {261--272},  
  publisher = {Peter Lang},  
  sortname = {Mendivil Giro, Jose Luis},  
  title = {El comportamiento variable de "molestar": {{A}} {Luisa} le molesta que  
  year = {2005}  
}
```

```
@book{Pesetsky1995,  
  address = {Cambridge, Mass.},  
  author = {Pesetsky, David},  
  publisher = {MIT Press},  
  title = {Zero syntax: {{E}}xperiencers and {Cascades}},  
  year = {1995}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Pineda2012,  
  address = {Oviedo},
```

```
author = {Pineda, Anna},
booktitle = {Estudios sobre variación sintáctica peninsular},
editor = {Xulio Viejo \biberror{coord.}},
pages = {31-73},
publisher = {Trabe},
title = {Transitividad y afectación en el entorno lingüístico romance y eusquérico},
year = {2002}
}
```

```
@book{Pineda2016,
address = {Barcelona},
author = {Pineda, Anna},
publisher = {Institut d'Estudis Mòn Juïc},
title = {Les fronteres de la (in)transitivitat: {{E}}studi dels aplicatius en llenç},
year = {2016}
}
```

```
@article{Pineda2019,
author = {Pineda, Anna},
year= {2019},
title = {From Dative to Accusative: {{A}}n Ongoing Syntactic Change in {Romance}},
journal = {{{Probus}: {International} {Journal} {of} {Romance} {Linguistics}}}
}
```

```
@article{PinedaRoyo2017,
author = {Pineda, Anna and Carles Royo},
journal = {{{Revue} {Roumaine} {de} {Linguistique}}},
pages = {445--462},
title = {{{D}}ifferential {{I}}ndirect {{O}}bject {{M}}arking in {Romance} (and H...}},
volume = {4},
year = {2017}
}
```

```
@book{Pylkkänen2008,
```

```
address = {Cambridge, MA},  
author = {Pylkkänen, Liina},  
publisher = {MIT Press},  
sortname = {Pylkkanen, Liina},  
title = {Introducing arguments},  
year = {2008}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Ramos2002,  
address = {Alacant},  
author = {Ramos, Joan-Rafael},  
booktitle = {Les claus del canvi lingüístic ({Symposia} {Philologica} 5)},  
editor = {Cano, M. Antònia and Martines, Josep and Martines, Vicent and Ponsoda,  
pages = {397--428},  
publisher = {Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, Ajuntament de N  
title = {Factors del canvi sintàctic},  
year = {2002}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Ramos2004,  
address = {València},  
author = {Ramos, Joan-Rafael},  
booktitle = {Lingüística diacrònica contrastiva},  
editor = {Cesáreo Calvo, Emili Casanova and Fco. Javier Satorre},  
pages = {119--139},  
publisher = {Universitat de València},  
title = {El règim verbal: {{A}}nàlisi contrastiva català-castellà},  
year = {2004}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Rossello2008,  
address = {Barcelona},  
author = {Rossello, Joana},  
booktitle = {Gramàtica del català contemporani},  
editor = {Solà, Joan and Lloret, Maria-Rosa and Mascaró, Joan and Pérez Saldanya
```

```
pages = {1853-1949},  
publisher = {Editorial Empúries},  
title = {El {SV}, {I}: {{V}}erbs i arguments verbals},  
note = {3rd vol., 4th edn.},  
year = {2008},  
}
```

```
@PhDthesis{Royo2017,  
author = {Royo, Carles},  
title = {Alternança acusatiu/datiu i flexibilitat semàntica i sintàctica dels verbs},  
year = {2017},  
school = {Universitat de Barcelona},  
address = {Barcelona}  
}
```

```
@article{vanVoorst1992,  
author = {van Voorst, Jan},  
journal = {{Linguistics} {and} {Philosophy}},  
volume = {15},  
pages = {65--92},  
title = {The aspectual semantics of psychological verbs},  
numberf = {1},  
year = {1992}  
}
```

```
@article{Viñas-de-Puig2014,  
journal = {{Revista} {de} {Lingüística} {Teórica} {y} {Aplicada}},  
volume = {52},  
author = {Viñas-de-Puig, Ricard},  
pages = {165-188},  
number = {2},  
sortname = {Vinas-de-Puig, Ricard},  
title = {Predicados psicológicos y estructuras con verbo ligero: {{D}}el estado al},  
year = {2014}
```

}

```
@incollection{Viñas-de-Puig2017,  
  address = {Columbus, OH},  
  author = {Viñas-de-Puig, Ricard},  
  booktitle = {Contemporary advances in theoretical and applied {Spanish} linguistics},  
  editor = {Juan J. Colomina-Almiñana},  
  pages = {201--224},  
  publisher = {The Ohio State University Press},  
  sortname = {Vinas-de-Puig, Ricard},  
  title = {Psych predicates, light verbs, and phase theory: {{0}}n the implication of the  
  year = {2017}  
}
```

```
@incollection{Ynglès1991,  
  address = {Barcelona},  
  author = {Ynglès, M. Teresa},  
  booktitle = {Homenatge a {Josep} {Roca-Pons}: {{E}}studis de llengua i literatura},  
  editor = {Jane White Albrecht, Janet Ann DeCesaris, Patricia V. Lunn and Josep M. Solà},  
  pages = {271--308},  
  publisher = {Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Indiana University},  
  sortname = {Yngles, M. Teresa},  
  title = {Les relacions semàntiques del cas datiu},  
  year = {1991}  
}
```

```
@book{Ynglès2011,  
  address = {Barcelona},  
  author = {Ynglès, M. Teresa},  
  publisher = {Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat},  
  sortname = {Yngles, M. Teresa},  
  title = {El datiu en català: {{U}}na aproximació des de la lingüística cognitiva},  
  year = {2011}  
}
```

References

- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor & Jaume Mateu. 2015. Los verbos psicológicos: Raíces especiales en estructuras corrientes. In Rafael Marín (ed.), *Los predicados psicológicos*, 81–109. Madrid: Visor.
- Arad, Maya. 1999. On “little v”. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 33. 1–25.
- Belletti, Adriana & Luigi Rizzi. 1988. Psych-verbs and θ -Theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6(3). DOI:10.1007/BF00133902
- Bilous, Rostyslav. 2011. *Transitivité et marquage d’objet différentiel*. Toronto: University of Toronto. dissertation.
- Bouchard, Denis. 1995. *The semantics of syntax: A Minimalist approach to grammar*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Cabré, Teresa & Jaume Mateu. 1998. Estructura gramatical i normativa lingüística: A propòsit dels verbs psicològics en català. *Quaderns: Revista de traducció* 2. 65–81.
- Campos, Héctor. 1999. Transitividad e intransitividad. In Ignacio Bosque & Violeta Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, 1519–1574. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 3rd vol.
- Alsina, Àlex. 2008. L’infinitiu. In Joan Solà, Maria-Rosa Lloret, Joan Mascaró & Manuel **directors?** Pérez Saldanya (eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, 2389–2454. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries. 3rd vol., 4th edn.
- Cuervo, M. Cristina. 1999. Quirky but not eccentric: Dative subjects in Spanish. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 34. 213–227.
- Cuervo, M. Cristina. 2010a. La estructura de expresiones con verbos livianos y experimentante. In Marta Luján & Mirta Groppi (eds.), *Cuestiones gramaticales del español: Últimos avances*, 194–206. Santiago de Chile: ALFAL.
- Cuervo, María Cristina. 2003. *Datives at large*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.
- Cuervo, María Cristina. 2010b. Some dative subjects are born, some are made. In **no editor** (ed.), *Selected proceedings of the 12th hispanic linguistics symposium, 13. somerville, ma*. Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- d’Estudis Catalans, GIEC - Institut. 2016. *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans.
- Demonte, Violeta. 1995. *Teoría sintáctica: De las estructuras a la rección*. Madrid: Síntesis.

- Fábregas, Antonio, Rafael Marin & Louise McNally. 2012. From psych verbs to nouns. In Violeta Demonte & Louise McNally (eds.), *Telicity, change, and state: A cross-categorical view of event structure*, 162–185. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ganeshan, Ashwini. 2014. Revisiting Spanish ObjExp psych predicates. In Claire Renaud, Carla Ghanem, Verónica González López & Kathryn Pruitt (eds.), *Proceedings of WECOL 2013 (held at Arizona state university, tempe campus, november 8-10, 2013)*, 73–84. Fresno: Department of Linguistics, California State University, Fresno.
- Ganeshan, Ashwini. 2019. Examining animacy and agentivity in Spanish reverse-psych verbs. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 12(1). 137–157.
- Ginebra, Jordi. 2003. *El règim verbal i nominal*. Ms.
- Ginebra, Jordi. 2005. *Praxi lingüística: III. Criteris gramaticals i d'estil* (6). Tarragona: Servei Lingüístic de la Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Textos de normalització lingüística.
- Ginebra, Jordi. 2015. Neologia i gramàtica: Entre el neologisme lèxic i el neologisme sintàctic. *Caplletra* 59. 137–157.
- Landau, Idan. 2010. *The locative syntax of experiencers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Marín, Rafael & Louise McNally. 2011. Inchoativity, change of state and telicity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29. 467–502.
- Marín, Rafael & Cristina Sánchez Marco. 2012. Verbos y nombres psicológicos: Juntos y revueltos. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 1(2). 91–108.
- Masullo, Pascual. 1992. *Incorporation and case theory in Spanish: A crosslinguistic perspective*. University of Washington dissertation.
- Mendivil Giró, José Luis. 2005. El comportamiento variable de "molestar": A Luisa le molesta que la molesten. In Gerd Wotjak & Juan Cuartero Otal (eds.), *Entre semántica léxica, teoría del léxico y sintaxis*, 261–272. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Pineda, Anna. 2016. *Les fronteres de la (in)transitivitat: Estudi dels aplicatius en llengües romàniques i basc*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Món Juïc. Published and revised version of the doctoral dissertation.
- Pineda, Anna. 2019. From dative to accusative: An ongoing syntactic change in Romance. *Probus: International Journal of Romance Linguistics*.

- Pineda, Anna & Carles Royo. 2017. Differential Indirect Object Marking in Romance (and how to get rid of it). *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 4. 445–462.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 49). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ramos, Joan-Rafael. 2004. El règim verbal: Anàlisi contrastiva català-castellà. In Cesáreo Calvo, Emili Casanova & Fco. Javier Satorre (eds.), *Lingüística diacrònica contrastiva*, 119–139. València: Universitat de València.
- Rosselló, Joana. 2008. El SV, I: Verbs i arguments verbals. In Joan Solà, Maria-Rosa Lloret, Joan Mascaró & Manuel **directors?** Pérez Saldanya (eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, 1853–1949. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries. 3rd vol., 4th edn.
- Royo, Carles. 2017. *Alternança acusatiu/datiu i flexibilitat semàntica i sintàctica dels verbs psicològics catalans*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona dissertation.
- Viñas-de-Puig, Ricard. 2014. Predicados psicológicos y estructuras con verbo ligero: Del estado al evento. *Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada* 52(2). 165–188.
- Viñas-de-Puig, Ricard. 2017. Psych predicates, light verbs, and phase theory: On the implications of case assignment to the experiencer in non-leísta experience predicates. In Juan J. Colomina-Almiñana (ed.), *Contemporary advances in theoretical and applied Spanish linguistics variation*, 201–224. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press.
- Ynglès, M. Teresa. 1991. Les relacions semàntiques del cas datiu. In Patricia V. Lunn Jane White Albrecht Janet Ann DeCesaris & Josep Miquel Sobrer (eds.), *Homenatge a Josep Roca-Pons: Estudis de llengua i literatura*, 271–308. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Indiana University.