

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS AND DATIVE/ACCUSATIVE ALTERNATIONS IN SPANISH AND CATALAN: A UNIFIED ACCOUNT*

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ABSTRACT. The goal of this paper is to present a unified analysis of both ditransitive constructions and transitivity alternations (i.e. dative/accusative alternations) in Spanish and Catalan. Regarding the first of these two phenomena, and more concretely the purported existence in these languages of something comparable to the dative alternation seen in English, we will show the weaknesses of what we consider an analysis that seeks to find phenomena proper to English reflected exactly in Romance languages. Thus, we will refute the hypothesis defended by several authors (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003a,b) according to which Spanish ditransitive constructions with dative clitic doubling correspond to double object constructions (DOC), whereas non-doubled constructions correspond to the so-called prepositional constructions (PC), or *to-dative*, in English. Basing on the careful and exhaustive examination of the data in Pineda (2013a,b), we will argue that Spanish (and Catalan) ditransitive constructions instantiate DOC, whether they bear clitic doubling or not. An analysis of pronominalization in Catalan, a language which preserves prepositional clitics, will support this view, which is based on the postulation of an affectedness/possession relation. As for the second phenomenon under study, the existence of true case alternations in Spanish, it will be argued that we are dealing here with a kind of variation constrained by the same relation (or a version of it) as that which acts in the realm of ditransitive predicates. Again, Catalan data will prove indispensable for our analysis. Crucially, we will show that what lies behind Spanish and Catalan dative/accusative alternation is an instance of Differential Indirect Object Marking (DIOM).

Keywords. transitivity, affectedness, case alternations, accusative, dative, Spanish, Catalan

RESUMEN. El objetivo de este artículo es presentar un análisis unificado de las construcciones ditransitivas y de las alternancias de transitividad (alternancias acusativo/dativo) del español y del catalán. En cuanto al primer fenómeno, y más concretamente a la supuesta existencia en estas lenguas de algo comparable a la alternancia dativa (*dative alternation*) del inglés, mostraremos las debilidades de lo que consideramos un análisis fruto de la tendencia consistente en buscar en el ámbito románico un reflejo exacto de los hechos del inglés. Así, rebatiremos la hipótesis defendida por varios autores (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003a,b) según la cual las construcciones ditransitivas del español con doblado de clítico dativo corresponden a construcciones de doble objeto (CDO), mientras que las construcciones sin doblar equivalen a las llamadas construcciones preposicionales (CP), o *to-dative*, del inglés. Basándonos en el examen esmerado y exhaustivo de los datos de Pineda (2013a,b), argumentaremos que las construcciones ditransitivas del español (y del catalán) son casos de CDO, independientemente de que presenten doblado pronominal o no. Los hechos de pronominalización del catalán, una lengua que conserva los clíticos preposicionales, apoyarán nuestro análisis, basado en la postulación de una relación de afectación/posesión. En cuanto al segundo fenómeno de estudio, la existencia de auténticas alternancias de caso en español, argumentaremos que se trata de una variación constreñida por la misma (o una versión de la) relación que actúa en el ámbito de los predicados ditransitivos. También aquí, los datos del catalán se revelarán cruciales para el

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análisis propuesto. Significativamente, propondremos que detrás de las alternancias dativo/acusativo del español se encuentra el fenómeno del Marcado Diferencial de Objeto Indirecto (MDOI).

Palabras clave. transitividad, afectación, alternancias de caso, acusativo, dativo, español, catalán

RESUM. Aquest article té per objectiu presentar una anàlisi unificada de les construccions ditransitives i de les alternances de transitivitat (alternances acusatiu/datiu) de l'espanyol i del català. Pel que fa al primer fenomen, i més concretament a la suposada existència en aquestes llengües de quelcom comparable a l'alternança dativa (*dative alternation*) de l'anglès, mostrarem les febleses del que considerem una anàlisi fruit de la tendència consistent a buscar en l'àmbit romànic un reflex exacte dels fets de l'anglès. Així, rebutem la hipòtesi defensada per diversos autors (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003a,b) segons la qual les construccions ditransitives de l'espanyol amb doblat de clíctic datiu corresponen a construccions de doble objecte (CDO), mentre que les construccions de l'espanyol sense doblar equivalen a les anomenades construccions preposicionals (CP), o *to-dative*, de l'anglès. Basant-nos en l'examen acurat i exhaustiu de les dades de Pineda (2013a,b), argumentarem que les construccions ditransitives de l'espanyol (i del català) són casos de CDO, independentment que presentin doblat pronominal o no. Els fets de pronominalització del català, una llengua que conserva els clítics preposicionals, donaran suport a la nostra anàlisi, basada en la postulació d'una relació d'afectació/possessió. Pel que fa al segon fenomen d'estudi, l'existència d'autèntiques alternances de cas en espanyol, argumentarem que es tracta d'una variació constreta per la mateixa (o una versió de la) relació que actua en l'àmbit dels predicats ditransitius. També aquí, les dades del català esdevindran crucials per a l'anàlisi proposada. Significativament, proposarem que darrere les alternances datiu/acusatiu de l'espanyol hi ha el fenomen del Marcatge Diferencial d'Objecte Indirecte (MDOI).

Paraules clau. variació sintàctica, transitivitat, afectació, alternances de cas, acusatiu, datiu, espanyol, català

1. Spanish ditransitive constructions

1.1. Introduction

The so-called Double Object Construction (DOC) was traditionally considered absent in Romance languages (Kayne 1984), though a few researchers claimed that it was indeed present in Spanish (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997). More recently, on the basis of Pykkänen's (2002) work, this notion has again surfaced (Cuervo 2003a,b). Specifically, it has been claimed that those syntactic and semantic differences found between DOC and the prepositional paraphrase (PC) in English (1) can also be found in Spanish (2). Thus, while in English the alternation is reflected at the surface level by word order and the presence of *to*, the equivalents in Spanish are presumed to be distinguished only by the presence of a dative clitic:¹

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| (1) | a. John gave the book to Mary | (PC, DO asymmetrically c-commands IO) |
| | b. John gave Mary the book | (DOC, IO asymmetrically c-commands DO) |
| (2) | a. Juan dio el libro a María | (PC, DO asymmetrically c-commands IO) |
| | <i>Juan gave the book PREP María</i> | |
| | ‘Juan gave the book to Mary’ | |

¹ Indeed, this proposal was already made for Galician by Uriagereka (1988).

- b. Juan **le** dio el libro a María (DOC, IO asymmetrically c-commands DO)
Juan CL_{DAT} gave the book PREP María
 ‘Juan gave María the book’

However, these approaches insist on comparing Spanish ditransitive constructions (henceforth, DitrC) with the English alternation, and as a consequence they are forced to search for properties parallel to those found in English. Alternatively, we propose to uncover the real inherent properties of the construction: with a more semantic and less restrictive definition, it will be possible to detect DOC in a larger number of languages. Basing our approach on data from European Spanish² and Catalan, we reject the equivalence between (1) and (2) and instead argue that though they both have DOC, crucially, this construction may appear with or without dative clitic doubling (henceforth, DCD).

1.2. Evidence supporting our hypothesis

The fact that the presence/absence of the clitic does not have any structural consequences is clearly shown by the existence of bidirectional c-command. As is well known, in French (Harley 2002: 62) and Italian (Giorgi & Longobardi 1991: 42) DitrC there is bidirectional c-command between DO and IO, and the clitic plays no role. We argue that the same occurs in Spanish (and Catalan). A careful examination of the examples and grammaticality judgments found in the above-mentioned authors’ studies, coupled with (European) Spanish speakers’ judgments and a few examples obtained by means of Google searches, lead us to conclude that the alleged structural differences between the doubled and non-doubled constructions are nonexistent. The same conclusion holds for Catalan. Among the phenomena in which structural differences are presumed to show up, Pineda (2013a,b) deals in a very detailed way with anaphors, binding of possessives and availability of distributive readings, frozen scope, and passivization, as well as lexical-semantic differences.

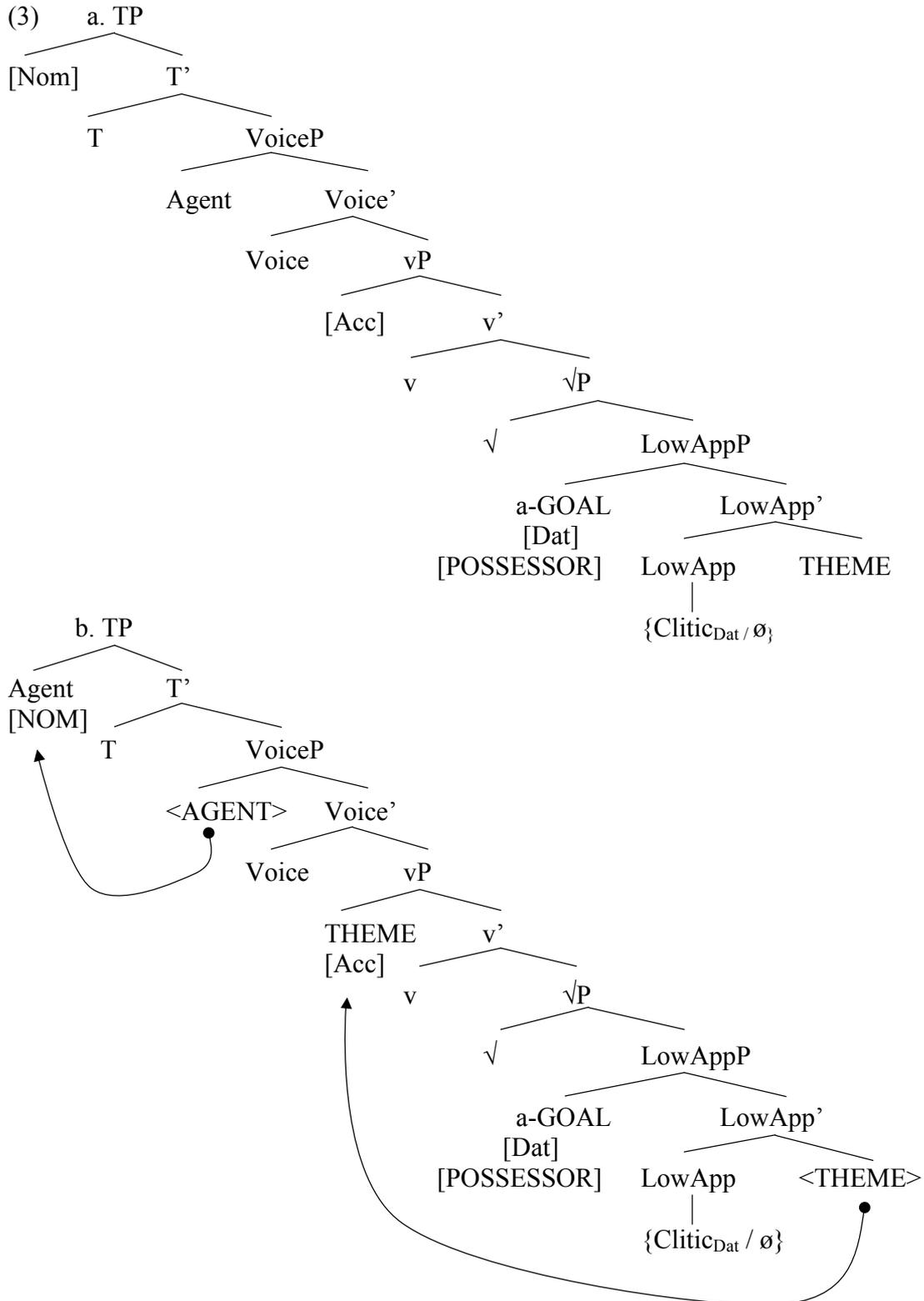
The data presented in Pineda (2013a,b), which space constraints prevent us from discussing here, point to the fact that the clitic does not have any influence on the structural position of DO and IO. So there is no parallel to be found exclusively between English DOC and Spanish or Catalan clitic-doubled constructions.³ This leads us to propose that, irrespective of DCD, Romance ditransitive sentences (with some kind of transfer meaning) are a reflex of DOC, and that no English PC-like ditransitive construction exists.

² Most works on Spanish dative clitic doubling base themselves on American Spanish, whereas we explicitly refer to European Spanish.

³ Importantly, Beavers & Nishida (2010) also note that Spanish clitic-doubled DitrC cannot be compared to English DOC. In fact, they show that there are two kinds of Spanish ditransitives with clitic: one where IO c-commands DO and another one where IO/DO c-command each other.

1.3. *The analysis*

In Pineda (2013a,b) we follow Pylkkänen (2002) and postulate that Spanish and Catalan DOC has a Low Applicative Head (LowAppI) which describes an asymmetric possession relation between two items, so a transfer of possession interpretation is involved. This LowAppI assigns inherent case: dative to its Spec in Romance languages (and Recipient/Possessor θ -role), but accusative to its Complement in English (and Theme θ -role). These are the structures for Romance DOC, corresponding to the base-generated order and the surface order:



Pineda (2013a,b) offers a detailed description of the analysis and its formal consequences. Here, we should only note that, according to our proposal, the clitic is not a *sine qua non* condition for DOC in Spanish (and Catalan). In other words, DOC may bear DCD or not: the clitic is the spell-out of the LowAppl Head, which may be phonologically null or full without further structural consequences.⁴ In both cases we have a structure with a dative-marked DP.⁵ The optionality of DCD is supported by evidence in corpus studies (Aranovich 2011, Nishida 2010).

Therefore, Spanish and Catalan DOC parallels Greek genitive DOC, which according to Anagnostopoulou (2005: 110) shows optional DCD. In sum, cross-linguistic and intralinguistic variation regarding the clitic is not analyzed in terms of presence *vs.* absence of structure, but rather in terms of silence variation (Sigurðsson 2004, Kayne 2005), since semantic effects remain irrespective of the pronunciation of the functional projection Appl.

1.4. The non-existence of Romance PC

We postulate the non-existence of Romance PC as equivalent to English PC, an approach which is much more economical than the alternative view consisting of positing the ambiguity of Romance DitrC.⁶ As we have previously seen, according to Demonte (1995), Cuervo (2003a,b) and others, apart from the DOC structure, another ditransitive pattern, PC, is needed to give an account of Spanish ditransitives. In Pineda (2013a,b) we extensively refute the idea that Romance ditransitives split into DOC and PC, since the purported differences between ditransitives with and without clitic are neither as systematic nor as clear as they are in the English dative alternation, so they cannot be used to justify the postulation of two completely different structures. Moreover, the absence of DCD in DOC can be accounted for by postulating a LowAppl Head which can remain phonologically null.

⁴ Juan Romero (p.c.) objects that if the clitic is optional we should expect no difference in terms of the licensing of nominal arguments, and he notes that when the clitic is inserted only one of the two objects can bear *a*—recall that animate DO in Spanish bears DOM (*a*). However, this incompatibility is not restricted to clitic-doubled ditransitive sentences, as noted by Cuervo (2003a: 37) and Aranovich (2011: 78). Likewise, Zdrojewski (2008: 40, fn. 10) shows that speakers do not show a full consensus regarding the implications of this restriction: «La gran mayoría de los hablantes consultados señalan como preferible las instancias en las que cae la *a* [...] Sin embargo, los juicios no son uniformes puesto que algunos hablantes prefieren la opción con *a* [...]» [The great majority of speakers we consulted indicated that they preferred the instances where *a* falls [...] However, judgments are not uniform since some speakers preferred the option with *a*]. Crucially, Zdrojewski quotes several historical and prescriptive references to the restriction without clitic. Thus, we conclude that (i) it is a restriction with partial effects and (ii) it does not depend on the clitic, thus it does not affect our analysis. Although it is not a central matter of this paper, this restriction might conceivably be related to the so-called *distinctiveness requirements* put forward by Richards (2006) and could be accounted for as Zdrojewski (2008) proposes: the *a* on the DO is erased at PF.

⁵ For the sake of simplicity, in all examples we gloss *a* as PREP. There has been considerable discussion in the literature as to whether Spanish *a*-Goals are PPs or DPs. Although pursuing this matter is beyond the scope of our paper, recall that according to Demonte's (1995) and Cuervo's (2003a,b) proposals for Spanish and Fournier's (2010) proposal for French, IO is a dative-marked DP. However, it is interesting to note that Anagnostopoulou (2005: 114-115, and 123, fn. 38) claims that in DOC «*a*-PPs are allowed to form chains with pronominal clitics in Spanish» and that «the unavailability of doubling with all other PPs could derive from independent factors».

⁶ Albeit within a different theoretical approach, Aranovich (2011: 41-43) finds some empirical problems (related to the oblique/non-oblique status of *a*-Goals in ditransitive constructions) for those who compare Spanish non-doubled DitrC to the English PC. He also mentions two typological differences (related to the mechanisms of overt grammatical coding and the visible consequences of dative shift in English *vs.* Spanish) which should discourage any comparison of Spanish DitrC with DCD and English DOC (Aranovich 2011: 89).

Alternatively to this non-economical proposal, we argue that all constructions expressing a transfer of possession (successful or not, with a completely affected Goal or not) in Spanish, Catalan and French (and probably Italian) are DOC, whereas when a meaning other than this is expressed, e. g. transfer of place, we have a construction which cannot be compared to English *to*-dative and where the Goal is introduced by the locative marker *a/à*.

In this respect, we agree with Fournier's (2010: 101, fn. 67) argumentation:

«Nous ne suivons pas l'hypothèse que \hat{a}_{LOC} est une P et la traduction de *to* en anglais. Par exemple en français moderne, $\hat{a}_{LOC}+DP$ ne peut jamais signifier "vers qqn/qc", à la différence de *to* en anglais.»⁷

It is worth noting that, according to Rooryck (1996) and Svenonius (2010), directionality can be encoded in two ways: (i) semantically, when it can be considered part of the inherent meaning of a lexical item (e.g. Spanish *hacia* 'towards', French and Catalan *vers* 'towards') or (ii) grammatically, when a lexical item acquires the meaning in the course of a syntactic derivation (conflating with a functional head with a directional value). In languages where the same preposition can be either directional or not (like English *under*, *in* and *behind* or Dutch *onder*, *in* and *achter*), directionality is a derived property, whereas in languages in which there is no such optionality it is considered a property inherent to certain prepositions, like Modern French *vers* 'towards'. Interestingly, Troberg (2008: 213-215) claims that in Middle French \hat{a} could have both directional and non-directional meanings, so that directionality was a derived property whose loss (in Modern French) was the result of the disappearance of the relevant functional head. This is why in Middle French \hat{a} could introduce complements of non-directional verbs like *aider* 'help' whereas in Modern French \hat{a} -complements can only appear with directional verbs (*aller* 'go', *donner* 'give'). As for Spanish and Catalan, the relevant functional projection of directionality is still present, but *a* has not a directional meaning *per se*, but rather a locative one, unlike English *to* (see Fábregas 2007 for an account of Spanish preposition decomposition).

Returning to our hypothesis on the absence of English-like PC in Romance, it is important to note that Bowers's (2010: 168-171) account for English also supports our analysis. According to him, both DOC and PC bear an Appl Head, which can select *to* (or *for*, depending on the verb) or not. He argues that the *to*-Appl must be distinguished from other English expressions of goal or location with inanimate objects marked with *to*. The latter are not Appl-phrases but rather a different category that he labels Goal and that is merged in a different position. Among the several pieces of evidence he provides, he mentions the fact that those two categories, labelled Appl and Goal, can co-occur:

- (4) a. I shipped Mary the package to her apartment in NY
b. I shipped the package to Mary to her apartment in NY

Additionally, Bowers & Georgala (2007: 31-33) show that the same thing happens in Greek, where arguments introduced by *se* can instantiate either an Appl or a Goal, in Bowers's terms. Although there is an important difference between English and Romance languages, Bowers's approach supports our hypothesis. In terms of what that difference actually consists of, as argued in the next subsection, the

⁷ 'We do not follow the hypothesis that \hat{a}_{LOC} is a P and the translation of English *to*. For example, in Modern French, $\hat{a}_{LOC}+DP$ can never mean 'towards sth/sb', unlike English *to*.'

affectedness/possession relation is much stricter in English, which is why Bowers claims that inanimate, location-denoting Goals will never surface in a DOC, whereas in Spanish and Catalan the affectedness relation is more lax and more types of Goals are accepted in DOC.

Leaving this difference aside, the crucial point is that Bowers argues that the standardly assumed impossible form for a Goal in the English DOC, *to*-DP, turns out to be a possible realization for a Goal in DOC; along the same lines, we consider that the standardly assumed impossible form for a Goal in the Spanish DOC, a non-doubled *a*-DP, turns out to be a possible realization for a Goal in DOC. That accounts for the co-occurrence with other non-DOC Goals in (4b) for English and (5b) for Spanish. Crucially, (5b) is a counterexample for approaches like Cuervo's. In fact, according to Cuervo (2003a: 33), the *a*-DP in a doubled ditransitive sentence (alleged DOC) is a DP (5a) whereas in a non-doubled sentence (alleged PC) it is a PP and thus is not compatible with another PP of the same type (5b):

- (5) a. Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona
Pablo *CL_{DAT}* *sent* *a dictionary* *PREP Gabi* *PREP Barcelona*
 'Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary to Barcelona'
- b. ^{??/*} Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona.
Pablo *sent* *a dictionary* *PREP Gabi* *PREP Barcelona*
 'Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi to Barcelona'

However, though both (4b) in English and (5b) in (European) Spanish are fine, at least for some speakers, Cuervo's approach cannot account for this. By contrast, our proposal does explain these facts: having a non-doubled *a*-DP does not mean at all having a PP and a construction parallel to the English PC in the traditional sense; instead, Romance DOC includes both doubled and non-doubled *a*-DPs. That is why both (5a) and (5b) are perfectly grammatical and semantically acceptable. As for English example (4b), which in the standard approach to the dative alternation should be ungrammatical –and indeed other authors do not consider this construction grammatical–, it is worth noting that in Bower's (2010) account its grammaticality is not unexpected.

1.5. *The notion of affectedness / possession in DOC*

The notion of *affectedness* was originally identified as a restriction in the passive of nominals (*the city's destruction* vs. **the play's enjoyment*) (Anderson 1977), though it soon became clear that other grammatical phenomena were sensitive to it. This is the case of Double Object Constructions (DOC).

Several semantic approaches (such as Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Pinker 1989, Jackendoff 1990) agree that, in English, DOC denotes an event where a certain entity is transferred and therefore the IO is *affected* by the verbal action, whereas this is not necessarily the case in PC. However, when it comes to the search for a universal definition of DOC, it seems that this semantic constraint could have several degrees of implementation (inter- and intralinguistically). Indeed, in Spanish and Catalan, DOC is possible even when the recipient is a non-affected inanimate object or a dead animate entity, as in the Spanish examples in (6) (against Demonte/Cuervo's predictions):

- (6) a. Le doné un libro a la biblioteca
CL_{DAT} (I) gave/donated a book PREP the library
 ‘I gave the library a book’
- b. El presidente les ofreció las oraciones elegidas a los soldados muertos.
The president CL_{DAT} offered the prayer selected PREP the soldiers dead
 ‘The president offered the dead soldiers the prayers selected’⁸

Interestingly, support for this claim comes from Cuervo’s work itself. After stating that the relevant restriction for a Goal to be in the Spanish DOC is «the possibility of “receiving” and/or possessing the object», Cuervo (2003a: 78-79) notes that this restriction is not exactly the same across languages:

«Although the restriction for datives in DOC [in Spanish] is better expressed as a restriction on recipients or possessors, in some languages the restriction might result in having the same effect as a restriction on animacy (e.g. in English)».

Moreover, Cuervo admits that «the restrictions *per se* have more of a “semantic anomaly” flavour than that of ungrammaticality», something which fits perfectly into our proposal: it is not a matter of grammaticality, but rather a pragmatic/semantic issue which clearly admits some gradience.⁹

In this regard, we propose that in languages like English the possession/affectedness relation constraining DOCs is highly strict and covers not only the possibility of receiving/possessing the object but also the condition of animate, whereas in some Romance languages such as (European) Spanish and Catalan the constraint not only has a narrower scope (up to this point we are in agreement with Cuervo) but also applies more laxly, meaning that it only requires *some sort of affectedness* (some possibility of receiving/possessing) of the dative DP,¹⁰ and it also includes the possibility of affectedness by metaphor or synecdoche. This approach could explain why sentences in (6) are actually not only grammatical but also completely acceptable from a semantic point of view in European Spanish—recall that Demonte (1995: 12) judged (6a) as dubious and Cuervo (2003b: 122) judged (6b) as ungrammatical. And the same holds for other sentences, like those in (7), which according to Demonte and Cuervo should not admit DCD because the

⁸ It is worth noting that English also admits DOC in these cases:

- (i) a. *Politicians give dead soldiers last honors.*
 b. *So in BSG they give dead soldiers 21 gun salutes.*

⁹ Importantly, Bresnan (2007) and Bresnan & Nikitina (2008) note that even in English the semantic distinction between DOC and PC is not always as clear as one would expect. They take some examples often used to justify the existence of two different meanings and show that there are several counterexamples in current use (corpus, Google), e.g. verbs of continuous imparting of force such as *push* occur not only in PC but also in DOC, and verbs of prevention of possession such as *deny* occur not only in DOC but also in PC. The grammaticality of these occurrences shows the gradience of the dative alternation, since different values of the recipient (pronominality vs. NP-status, *givenness* vs. non-*givenness*, definiteness vs. indefiniteness, etc) favour one realization or the other. As for Spanish, Aranovich (2011: 150-152) finds four factor groups to be statistically significant predictors of DCD: region (America vs. Europe), medium (oral vs. written) and animacy of the recipient and *givenness* of the recipient; to sum up, DCD is more likely in the spoken language, in the American varieties, and if the recipient is [+human] and [+activated].

¹⁰ In fact, even Cuervo (2003a: 50-51) admits that the requirement for datives in the Spanish Low Applicative construction (DOC) is that they «must be able to “receive” the theme in some sense».

dative DP is neither affected nor able to receive/possess the theme, even though they actually admit it (Aranovich 2011: 85):

- (7) a. un excepcional venezolano que le entregó su vida a las artes
an exceptional Venezuelan who CL_{DAT} gave his life PREP the arts
 ‘(lit.) an exceptional Venezuelan who gave the arts his life’
 b. Mimí González le entregó su vida a la danza
Mimí González CL_{DAT} gave her life PREP the dance
 ‘(lit.) Mimí González gave dance her life’

The sentences in (6) and (7) are cases of DOC and prove that the affectedness/possession relation is somehow less strict in Spanish than it is in English: in Spanish it is not necessary for a Dative DP in a DOC to be interpreted as becoming the possessor of the theme, and sometimes even the whole event cannot be described as an instance of paradigmatic transfer. In this respect, we propose that Spanish and Catalan DOC encompasses several different ditransitive situations, which could be labelled, following Delbecque & Lamiroy (1996: 90-96), as (i) material transfer (*dar* ‘to give’), where the subject makes the DO enter the domain of the IO (the IO is in control of the DO but does not necessarily own it); (ii) verbal and perceptual transfer (*decir* ‘to say’), where the subject makes the DO enter the perceptual domain of the IO; (iii) physical motion (*llevar* ‘to bring’), where the subject makes the DO move so as to bring it into the realm of the IO; and (iv) abstract motion (*ofrecer* ‘to offer’), where the subject makes the DO suitable for entering the realm of the IO.¹¹

When that fairly lax constraint is not fulfilled (even via a metaphor), the object introduced by *a* will be not a dative DP but rather a DP with a locative case marker and then no dative clitic is allowed (i.e. there is no LowAppl Head).¹² As a result, in Spanish and Catalan (and also French) *a* is ambiguous, since it stands for (at least) two values, dative case and locative case. As we will see in subsection 1.6, evidence

¹¹ According to our proposal, no relevant difference among these four lexical semantic verbal types should appear when looking at a corpus. Sure enough, in his corpus study, Aranovich (2011: 161-162) concludes that the lexical semantics of the verb is not a predictor of DCD: although this phenomenon «is more common with verbal transfer (32.08%) than with abstract motion (17.74%), material transfer (19.37%) and physical motion verbs (15.63%) [...] the distribution is not significant according to the Chi-square test». In other words, DCD is not significantly more likely when the situation can be considered an instance of material transfer (ia) than when there is an abstract motion (ib):

- (i) a. Uno de ellos le entregó a Vittorio un sobre abultado
One of them CL_{DAT} gave PREP Vittorio an envelope thick
 ‘One of them gave Vittorio a thick envelope’
 b. para que pueda dedicarle más tiempo a la investigación
so that (I) can devote.CL_{DAT} more time PREP the research
 ‘so that I can spend more time on research’

¹² French also behaves this way. As Fournier (2010: 103-104, 109) argues, «si l’objet est capable de posséder et que le verbe peut encoder l’interprétation de transfert de possession, le français marque nécessairement cet argument à cas datif (*à_{DAT}*)» [if the object is able to possess things and the verb can encode the transfer of possession interpretation, French necessarily marks that argument with dative case (*à_{DAT}*)], whereas otherwise we have «un objet introduit par *à_{LOC}*» [an object introduced by *à_{LOC}*] and a directional movement (path) is expressed. Therefore, *à* is an ambiguous form and an ambiguity avoidance rule applies, according to which when the object and the verb can accept the IO as an eventual possessor, the transfer of possession interpretation is categorical (with *à_{DAT}*-DP and not *à_{LOC}*-DP).

for our claim comes from pronominalization in Catalan, a language which preserves locative clitics.

Finally, we would like to point out that our proposal is in some sense similar to that of Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2008). According to them, there is no true structure alternation between *give*-type verbs but only with *send*-type verbs, because the former are always associated with what they call «caused possession». Although they focus their argumentation on the verb's lexical type (it is a *lexicalist* approach), we make a similar claim focusing on the whole construction (*constructionist* approach):¹³ on the one hand, Romance languages lack two different options for the transfer of possession meaning (against Demonte/Cuervo's view), thus all constructions expressing some kind of possession will be instances of DOC; on the other hand, there does exist a distinct structure without Appl Head limited to a set of constructions in which there is not caused possession but rather caused motion, as argued.

1.6. Support from pronominalization in Catalan

The features of pronominalization in Catalan support this new view on Romance DOC. To begin with, in the previous sections we have defended the notion that Catalan sentences with the structure [DO + *a* + Goal] and without clitic doubling can reflect either a DOC or a construction other than DOC, wherein *a* is no longer a dative marker but rather a locative marker. This double possibility depends on the semantics of the sentence: on the one hand, the laxness of the affectedness/possession relation allows the speaker to conceive a great range of scenarios as instances of DOC, with a LowAppl Head and dative case on the Goal; on the other, in a few cases, the pattern [DO + *a* + Goal] may not properly fulfill the affectedness constraint and thus it does not fit into the range of situations covered by the DOC, and *a* stands for a locative marker instead. In the former (and most common) case, where the sentence is interpreted as an instance of DOC, dative clitic forms *li/els* (singular/plural) are triggered in pronominalization constructions—as for non-pronominalized sentences, recall that DCD is optional in Catalan DOC:

- (8) (Li) dono un llibre a la Maria. → Li dono un llibre.
 (*CL_{DAT}*) (I) give a book *PREP* the Maria → *CL_{DAT}* (I) give a book
 'I give Maria a book' → 'I give her a book'

Due to the laxness of the affectedness/possession relation, speakers identify as DOC even constructions with a non-animated and non-completely (but only partially) affected goal, as in (9). Note that in (9b) the Goal DP, which at first sight might not seem to be an affected goal, admits dative pronominalization, preferably through the plural form *els*; in fact, it fits into the range of DOC because a company definitely has the ability to receive or possess things:¹⁴

¹³ See subsection 4.4.

¹⁴ In this respect, we agree with Cuervo (2003a: 78) that «there is an interesting correlation between the pairs of objects that can appear in the DOC and the pairs that can appear as the arguments with *tener* 'have'». Indeed, Catalan has (i):

- (i) No et preocupis, l' empresa ja té el paquet
 Not you worry, the company already has the parcel
 'Don't worry, the company already has the parcel'

- (9) a. (Els) concediran una medalla als soldats morts
 (*CL_{DAT}*) (they) will give a medal *PREP+the* soldiers dead
 ‘They will give the dead soldiers a medal’¹⁵
 a’. Els concediran una medalla
CL_{DAT} (they) will give a medal
 ‘They will give them a medal’
 b. (Els) has enviat el missatge a l’ empresa?
 (*CL_{DAT}*) (you) have sent the message *PREP* the company?
 ‘Have you sent the company the message?’
 b’. Els has enviat el missatge?
CL_{DAT} (you) have sent the message?
 ‘Have you sent them the message?’

As for the less frequent option, consisting of identifying the sentence as a construction other than DOC, it is prototypically instantiated by sentences with an inanimate, location-denoting Goal, like the one in (9b). Therefore, depending on whether a synecdoche effect applies to *a l’ empresa* or not, (9b) will reflect the DOC structure or the non-DOC one. In the latter case, no kind of affectedness/possession relation applies, and the clitic used in pronominalization will be the locative form *hi* (10a), as happens with other location-denoting Goals like in (10b) –note that, as we are no longer dealing with DOC structures, no DCD is admitted:

- (10) a. (*Li/*Els) Has enviat el paquet a l’ empresa?
 (*CL_{DAT.}*) (you) have sent the parcel *PREP* the company?
 ‘Have you sent the parcel to the company?’
 a’. Hi has enviat el paquet?
CL_{LOC} (you) have sent the parcel?
 ‘Have you sent the parcel there?’
 b. (*Li/*Els) Envio un paquet a Barcelona
 (*CL_{DAT.}*) (I) send a parcel *PREP* Barcelona
 ‘I’m sending a parcel to Barcelona’
 b’. Hi envio un paquet
CL_{LOC} (I) send a parcel
 ‘I’m sending a parcel there’

The semantics of these structures now reflects not a transfer of possession but rather a transfer of place: what is expressed is that the message or parcel ends up in a different location, thus *a* is a locative marker and the clitic used is the locative one (*hi*).¹⁶ Finally, recall that, as argued in subsection 1.4, the locative marker *a/à* in Catalan, French and also Spanish should not be compared to the preposition *to* which introduces PC ditransitives in English.

2. Romance transitivity alternations

2.1. Overview

This new proposal on Romance DitrC can also be connected to a group of transitivity alternations (Pineda 2013a). In Spanish and Catalan there are several verbs

¹⁵ See fn. 8 about data on English *dead Goals*.

¹⁶ Rigau (1982) argues that *hi* could stand for an inanimate dative marker. This approach could also fit into our analysis, though we will not pursue the matter here.

which can be used as ditransitive verbs (*La Maria telefona la notícia a la seva mare* ‘Maria phones [ACC the news] [DAT to her mother]’), and also as verbs with a single complement. In the latter case, when expressing only the participant which would be the Goal in a ditransitive structure, the complement can be assigned either dative case (*La Maria telefona a la seva mare* ‘Maria phones [DAT to her mother]’) (thus maintaining the same case it would have in the DitrC) or accusative case (*La Maria telefona la seva mare* ‘Maria phones [ACC her mother]’).

In this paper we present several types of verbs which present the same pattern of syntactic variation, both intralinguistically and interlinguistically. Among the verbs which show this pattern, the following groups can be distinguished (we provide some examples for each one, though this is not an exhaustive list):

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

As for the semantic classification, all these verbs can be subsumed within a larger category that encompasses all verbs denoting transfer processes, that is to say, events where the Goal/Recipient ends up in possession of or in contact with what is transferred. It is also possible to understand that, rather than the transfer of something material or immaterial, what allows the grouping of all these verbs is, more precisely, a shared feature of movement directed or oriented towards somebody. In any case, it is the way that participant is conceived and the way its degree of affectedness in the process is understood that will determine, in each linguistic variety, the possibility of processing either a transitive or an intransitive encoding, or both.

Our study focuses on verb groups (i) and (ii) and bases itself on data from (American and European) Spanish and from various Catalan dialects, although this alternation is also present in other Romance languages, like Italian, French, Occitan and Asturian, as well as in Basque (see Pineda 2012 and Pineda forthcoming).¹⁷

To conclude this introductory section, it is of interest to briefly mention some considerations about transitivity alternations in Spanish and Catalan. In the case of Spanish, the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (NGLE from now on) (§34.7i) claims:

«Es considerable la variación geográfica y sociolingüística que se obtiene en las alternancias de transitividad en español, sobre todo las que ponen de manifiesto la creación de nuevos usos transitivos o intransitivos de los verbos, no siempre asentados en el habla culta.»¹⁸

As far as Catalan is concerned, Cabré & Mateu (1998: 70, fn. 11) refer to dative/accusative alternations as a mismatch between norm and spoken language, and state:

¹⁷ For a detailed description of this phenomenon in Basque, see Creissels (2008), Mounole (2012), Creissels & Mounole (2012) and Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina (2009, 2010, 2012).

¹⁸ ‘There can be found considerable geographical and sociolinguistic variation in Spanish transitivity alternations, especially in those that reveal the creation of new transitive or intransitive uses of verbs, which have not always entered the more formal registers.’

«Els exemples del *DIEC*: *Li escric cada dia* (p. 769), *He telefonat al meu germà* (p. 1.745), *Per què li pegueu, a aquest xicot?* (p. 1.376), contrasten amb l'ús (dialectal) de: *L'escric cada dia*, *L'he telefonat* o *Per què el pegueu?*»¹⁹

Along the same lines, Solà (1994: 171) claims that Catalan grammar

«s'haurà d'actualitzar [...] pel que fa a la consideració del règim d'una ja llarga llista de verbs, que caldrà, naturalment, estudiar atentament d'un a un per distingir els fenòmens genuïns i/o necessaris dels merament circumstancials o d'influència aliena evitable»²⁰

and he mentions the cases of *pegar* 'hit', *picar* 'phone', *pregar* 'pray', *respondre* 'answer', *telefonar* 'phone' and *trucar* 'phone', among others. These are some of the verbs we will deal with in section 3.

2.2. *Leísmo* and *loísmo/laísmo* or true case alternations?

It is important to distinguish from the very beginning true case alternations from the case-confusing phenomena in Spanish clitics (the so-called *leísmo* and *loísmo/laísmo*). We claim that the verbs under study enter true dative/accusative alternation, for several reasons, mainly:

- (i) the alternation involves a (more or less) noticeable difference in meaning,
- (ii) monotransitivized objects behave as DOs (passivization, etc.) rather than as accusative-marked standard IOs,
- (iii) the very same verbs display the alternation in Catalan, where clitics do not undergo case-confusing phenomena, and
- (iv) the alternation is not restricted to pronouns but also extends to full DPs (although Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Spanish makes it difficult to distinguish a full DP IO from a full DP DO, we find other pieces of evidence: passivization of Spanish *a*-DPs with the verbs at study, occurrences of full DP DOs with the verbs at study in Catalan varieties without DOM and so on).

Since the line between transitivity alternations and clitic case-confusing phenomena is so thin, several observations are in order.

As far as *leísmo* is concerned, recall that it corresponds to the use of a dative clitic *le(s)* instead of the accusative masculine clitic *lo(s)*, which began in the area of Castilla in the 13th century and extended over nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula (NGLE 2009: §16.8h, 16.8i). It has become so widespread in Spain that, by the mid-1970s, the Real Academia Española regarded it as the preferred form in its *Gramática* (1976). By contrast, although *leísmo* does exist in America, it is not used very frequently. Crucially, the fact that a single author may alternate *leísta* and non-*leísta* uses has complicated the study of this phenomenon and led grammarians to consider the possibility that «una parte de la gramática del leísmo parece obedecer a la

¹⁹ 'The examples in the *DIEC* *Li escric cada dia* 'I write him/her_{DAT} everyday' (p. 769), *He telefonat al meu germà* 'I phoned [DAT my brother]' (p. 1.745), *Per què li pegueu, a aquest xicot?* 'Why are you hitting him_{DAT}, this boy?' (p. 1.376), contrast with the (dialectal) use seen in *L'escric cada dia* 'I write him/her_{ACC} everyday', *L'he telefonat* 'I phoned him_{ACC}' or *Per què el pegueu?* 'Why are you hitting him_{ACC}?''

²⁰ 'will have to be updated [...] with respect to the usage of an already long list of verbs, which, obviously, will have to be studied attentively one by one in order to distinguish genuine and/or necessary phenomena from merely circumstantial phenomena or phenomena that are due to an avoidable foreign influence'.

existencia de alternancias objetivas en el sistema gramatical» [part of the grammar of *leísmo* seems to respond to the existence of objective alternations in the grammatical system] (*NGLE*: §16.8k).

Indeed, the *NGLE* (§16.9) deals with possible instances of dative/accusative alternations in the section devoted to lexical preferences in *leísmo* alternations: these are *leísta* constructions which, having fully penetrated the formal registers of the language, have been interpreted as instances of «fake» or generalized *leísmo*. Specifically, the *NGLE* points out that «algunos verbos favorecen los usos leístas en todo el mundo hispánico porque están sujetos a la alternancia dative/acusativo» [some verbs favour *leísta* uses throughout the Spanish-speaking world *because they are subject to the dative/accusative alternation*].²¹ It goes on to provide examples with verbs such as *obedecer* ‘obey’ or *ayudar* ‘help’ (*NGLE*: §16.9a,b,c,d).

In spite of the above-mentioned passivization test, the *NGLE* (§16.9b) notes that, in their transitive use, such verbs (*obedecer* ‘obey’, *ayudar* ‘help’, *servir* ‘serve’) do not behave like conventional transitive verbs in that they do not admit the so-called *pasiva refleja* (compare **Personas que no se suelen creer* ‘People that are+REFL not usually believed’, **No se obedecen muchos jueces* ‘Many judges are+REFL not obeyed’) or infinitive constructions with a passive interpretation (*madres difíciles de obedecer* ‘mothers difficult to obey’, *personas imposibles de creer* ‘people impossible to believe’). Nevertheless, we would like to observe that these sentences are not ungrammatical for all Spanish speakers, and indeed they are acceptable in their corresponding Catalan translations. In any case, our analysis will account for the non-standard transitive behaviour of monotransitivized verbs –we claim that they have been monotransitivized since they were originally dative-taking verbs, like their Latin roots *OBOEDĪRE*, *ADIUTĀRE*, *SERVĪRE*.²²

In sum, in the case of the above-mentioned verbs, the *NGLE* (§16.9) admits that the choice of *le(s)* does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with *leísta* constructions, but rather may indicate true regimen or case alternations. We agree and indeed extend this idea to other verbs.

On the other hand, as far as *laísmo/loísmo* is concerned, we do not agree with the *NGLE*’s view. Recall that this phenomenon consists of the use of (feminine or masculine) accusative clitics instead of dative clitics. For example, the feminine accusative clitic *la(s)* is used for complements of person with verbs such as *robar* ‘steal’, *pagar* ‘pay’, *escribir* ‘write’ and *disparar* ‘shoot’.²³ According to the *NGLE*

²¹ All the underlined parts in the quotations are ours.

²² In its discussion of apparent or fake *leísmo*, the *NGLE* (§16.) mentions many other verbs, such as *creer* ‘believe’, *acusar* ‘accuse’ or *escuchar* ‘listen’. However, these are not the type of verbs we are interested in, since they are not intransitive verbs that have been transitivized, and we do not believe that a difference in meaning can be detected in their case alternations.

²³ *Loísmo* is far less common than *laísmo* because it competes with the very widespread *leísmo*. As the *DPD* notes, «[l]a incidencia del loísmo ha sido siempre muy escasa en la lengua escrita [...] y solo se documenta hoy en textos de marcado carácter dialectal» [the incidence of *loísmo* has always been very limited in the written language [...] and nowadays it is only documented in markedly dialectal texts]. Both *leísmo* and *loísmo/laísmo* began in Castilla and spread to the central and north-western areas of the Iberian Peninsula, but not to Andalusia, the Canary Islands or America. In general lines, the resulting clitic system is as follows: *le(s)* for masculine complements of person (IO and DO), *la(s)* for all feminine complements (IO and DO) and *lo(s)* for masculine complements of things (normally DO). Thus, there is little room for the employment of *lo(s)* for masculine complements of person (normally IO). See also Fernández-Ordóñez’s (1999) considerations in the *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española* (*GDLE*: §21). Finally, when dealing specifically with *loísmo*, the *NGLE* (§16.10n) mentions that the presence of this phenomenon may be favoured by «la inseguridad en cuanto al régimen de

(§16.10j), these are instances of *laísmo*, so that the accusative clitic does not actually correspond to a true DO. Indeed, *laísmo* also occurs with intransitive verbs (*¿Qué le duele?* '(lit.) What does hurt her_{ACC}?'), which may lead to the generalization that *laísta*-speakers «no interpretan el pronombre *la/las* como objeto directo cuando el verbo es transitivo» [do not interpret the clitic *la/las* as DO when the verb is transitive].

We strongly disagree with this idea. In our view, the existence of *laísmo* in conjunction with intransitive verbs does not necessarily prevent the possibility that (at least some of) the occurrences of this phenomenon with transitive verbs reflect a true case alternation. Crucially, as we will comment extensively in the following sections, the use of accusative patterns with these verbs is not restricted to (feminine) accusative clitics and indeed does occur in a non-*laísta/loísta* language such as Catalan. In addition, more importantly, it occurs in non-*laísta/loísta* Spanish varieties: this suggests that a detailed dialectological study would be necessary in order to determine whether the use of feminine accusative pronouns (and also masculine ones) strictly corresponds or not to the incidence of *laísmo* (and *loísmo*). However, for the moment we already know that «[e]l *laísmo* no se extendió a Andalucía y Canarias y, por consiguiente, tampoco a América» [*laísmo* did not extend to Andalusia and the Canary Islands and therefore did not reach America either], and we will show that in the American varieties of Spanish the use of accusative clitics instead of dative clitics with the verbs under study is very frequent.

Another argument that the *NGLE* (§16.10j) deploys to show that the use of accusative clitics with these verbs does not correspond to true DOs is that *laísta* speakers do not produce passive sentences with the corresponding complement of person. However, the example given to us is **Fue dada un par de besos* 'She was given a couple of kisses' (from *La dio un par de besos* '(S)he gave her_{ACC} a couple of kisses'), where another DO is obviously present (*un par de besos* 'a couple of kisses'). This does undoubtedly constitute a true example of *laísmo*. However, the *NGLE* does not mention the existence of passive sentences in the cases we are interested in, this is to say, where there is one single complement, that is, when the accusative complement can be interpreted as a true DO: *Fue telefoneada/disparada* 'She was phoned/shot' (from *La telefoneó/disparó* '(S)he phoned/shot her_{ACC}').²⁴

In sum, we do not share at all the idea that accusative clitics *la/las* behave in all instances «como un verdadero objeto indirecto, recubierto de los rasgos de género que expresa el grupo nominal, pero de los que el dativo carece» [like a true IO, endowed with the gender features expressed by the nominal group, which are absent in dative clitics]. We firmly believe that this conclusion only holds for those instances of true *laísmo*, this is to say, those instances in which a few (not few) Spanish varieties use the feminine accusative clitics to refer to an IO (in constructions which already have a DO such as *La di un beso* '(lit.) I gave her_{ACC} a kiss' or in intransitive constructions such as *La duele la barriga* '(lit.) The belly hurts her_{ACC}'). By contrast, this conclusion does not hold for the use of (masculine and feminine) accusative clitics with some

determinados verbos, acompañada del temor a incurrir en *leísmo*» [uncertainty regarding the use of particular verbs, together with the fear of making a mistake in the use of *leísmo*].

²⁴ Likewise, the *NGLE* (§16.10j) mentions the impossibility of forming infinitive constructions with a passive interpretation, but again the examples correspond to ditransitive sentences, which obviously constitute examples of case-confusing phenomena. However, if we focus on examples of alleged *laísmo* in sentences with one single complement, the results we obtain are quite natural –at least, they are not totally ungrammatical: *Es una persona fácil de disparar/robar* '(S)he is a person easy to shoot/rob'.

particular groups of verbs which display a true dative/accusative alternation; in the latter case, the variants employing the accusative successfully pass the majority of transitivity tests, as passive formation –although, as we will see in section 4, they are not standard or current DOs either. In addition, the data from Catalan support our view: in Catalan there is nothing similar to *laísmo* or *loísmo*, but these alternations with the very same groups of verbs do exist.

It is also worth mentioning that, in the *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española* (§21.2) (henceforth *GDLE*), Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1323) introduces the distinction between real and apparent or fake *leísmo*. In the areas where clitics case is distinguished (from now on, *distinguisher* areas), there is variation between dative and accusative clitics which can be ascribed to case alternations. As the author notes, generally these are not actual instances of *leísmo*, but the choice between dative and accusative clitics

«está en muchas de las situaciones mencionadas determinada por la estructura y el significado de la construcción, que no resultan idénticos dependiendo del caso seleccionado».²⁵

Importantly, the *NGLE* (§35.1k) also admits that

«las variaciones en la elección del pronombre acusativo o el dativo [...] pueden no deberse solo a factores geográficos (los más estudiados), sino también a la prevalencia de unos u otros rasgos semánticos en el significado mismo del predicado».²⁶

All this suggests that «se trata de ejemplos de *leísmo* aparente, y no de ejemplos de *leísmo* real» [they are instances of apparent *leísmo*, not true *leísmo*]. This is the case of ditransitive verbs which can omit their DO and, as a result, they appear with a single complement of person which can receive dative or accusative case: *pegar*, *servir*, *atender*, *pagar*, *robar*, *aplaudir*, *silbar* and *seguir*, among others. These are some of the verbs we are interested in. Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1330) claims that with all those verbs the change of structure involves a big change of meaning. For example, *robar* with a dative complement of person means ‘steal (something) from someone’ but ‘kidnap’ or ‘mug’ with a dative complement of person; and *pegar* with a DO of person means ‘adhere, stick’ whereas with an IO of person the meaning is ‘hit’. However, as we will see, once we analyze those verbs in depth, we realize that the case-alternating possibilities are greater than expected. Thus, *robar* with the meaning ‘rob someone’ admits both dative and accusative complements of person (as Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1329, fn. 23) seems to admit for some American varieties); and also the complement of person of *pegar* with the meaning ‘hit’ can receive both dative and accusative case. As we will show, the meaning changes are not always as prominent as the ones noted by Fernández-Ordóñez in the *GDLE*, but rather more subtle, often referring to different degrees of *affectedness*.

In sum, according to Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1339), these are not instances of pronominal case-confusing phenomena, but instead they constitute a true instance of case alternation

²⁵ ‘in many of the aforementioned situations is determined by the structure and meaning of the construction, which vary depending on the case selected’.

²⁶ ‘variations in the choice of accusative or dative pronoun [...] may be due not only to geographical factors (the factors which have received most attention), but also to the prevalence of one or another semantic feature in the predicate meaning itself’.

«condicionada por la naturaleza de la construcción y, en consecuencia, no es fortuita, arbitraria ni libre, sino que implica un cambio de estructura y de significado».²⁷

Therefore, in the *distinguisher* areas there may exist

«diferencias en el caso regido por ciertos verbos y en ciertas estructuras dependiendo de las áreas geográficas (y probablemente de diferencias sociológicas entre los hablantes)».²⁸

Another case of fake *leísmo* noted by the Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1323) has to do with the existence of dialectal variation in the case assignment of some verbs, «generalmente debida a la lucha a la lucha entre soluciones arcaizantes y soluciones innovadoras» [generally due to the fight conflict between old-fashioned solutions and innovative solutions]; crucially, this is not true *leísmo*, since

«no surge de extender el dativo a contextos de acusativo, sino justamente de la tendencia contraria, esta es, de transitivizar verbos o construcciones que originariamente eran intransitivas y exigían un objeto pronominalizado en dativo».²⁹

This is the case of *ayudar* ‘help’, *enseñar* ‘teach’, *obedecer* ‘obey’ and *picar* ‘bite’, among many others. These are also verbs we are interested in, and we will analyze all of them in the following sections. For the moment, let us merely note the detailed dialectological considerations included in the *NGLE* (§21.2.1.7) by Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1339):

«Resulta evidente que a lo largo de la historia del español ha tenido lugar una extensión del acusativo a costa del dativo en verbos y construcciones que primitivamente exigían este caso. Dentro de los territorios distinguidores los más cercanos a la situación primitiva parecen ser los peninsulares, con la salvedad de Andalucía occidental. En Canarias parecen coexistir las soluciones arcaizantes, en áreas rurales y en las islas más alejadas, e innovadoras, en las islas principales y en áreas urbanas. Dentro de Hispanoamérica, Cuba, México, América central, Venezuela y Colombia se muestran más cercanas a la Península en su empleo de los pronombres que los países del cono sur, que constituyen con diferencia el territorio más proclive a la generalización del acusativo.»³⁰

2.3. Proposal

When dealing with Spanish verbs with animate *a*-DP complements (*Juan contrató a su hermano* ‘Juan hired PREP_{DOM} his brother’), which are usually assumed to be transitive verbs whose DO is differently marked (DOM), Torrego (2010) proposes to analyze them as unergative verbs hiding a transitive configuration (in Hale &

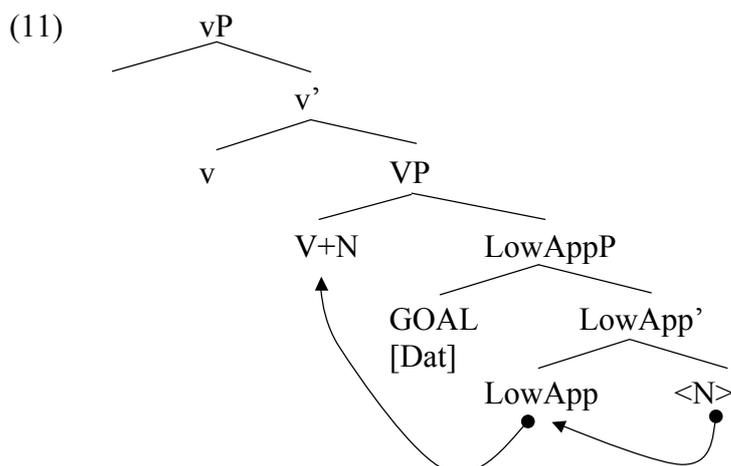
²⁷ ‘conditioned by the nature of the construction and, as a consequence, it is neither accidental, arbitrary nor free, but involves a change in structure and meaning’.

²⁸ ‘differences in the case governed by certain verbs and in certain structures depending on the geographical areas (and probably depending also on sociological differences among speakers)’.

²⁹ ‘it emerges not from the spread of dative case into accusative contexts, but rather from the opposite trend, this is to say, the transitivization of verbs and constructions which were originally intransitive and required a dative-pronominalized object’.

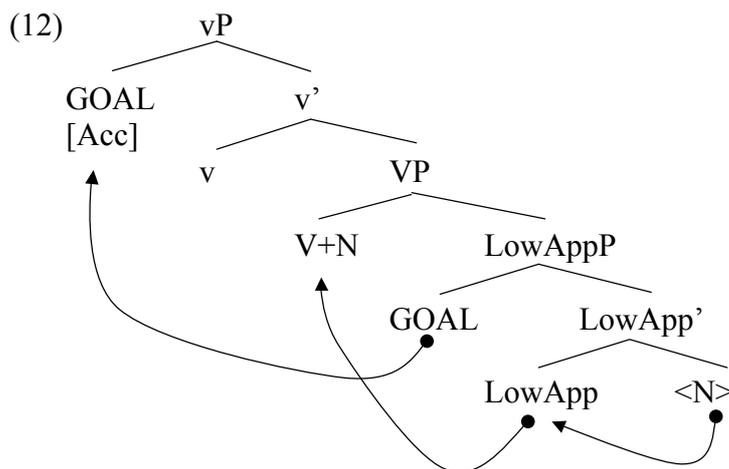
³⁰ ‘It is evident that throughout the history of Spanish there has been a steady expansion of the accusative at the expense of the dative in verbs and constructions which originally required the latter case. Among the distinguisher areas, the Peninsular territories (except for Western Andalusia) seem to be closest to the primitive situation. In the Canary Islands there seem to coexist old-fashioned solutions, in rural areas and on the more remote islands, and innovative solutions, on the main islands and in urban areas. Within Spanish America, Cuba, Mexico, Central America, Venezuela and Colombia are closer to the Iberian Peninsula with regard to the use of clitics, whereas the countries in the Southern Cone are the territories most given to the generalization of accusative case.’

Keyser’s 2002 terms), with the dative complement (a marked accusative) being introduced by a Low Applicative Head (Pylkkänen 2002). If this analysis holds for verbs which are originally transitive, it should work for our originally dative-taking unergative verbs too, such as Catalan *telefonar* ‘phone’, which would be decomposed into a V+N configuration: *fer una telefonada* ‘make a call’. Therefore, dative-taking verbs in sentences such as *La Maria telefona a la seva mare* ‘Maria phones [_{DAT} her mother]’ or *La Maria li telefona* ‘Maria phones her_{DAT}’ will have the following structure, where the Applicative Head assigns inherent dative to its Specifier:



However, if we opt for such an analysis for the dative-taking variant, then the accusative encoding option cannot be treated as instantiating a standard transitive configuration, because we would have to postulate two quite different structures for two variants that are intuitively very close. Indeed, this is the problem Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina (2012) face when extending Torrego’s proposal to Basque dative/accusative alternating verbs.

In order to solve this puzzling situation, our proposal consists of treating the accusative variants (of these originally dative-taking unergatives) as instances of the so-called Differential *Indirect* Object Marking (DIOM), which consists of accusative marking a structural IO, following Bilous’s (2011) proposal for French and Ukrainian. Thus, the accusative variant of our verbs (*La Maria telefona la seva mare* ‘Maria phones [_{ACC} her mother]’, *La Maria la telefona* ‘Maria phones her_{ACC}’) will correspond to the following structure, where the complement of person continues to be a Goal, but it has to move up in order to check accusative case, since the Applicative Head does not assign it dative case—because, as we will see in section 4, now we have a different sort of Applicative Head:



In the cases we analyze, DIOM is to be constrained by the so-called affectedness relation. In section 4 we will pursue the implementation of this analysis further and extensively discuss all the details of the structures proposed.

2.3.1. The affectedness/possession relation

Here we will argue that the alternation between dative and accusative encoding for the single person complement of Spanish and Catalan agentive verbs is due to the different degree (across linguistic varieties) of stability of a possession/affectedness relation. Recall that for ditransitive structures in Spanish and Catalan we have postulated the existence of a possession/affectedness relation which acts quite laxly so that it covers a wide range of situations and thus determines the existence of the so-called Double Object Constructions (see subsection 1.5). Likewise, we will argue that a similar relation (or a version of the same one) applies to one-single-complement structures and that it is responsible for the dative/accusative alternation. In general lines, we assume that accusative encoding corresponds to a conception of the event as more prototypically transitive (with a fairly prototypically affected complement), together with a rather flexible affectedness relation, whereas dative encoding signals that the speaker conceives a lower degree of transitivity, this is to say, a lower affectedness of the complement, together with a more rigid constraint.

The affectedness relation here postulated defines the boundaries of events which will be encoded as transitive. As we will see, this relation does not affect all varieties to the same degree; indeed, the existence of an alternation between the use of accusative and the use of dative indicates that the affectedness relation has several degrees of implementation, different nuances of force, across the linguistic domain. Ultimately, the crucial factor will be the degree of affectedness in the speaker's conception or, more precisely, the degree of transitivity of the event. In short, as the alternation is subject to dialectal variation, the affectedness relation will also display differences across the linguistic domain. Therefore, it is not an all-or-nothing relation, but a gradient one, an unstable one.

Thus, in some areas, the affectedness relation which allows the encoding of a situation as a transitive event is more permissive, and it therefore covers situations like 'to phone/hit/write/steal/pay someone', if the speaker conceives it as such. As a consequence, accusative encoding for the complement of person will be more abundant. In order to exemplify this phenomenon, let us summarize what happens with Catalan *phone*-verbs: from the basic ditransitive construction in (13), if only the complement of person is expressed, two possibilities emerge, (14) and (15).

- (13) Ditransitive structure with DO (thing) and IO (person)
 La Maria (li) telefona un missatge a la seva mare
The Maria (CL_{DAT}) phones a message PREP her mother
 ‘Maria phones a message to her mother.’
- (14) Intransitive structure with IO (person)
 La Maria telefona a la seva mare → La Maria li telefona
The Maria phones PREP her mother → The Maria CL_{DAT} phones
 ‘Maria phones her mother’ → ‘Maria phones her_{DAT}’
- (15) Monotransitive structure with DO (person)
 La Maria telefona la seva mare. → La Maria la telefona
The Maria phones her mother → The Maria CL_{ACC} phones
 ‘Maria phones her mother’ → ‘Maria phones her_{ACC}’

In descriptive terms we can say that in the more innovative dialects, like Central Catalan and a few variants spoken in the Balearic Islands, speakers use the accusative form in (15), because the relation which allows the encoding of a situation as a transitive event is more permissive, and thus covers situations like ‘to phone/hit/write/steal/pay someone’. By contrast, in the more conservative Catalan dialects, like those spoken in the region of Valencia and most of the Balearic Islands, speakers will mainly choose the dative form in (14), because the accusative encoding is restricted to the most prototypically transitive scenarios with a completely affected theme (which will not be the case for predicates meaning ‘to phone/hit/write/steal/pay someone’); that is to say, the affectedness relation is much stricter.

As we already saw in subsection 2.2, the *GDLE* and the *NGLE* admit the existence of semantic differences in several instances of the Spanish dative/accusative alternations in pronouns. From this point, we will argue that case alternations are not restricted to pronouns (although at first sight they are only visible in pronouns in Spanish because of the existence of DOM in full DP DOs), and we will show that meaning differences derived from case alternations are far more widespread than admitted thus far in the (prescriptive and descriptive) literature, and that these differences are mainly related to affectedness.

At this point, in spite of important theoretical disagreements with respect to our approach, it is of interest to mention García’s (1975) work, whose analysis of case alternations in Spanish pronouns will be occasionally referred to throughout section 3. The author presents an interesting account of how accusative and dative clitics work in Spanish –specifically, she focuses on the variety spoken in Buenos Aires, Argentina. She proposes that behind *leísmo* and *laísmo/loísmo* there is a true case alternation reflecting differences in the degree of active participation in the event. Although we will not go into detail about the *Form-Content* approach she adopts, it is of interest to note her proposal that clitics *le*, *la* and *lo* are the signals corresponding to the meanings of a more or less active participation in the event designated by the verb. García (1975: 274-175) is very critical with respect to traditional accounts which vaguely relate the use of *le* with the notion of IO or dative, and the use of *lo* with the notion of DO or accusative. She adopts a different perspective to describe the uses and differences between dative and accusative clitics in terms of what she calls «their relative activeness in bringing about the event»: clitics *le* and *les* are «LESS ACTIVE» and clitics *lo(s)* and *la(s)* are «LEAST ACTIVE» –whereas the category «MOST ACTIVE»

would correspond to agents (García 1975: 66-67).³¹ According to García (1975: 306), it is possible to predict «certain very frequent, ‘standard’ exploitations of the *le/lo* opposition», which «have often been regarded as syntactic rules, or cases of ‘government’, despite the fact that they *all* exemplify the same principle», with the choice of *le* always reflecting a minor distance between the participant in focus and the out-of-focus participant.

Recall that we argue that the accusative encoding indicates a high degree of transitivity: one participant, the subject, is very active, whereas the other one is either nearly inactive or fairly affected. When these conditions are not met, dative encoding is required. We can find the very same idea in García (1975: 274):

«the difference between *le* and *lo* [...] is one of degree of activity: *le* denotes the participant whose active role in bringing about the event is LESS than that of the most active one, but yet greater than that of the Accusative *lo*, whose activity is LEAST».

In other words,

«the Accusative is totally inactive, its sole contribution consists, as it were, in passively being there for the event to affect him, while the Dative has some kind of say or influence on the event».

Among many other factors, García (1975: 342) notes that the choice between dative and accusative clitics can be conditioned by the event type. When a particular event describes an action «in which there is considerable disparity in the relative degree of activeness of the different participants, and where a polarization into MOST vs. LEAST ACTIVE is easily conceived», the use of *lo* is more probable, since its meaning (LEAST ACTIVE) is the complete opposite of the participant in FOCUS and therefore favours more clearly the inference that the participant in FOCUS will be MOST ACTIVE. By contrast, a static event «where relative degrees of activeness are hard to visualize» will favour *le*, since its meaning (LESS ACTIVE, without specifying «by how much or how little») makes this form more appropriate when there is no easy or clear distribution of the responsibility in the event (i.e. the degree of activeness in the event). But the distinction between action-like verbs and state-like verbs is vague: among action-like verbs «some may be stronger than others, i.e., name a more definite acting of one participant upon another», so that «the more intense or obvious the action is, the greater disparity or distance between the two participants will be and [...] in consequence the more likely *lo* is to be used». And vice versa: «the weaker the action, the smaller the distance implied between the participants, and consequently the more likely *le* is to show up». Additionally, we agree with García’s (1975: 342-343) idea that there are several verbs which co-occur with two different cases, «where the sense of the verb is ‘pushed’ by the case into an interpretation congruent with the meaning of the case».

In sum, García (1975: 368) concludes that in two-participant situations

³¹ Therefore, there are different degrees of activity with respect to the verbal action. For example, in a ditransitive sentence such as *Juan compró un juguete al niño* ‘Juan bought a toy for the child’ the subject *Juan* (participant in focus) is the MOST ACTIVE participant; the other two participants are out of focus: the LEAST ACTIVE participant is the object which is bought (to it corresponds the signal *lo*, as in *Lo compró al niño* ‘He bought it_{ACC} for the kid’), and the LESS ACTIVE participant is the beneficiary of the buying (he is less active than the buyer but more active than what is bought) (to it corresponds the signal *le*, as in *Le compró el juguete* ‘He bought him_{DAT} the toy’).

«the choice of *le* or *lo* always follows one single basic rationale [...] grounded in the systemic value of *le* and *lo*: *le*, as the mid-member of the Case system, is closer to the MOST ACTIVE participant than *lo*. It is therefore suitable for use whenever the distance between the two participants is less than usual. We have demonstrated this by discussing a very large number of strategies that call for the use of *le*: but whether the reason be that the participant in FOCUS was ‘lower’, or the participant out of FOCUS was ‘higher’, or the nature of the event was such as to diminish the distance between the two participants, the fundamental rationale was always that events involving *le* showed the two participants as being closer than when *lo* was used». ³²

Finally, differences aside and with all due caution, we agree with García’s view that an exhaustive prediction of all those situations where the speaker will use one form or the other is not possible, since it depends on the different situations of the real world that the speaker can conceive as situations with more or less distance between the participants, depending on the message (s)he wants to convey.

2.3.2. Monotransitivization and affectedness

As seen, the use of transitive or intransitive encoding will correspond, in each language or dialect, to the way the Goal/Recipient participant is conceived and the way its degree of affectedness in the process is understood.

We must keep in mind that there is a difference between the two encoding options in the alternation we are dealing with: a participant bearing accusative (like the one in 15) is somehow more affected than a participant bearing dative (like the one in 14). That is to say, for the speakers of those dialects which opt for the accusative, an accusative-marked participant is conceived as being more affected because it enters the domain of transitive encoding, whereas dative assignment for the single complement of a verb is reserved for those participants which cannot be considered affected in any sense and thus do not fulfil the lax *affectedness* constraint. As for the speakers of the varieties which generally choose the dative complement of person, the reverse is true: accusative assignment for the single complement of a verb is reserved for those participants (generally objects) considered affected enough (or clearly prototypically affected), and as a consequence transitive encoding with complements of person and with the verbs under study will be less prevalent.

Indeed, there exist several pieces of crosslinguistic evidence in favour of the view defended here. The idea that affectedness or higher transitivity lies behind dative/accusative alternations is not new. Crucially, encoding the more affected

³² However, the idea that *le* and *lo* are signals which always convey the meanings of LESS ACTIVE PARTICIPANT and LEAST ACTIVE participant, respectively, and that they therefore never neutralize in alternating context, is criticized by Monge (1983). He argues that in some cases the pronouns display free variation; as a result, he does not agree with the conclusion that García & Otheguy’s (1977) reach when they extend García’s (1975) proposal to other Spanish dialects: García & Otheguy (1977: 73, 83) postulate that dialectal differences in the use of dative and accusative pronouns depend neither on their meanings (which are always the same) nor on the employed strategies (which are also the same in all areas), but rather depend on the strength differences of these strategies. That is to say, dialectal differences would simply consist of the different weight that the very same common strategies have, or in other words, the different sensitivity of speakers with respect to the very same contextual factors. Monge (1983: 447) calls into question the idea that every speaker would have two available options. Therefore, instead of saying that *le* and *lo* alternate in each region, it would be more accurate to say that the use of pronouns varies depending on the region.

We think that García (1975) and García & Otheguy’s (1977) considerations are quite reasonable in the (minority) case of true case alternations, which is the phenomena we are dealing with, and which is restricted to a particular group of verbs. By contrast, when referring to true case-confusing phenomena, a phenomenon which has nothing to do with accusative/dative alternations, Monge’s (1983) criticism is relevant.

participant as DO (an accusative-marked DP) in verbs with one single complement is cross-linguistically quite a widespread tendency.³³

Among the many studies that point in this direction, it is worth noting that, when discussing the grammatical relation of Dative and in particular those bivalent constructions with a subject-agent and a dative complement, Palmer (1994: 33-36) notes that the latter cannot be considered a standard object-patient because patients and dative-marked objects differ in terms of the degree of affectedness, and he exemplifies this with the Hungarian use of dative case to mark a patient-like participant which is less affected by the action. Palmer also notes that dative case is used in several ergative languages like Dyirbal or Chichkchee to demote a patient-object which used to bear absolutive case. After analyzing data from typologically different languages, like Georgian and Tabassaran, Palmer (1994: 78-79) concludes that the pattern agent+patient indicates full transitivity, and this transitivity is reduced when the pattern used is agent+dative. By the same token, when explaining the accusative/dative alternation in Icelandic, Jónsson (2010) argues that the crucial factor in the alternation is the status of the object: a non-patient (undergoing some sort of motion) receives dative, and a patient (being contacted or created) receives accusative. This characterization also fits well with the observation by Blume (1998), who presents a cross-linguistic study with data from Polynesian and Indo-European languages: she compares several agentive alternating verbs in Tongan, Samoan, Maori, German, Hungarian, Polish and Rumanian, and reaches the conclusion that in all those verbs dative selection is not an idiosyncratic matter but rather something cross-linguistically consistent: the relevant verbs share semantic affinities, in particular showing a low degree of semantic transitivity.

3. Data

Throughout this section we will deal with Spanish and Catalan verbs displaying dative/accusative alternations. As announced in the previous section, we will deal here with two groups of verbs: transfer of communication verbs and transfer of possession verbs (see subsection 2.1).

Apart from examples extracted from authors' works, grammars and dictionaries, for each example we will specify its source, according to the following classification: written press (tagged as *P*, for Press); TV or radio programs, interviews or series (tagged as *M*, for Media); literary texts including original and translated works (tagged as *L*, for Literature); and finally spontaneous examples produced by Spanish or Catalan speakers and collected over the past five years (tagged as *S*, for Spontaneous, plus the specification of the dialect when relevant). Likewise, for all the examples we will offer a literal translation with some grammatical remarks when necessary.

3.1. Verbs of transfer of communication

We understand that communication verbs can in some way also be considered verbs of transfer, since a piece of information is transferred. Indeed, the *NGLE* (§35.5e) claims that verbs of communication like *contestar* 'answer', *escribir* 'write' or *informar* 'inform' «también se consideran, en sentido amplio, verbos de transferencia, puesto que cabe entender que la noción transferida es la información que se suministra» [are also considered, in a broad sense, verbs of transfer, since one

³³ See for example Smith (1987) for German, Barddal (1993, 2001) for Icelandic and also Dixon (1994) and Kittilä (2007) for a cross-linguistic perspective.

can understand that the transferred notion is the piece of information which is supplied]. Later on, the *NGLE* (§35.5i) clarifies that «la implicación [...] según la cual el destinatario acaba en posesión o en contacto con lo transferido [...] caracteriza de modo general todos los procesos de transferencia» [the implication [...] according to which the recipient ends up in possession or in contact with what is transferred [...] characterizes in general all transfer processes], and notes that this implication «se obtiene con más claridad con unos predicados que con otros» [is obtained more clearly with some predicates than with others] and that the language extends the concept of recipient to situations in which, strictly speaking, there is no transfer of something from one person/thing to another, like in *La muchacha le sonrió* ‘(lit.) The girl smiled him_{DAT}’ or *El perro ladraba a todos los extraños* ‘(lit.) The dog barked [_{DAT} PREP all the strangers]’. In such cases the IO denotes the individual to which the smile or the bark are addressed; these predicates can be paraphrased with the verbs *lanzar* ‘throw’ or *dirigir* ‘address’ (*lanzar una sonrisa a alguien* ‘(lit.) throw a smile to someone’, *dirigir un ladrido a alguien* ‘(lit.) address a bark to someone). Similarly, in the case of communication verbs, the IO can denote the recipient of something which cannot be physically transferred, like an answer (*dirigir una respuesta a algú* ‘address an answer to someone’) or a phone call (*dirigir una telefonada a algú* ‘address a phone call to somebody’).

3.1.1. Verbs of telephonic communication

In the Romance area, the various *phone*-verbs show the same distinctive syntactic feature. Beyond those ditransitive constructions –today quite uncommon– wherein the transferred information is actually spelled out (16), these verbs can be inserted in two other configurations which can be distinguished by the case assigned to the complement denoting the participant receiving the call, whether dative or accusative. Thus, according to prescriptive grammars and dictionaries, Spanish *llamar* (*por teléfono*) and *telefonar*, together with Catalan *trucar* (*per telèfon*) and *telefonar*, are intransitive verbs –with the exception of constructions like (16)– so that the recipient of the communication must be expressed with dative case (17).

- (16) a. Juan me telefoneó la noticia
 b. En Joan em telefonà la notícia
John phoned me _{DAT} *the news*
- (17) a. Juan {llama/telefonea} a su hija → Juan **le** {llama/telefonea}
 b. En Joan {truca/telefona} a la seva filla → En Joan **li** {truca/telefona}
John phones [_{DAT} PREP *his daughter*] → *John phones her* _{DAT}

We find the same information in descriptive works such as the *Gran Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana* (henceforth *GDLC*) and Ginebra & Montserrat’s (1999) dictionary of use of Catalan verbs. However, a large number of Spanish and Catalan speakers show the tendency to express this argument in accusative case (18).³⁴ Note that in Spanish, as well as in some Catalan varieties, due to the increasing prevalence of prepositional accusative (or Differential Object Marking, DOM in the glosses), the phenomenon under study seems to vanish. This is why we resort to cliticization:

³⁴ Interestingly, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (*DCVB*) includes the use ‘amb complement directe indicador de la persona amb qui es comunica’ [with OD indicating the person with whom one communicates] but adds that this usage is not correct.

- (18) a. Juan {llama/telefona} a su hija → Juan **la** {llama/telefona}
 b. En Joan {truca/telefona} (a) la seva filla → En Joan **la** {truca/telefona}
John phones [_{ACC} (PREP_{DOM}) *his daughter*] → *John phones her*_{ACC}

We refer to the use of accusative complements instead of dative ones (18) as *monotransitivization*. Now let us look at several authentic examples of the use of Catalan *telefonar* and also *trucar* –the latter being more frequently used than the former:

- (19) a. Espadaler explica que Llanos de Luna **el va telefonar** ahir per a sol·licitar-li el canvi d'escorta de Camacho (P)
*Espadaler explains that Llanos de Luna phoned him*_{ACC} *yesterday in order to request him*_{DAT} *the change of bodyguard for Camacho*
 b. Un jove roba la targeta a un solsoní i **el truca** per demanar-li el PIN. (P)
*A young man steals a credit card from an inhabitant of Solsona and phones him*_{ACC} *in order to ask him*_{DAT} *for the PIN*
 c. Com està, la teva mare? Jo ni l'escric ni **la truco**³⁵ (S, Central Cat)
*How is your mother? I neither write her*_{ACC} *nor phone her*_{ACC} *anymore*

Since the affectedness relation which constrains the alternation is not totally stable with this verb, we find variation in the discourse of the very same speaker (20) –by contrast, this is not the case in (21), where the complement *a la gent* ‘PREP the people’ corresponds quite probably to DOM and not to a dative-marked complement:

- (20) a. A veure, **truca-li, truca-li** i així sabem què passa. Va, **truca'l** (M)
*Let's see, phone him*_{DAT}, *phone him*_{DAT} *and that way we will know what's happening. Come on, phone him*_{ACC}
 b. Per què **li hem de trucar** a la nit si hem estat no sé quants dies sense **trucar-lo**? (S, Central Cat)
*Why should we call him*_{DAT} *at night if we haven't phoned him*_{ACC} *for days?*
 (21) I **el vaig trucar** [...] perquè a mi m'agrada averiguar i **trucar** a la gent (M)
*And I phoned him*_{ACC} *because I like to find out about and phone* [_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} *people*]

The following two examples are controversial. Apparently, both instantiate the (nowadays very uncommon) ditransitive use, with the DO realized as a *that*-clause. In (22), the clitic *els* can instantiate either dative or accusative case, according to the prescriptive rules of standard Catalan; however, in the Barcelona variety of spoken Catalan, of which the sentence is an example, the 3rd person plural dative form is *els hi*. This allows us to think that (22) is not a standard ditransitive instantiation of the verb, with a dative clitic as Goal and a *that*-clause as Theme. Indeed, example (23) supports this view, since it contains a 3rd person singular accusative form (*el, la*) which is clearly distinct (in both standard and spoken Catalan) from the 3rd person singular accusative form (*li*) dative form:

- (22) Els parents de Madrid... Hòstia, encara no **els he trucat** que em caso! (M)
*My relatives from Madrid... Hell, I still haven't phone them*_{ACC} *that I'm getting married!*

³⁵ Observe that this example contains an instance of monotransitivization of *escriure* ‘write’, a pen communication verb (see subsection 3.1.2.).

- (23) **L'has de trucar** que t'agrada molt [el jersei que t'ha fet]. Ja **li trucaràs**. (S, Central Cat)
*You must **phone her**_{ACC} that you like it very much [the sweater she made for you]. I'm sure you'll **phone her**_{DAT}*

However, once we make that assumption, we are left with sentences with apparently two DOs: the accusative clitic and the *that*-complement. This is not a possible pattern in the languages we are dealing with. Fortunately, once we postulate that these accusative-marked complements of person are not standard DOs, but differently marked Goals (see section 4), the examples in (22) and (23) no longer constitute counterexamples.

In the case of Spanish, it is true that, for a start, the behaviour here signalled could be attributed to *laísmo/loísmo*, but several facts discourage this approach. First, the alternation shows up in literary works as well as in press texts (i.e. texts which have passed through the correcting filtering of a proof-reader) (24) –as far as (24c) is concerned, note that it reveals the instability of the affectedness relation in Spanish, just as we saw in Catalan (20).

- (24) a. **Le llamas** por teléfono [...] si me apetece **lo llamo** (L)
*You **call him**_{DAT} by phone. [...] If I feel like it I'll **phone him**_{ACC}*
 b. Hace unos días nos contó que **la habían llamado** del instituto para recomendarle un par de libros de lectura para su hijo. (P)
*Some days ago (s)he told us that they **had phone her**_{ACC} from the high school in order to recommend her a couple of reading books for her son*
 c. ¿Y tu hermano? **Lo llamo**, tío, y... Es que llevo **llamándole**... Y no me contesta (S, Valencian Spanish)
*And your brother? I keep **phoning him**_{ACC}, man, and... I keep **phoning him**_{DAT}... and he doesn't answer me*

Secondly, the existence of passive forms of these verbs (25) reinforces our analysis –the second example (25b) is especially illustrative:

- (25) a. Esquivias **fue telefonado** por el Delegado del Gobierno en Andalucía, Juan José López Garzón, y por la Delegada del Gobierno de la Junta en Sevilla, Carmen Tovar. (P)
*Esquivias **was phoned** by the Government Delegate in Andalusia, Juan José López Garzón, and by the Government Delegate of the Junta de Sevilla, Carmen Tovar.*
 b. Escriba nuevamente las siguientes frases, dándoles un giro activo o reflejo, y conservando el mismo sujeto. EJEMPLO: El alumno **fue llamado** por teléfono. → El alumno recibió una llamada por teléfono. (*Curso de redacción: teoría y práctica de la composición y del estilo*, G. Martín Vivaldi & A. Sánchez Pérez. Madrid: Paraninfo, 2000)
*Write again the following sentences, giving them an active or reflexive turn, while keeping the same subject. EXAMPLE: The student **was called by phone**. → The student received a phone call.*

Moreover, it is important that both the *NGLE* and the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (henceforth *DPD*) admit that this is a true regimen alternation. Thus, the *NGLE* (§16.9q) makes the following claim about the dative/accusative alternation:

«es muy común la de [...] *telefonar*, que se ilustra a continuación: *Al día siguiente la telefoneó para invitarla al cine* (Vergés, Cenizas), *Yo la telefoneaba para investigar* (Conget, Mujeres); *Cuando regresaras a Europa, le telefonarías para entrenarla en llamarte Tito* (Chavarría, Rojo)».³⁶

The *NGLE* includes examples with *llamar*, too: *Cuando se atrevió a llamarla a su casa, le dijeron que había salido de viaje con el marido* ‘When (s)he dared to call her_{ACC} at home, they told him/her_{DAT} that she was on holiday with her husband’ (*NGLE*: §35.5e).

In turn, the *DPD* admits, with respect to *llamar*, that

«cuando significa ‘establecer comunicación telefónica [con alguien]’, está generalizado en todo el ámbito hispánico el uso transitivo: “No hace mucho LO llamó por teléfono un tipo de voz imperiosa” (Galeano Días [Ur. 1978]); “LO llamó por teléfono para decirle que tenía su entera confianza” (Herrero Ocaso [Esp. 1995])».³⁷

and, indeed, the *DPD* clearly contradicts the normative dictionary when admitting that³⁸

«lo normal y más recomendable es interpretar como directo el complemento que expresa el destinatario de la llamada y usar, por tanto, las formas *lo(s)* y *la(s)* cuando se trate de un pronombre átono de tercera persona».³⁹

In the case of *telefonar*, the *DPD* observes that

«en el uso culto mayoritario funciona como intransitivo [...]. No obstante, en el habla culta se documenta también su uso como transitivo: ‘Gustavo LA telefoneaba casi todos los días’ (Donoso *Elefantes* [Chile 1995])».⁴⁰

Returning to Catalan, besides the already noted accusative pattern with *telefonar* and *trucar* within the domain of the central dialect, we must consider the local variants *tocar* ‘touch’ and *cridar* ‘call, shout’, which are also used to mean ‘phone’. These forms belong to the Valencian variety, where DOM is the norm, as seen in

³⁶ ‘the [alternation] of *telefonar* ‘phone’ is very common, as seen in the following: *Al día siguiente la telefoneó para invitarla al cine* ‘The day after (s)he call her_{ACC} to invite her_{ACC} to the cinema’ (Vergés, Cenizas), *Yo la telefoneaba para investigar* ‘I often called her_{ACC} to investigate’ (Conget, Mujeres); *Cuando regresaras a Europa, le telefonarías para entrenarla en llamarte Tito* ‘When you went back to Europe, you would call her_{DAT} to train her_{ACC} to call you Tito’ (Chavarría, Rojo).’

³⁷ ‘when it means ‘to establish communication by phone [with someone]’ the transitive use is general in all the Spanish-speaking areas: *No hace mucho LO llamó por teléfono un tipo de voz imperiosa* ‘Not long ago a fellow with an imperious voice called him_{ACC} by phone’ (Galeano Días [Ur. 1978]); *LO llamó por teléfono para decirle que tenía su entera confianza* ‘(S)he called him_{ACC} by phone to tell him_{DAT} that he had his/her full confidence’ (Herrero Ocaso [Esp. 1995]).’

³⁸ Indeed, the *NGLE* (§16.14q), when referring to DO (not IO) duplication, gives precisely an example with *llamar*: ‘El doblado nominal de complemento directo es raro en el español general. No se suele decir **Ayer lo leí el libro* ni **Tengo que llamarla a Sonia*’ [noun doubling of DO is rare in general Spanish. People do not normally say **Ayer lo leí el libro* ‘Yesterday it_{ACC} I read the book’ or **Tengo que llamarla a Sonia* ‘I have to call her_{ACC}, PREP Sonia’].’

³⁹ ‘the normal and most advisable approach is to interpret as direct the object expressing the receiver of the call and therefore to use the forms *lo(s)* ‘him_{ACC}/them_{ACC}’ and *la(s)* ‘her_{ACC}/them_{ACC}’ when we have an unstressed 3rd person pronoun’.

⁴⁰ ‘in general in formal registers it works as transitive [...]. However, in formal spoken usage there are recorded instances of transitive usage: *Gustavo LA telefoneaba casi todos los días* ‘Gustavo used to phone her_{ACC} almost every day’ (Donoso *Elefantes* [Chile 1995]).’

(26a)-(27a), so we must turn to cliticization to determine the corresponding argument structure. Example (26a) shows how *tocar* works with dative to yield the *telefonar* meaning, since with accusative, as seen in (26b), the speaker will interpret the verb as referring to the action of physically touching somebody.⁴¹ On the other hand, *cridar* displays geographical variation between the use of dative (27a) and the preservation of the accusative pattern of the base meaning ‘call someone’s name’ (27b)⁴²:

- (26) a. Joan toca a la seua filla → Joan **li** toca
Joan phones [_{DAT} *PREP* her daughter] → *Joan phones her*_{DAT}
 b. Joan toca a la seua filla → ¹Joan **la** toca
Joan phones [_{ACC} *PREP*_{DOM} her daughter] → *Joan phones her*_{ACC}
- (27) a. Joan crida a la seua filla → Joan **li** crida
Joan phones [_{DAT} *PREP* her daughter] → *Joan phones her*_{DAT}
 b. Joan crida a la seua filla → Joan **la** crida
Joan phones [_{ACC} *PREP*_{DOM} her daughter] → *Joan phones her*_{ACC}

Another Catalan verb is *picar* (*per telèfon*), generally used with dative in the Valencian-speaking area and southern Catalonia (28a) but with accusative in other areas of Catalonia (i.e. where Central Catalan is spoken) (28b):

- (28) a. Joan pica a la seua filla → Joan **li** pica
Joan phones [_{DAT} *PREP* her daughter] → *Joan phones her*_{DAT}
 b. En Joan pica la seva filla → En Joan **la** pica
Joan phones her daughter → *Joan phones her*_{ACC}

The data commented on above show that the affectedness relation we postulated is more flexible in some varieties (those in which speakers can encode the event of calling somebody as transitive) and more rigid in others (those in which speakers maintain the dative complement). It is all about differences in the conception of the degree of semantic transitivity of these sentences.

Likewise, the specific lexical item conveying the meaning ‘call somebody’ is also a factor to be considered. Thus, taking into account both Spanish and Catalan verbs, we can distinguish the two types as follows:

- (i) Those which are intransitive in their original meaning (Spanish *telefonar*, Catalan *telefonar*) or are considered intransitive in their *phone*-meaning (Spanish *llamar*, Catalan *trucar*). In some Spanish and Catalan varieties, these verbs have remained intransitive. However, in other areas they have undergone an extension of their configurational structure towards the

⁴¹ However, in contrast to (26b), we have documented the sentence *La va tocar i li va dir que no vinguera* ‘(S)he phoned her_{ACC} and told her_{DAT} not to come’, produced spontaneously by a Valencian speaker (although temporarily resident in the area of Central Catalan, where structures like *trucar-la* ‘call her_{ACC}’ are used). Along the same lines, we have documented another sentence produced by a Valencian speaker temporarily resident in Barcelona: *Ma germana treballava a l’hotel però l’encarregat del super la va tocar* ‘My sister was working at the hotel, but the person in charge of the supermarket phoned her_{ACC}’.

⁴² By way of illustration, the following two examples were produced by Southern Valencian speakers:

- (i) a. M’ha cridat [per telèfon] el Manolo, i se m’ha oblidat **cridar-lo**.
*Manolo called me [by phone], and I forgot to phone him*_{ACC}.
 b. Dimarts **la cride** i mirem quin dia podem anar a visitar-la
*On Tuesday I will phone her*_{ACC} and we’ll work out which day we can go visit her_{ACC}.

transitive use, as speakers conceive the event of phoning somebody as transitive.

- (ii) Those which, in their base meaning, are transitive, such as Catalan *cridar* and *tocar*. In Valencian Catalan varieties, however, these verbs are used in the sense of ‘phone’, either remaining transitive (*tocar* in some Valencian varieties) or opting for a dative complement (*tocar* in other Valencian varieties and *cridar* in all Valencian). The latter option is due to the fact that speakers do not conceive the event of phoning someone as transitive, and the particular lexical item in question influences this conception, since both *tocar* and *cridar* are used transitively in their original semantic meanings, which are ‘touch’ and ‘shout/call’ respectively.

The monotransitivization seen in (i) is possible in verbs where an explicit distinction, through argument structure, between base and derived meanings is not required. By contrast, the need to mark this difference explains the dative-taking behaviour in seen (ii), since maintaining the accusative pattern would incur the risk of confusion with the main meaning of the relevant verbs. Therefore, the intransitive verbs in (i) (*telefonar* and *trucar* in Catalan and *telefonar* and *llamar* in Spanish) can be transitivized because, in the relevant varieties, they fulfil the *affectedness* relation. On the other hand, transitive verbs *tocar* and *cridar*, when acquiring the meaning of ‘phone’, reject their original transitive pattern and behave intransitively, because in the relevant varieties the features of the affectedness relation disallows the conception of this particular event with these particular verbs as transitive.

3.1.2. Verbs of pen communication

We find the same dative/accusative alternation with verbs of pen communication, which also involve the transfer of communication. Thus, in Catalan, constructions with dative (29a) and accusative (29b) for the complement of person coexist:

- (29) a. *Escriuré a la Maria per demanar-li com es troba* → **Li escriuiré**
I will write [_{DAT} *PREP Maria*] *to ask her* [_{DAT} *how she is doing*] → *I will* **write her** [_{DAT}
 b. *Escriuré la Maria per demanar-li com es trobava* → **L’escriuiré**
I will write [_{ACC} *Maria*] *to ask her* [_{DAT} *how she is doing*] → *I will* **write her** [_{ACC}

This variation is also found in Spanish:

- (30) a. *Hace tiempo que no la escribe*
(S)he has not **written her** [_{ACC}] *for a long time*
 b. *Yo cuando tengo algún problema la escribo a ella* (*S*, Catalonia Sp)⁴³
When I have a problem I **write her** [_{ACC}] [_{PREP_{DOM}} *her*]

In all these cases, the variant ignored by grammarians is the accusative one. As a matter of fact, according to the *Diccionari de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans* (henceforth *DIEC2*), *escriure* with the meaning ‘communicate things in writing, write letters’ is intransitive: *Li escric cada dia* ‘I write him/her_{DAT} everyday’. Likewise, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (henceforth *DCVB*) assumes that, with the meaning ‘put something in writing (on paper, parchment, etc.) and direct it to someone;

⁴³ This sentence was uttered by a native Spanish speaker from Barcelona. Catalonia Spanish is not *laísta*.

communicate in writing’, the verb shows a dative argument. The same information is found in the *GDLC* and Ginebra & Montserrat’s (1999) work.

The situation is similar in Spanish, since the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (henceforth *DRAE*) states that when the verb means ‘communicate something to someone by writing’ we can leave the DO unexpressed and use the verb intransitively. Specifically, regarding the construction where the Goal of what is written appears in accusative, the *DPD* claims:

«Nunca deben usarse los pronombres *lo(s)*, *la(s)*, incluso en el caso de que el complemento directo no esté expreso, por sobrentendido [...]: **LA he escrito varias veces y no me ha contestado*».⁴⁴

Along the same lines, the *DPD* includes *escribir* among the verbs which:

«se construyen con complemento directo de cosa e indirecto de persona: [...] *El acusado escribió una carta al juez*, *El médico curó la herida al torero*, etc.. Con muchos de estos verbos es frecuente omitir el complemento directo por estar implícito o sobrentendido. Cuando esto ocurre, el complemento de persona, antes indirecto, pasa a funcionar como complemento directo si es posible la transformación en pasiva y el enunciado pasivo mantiene el mismo significado que el activo: *El médico curó al torero / El médico LO curó* (admite la pasiva sin cambio de significado: *El torero fue curado por el médico*). Si no es posible la pasiva, o si el enunciado pasivo implica un cambio de sentido con respecto a la oración activa, el complemento de persona sigue funcionando como complemento indirecto: *Escribí a mi hija / LE escribí* (ya que no es posible la pasiva **Mi hija fue escrita por mí*)».⁴⁵

One could certainly think that this behaviour of Spanish *escribir* is due to *laísmo/loísmo*. Indeed, the *NGLE* (§35.8o) explains (assuming it is a matter of social variation, rather than geographical variation) that this verb «se registra [...] con objeto directo de persona entre hablantes laístas y loístas» [is used [...] with direct object of person by both *laísta* and *loísta* speakers], and adds that «es poco aconsejable el uso de esta variante (*A Rosa la escribí ayer*) » [it is not recommended to use this variant (*A Rosa la escribí ayer* ‘PREP_{DOM} Rosa, I wrote her_{ACC} yesterday’)]. In another passage, the *NGLE* (§16.10e) attributes the use among *laísta* speakers of *escribir* with an accusative complement of person to a conflation between the structure with DO (*escribir una carta* ‘write a letter’) and the structure with DO and IO (*escribir una carta a María* ‘write a letter [_{DAT} PREP María]’), similarly to verbs *robar* ‘steal’ and *pagar* ‘pay’ (see subsection 3.2, devoted to transfer of possession verbs). However, this account does not seem very convincing, since it is not a phenomenon exclusively limited to feminine accusative pronouns. Additionally, the use with DO of person

⁴⁴ ‘Pronouns *lo(s)*, *la(s)* must never be used, even when the direct complement is not expressed because it is understood [...]: **LA he escrito varias veces y no me ha contestado* ‘I have written her_{ACC} several times and she has not answered me’.

⁴⁵ ‘are built with a DO of thing and an IO of person [...]. *El acusado escribió una carta al juez* ‘The accused wrote a letter to the judge’ [...]. With several of these verbs the DO is frequently omitted because it is implicit or understood. When this happens, the complement of person, which was an previously indirect complement, begins to function as a direct one if passivization is possible and the passive sentence keeps the active meaning: *El médico curó al torero* ‘The doctor healed the bullfighter’/ *El healed LO curó* ‘The doctor healed him_{ACC}’ (it admits the passive without changing its meaning: *El torero fue curado por el médico* ‘The bullfighter was healed by the doctor’). If passivization is not possible, or the passivized sentence implies a change of meaning with respect to the active sentence, the complement of person still works as an indirect object: *Escribí a mi hija* ‘I wrote to my daughter’ / *LE escribí* ‘I wrote her_{DAT}’ (since passive is not possible **Mi hija fue escrita por mí* ‘My daughter was written by me’).

exists among speakers who are neither *laístas* nor *loístas* (30b), and this behaviour is parallel to what happens in Catalan, a language where the confusion of pronominal forms is non-existent since there are no alternation phenomena in the accusative and dative pronominal substitution (i.e. there is nothing comparable to Spanish *loísmo/láismo*). Moreover, in the Catalan varieties without DOM, the accusative pattern with the verb ‘write’ can be detected not only in the realm of pronouns but also with full DPs (32b).

Catalan constructions like the one in (29b), along with all the other cases of monotransitivization analyzed here, constitute a phenomenon of dialectal variation in Catalan with little homogenous distribution (it is found in Central Catalan varieties, but there are many idiolectal differences), and probably influenced by intergenerational differences. In short, at least for Catalan, it is clear that it is a phenomenon of variation comparable to the rest of the verbs we are dealing with. That is to say, the alternation is a consequence of the conception of the degree of affectedness encoded in the event ‘write to someone’.

3.1.3. Verbs of communication by answer

Verbs *contestar* and *respondre* have in Catalan the same schema as *telefonar* or *escriure*: when the DO disappears, there is variation in the encoding of the complement of person (examples (a) in (31) and (32)), although prescriptively the participant who receives the answer must bear dative case. The same happens in Spanish (examples (b) in (31) and (32)):

- (31) a. Li va contestar/respondre
 b. Le contestó/respondió
 (S)he **answered him/her**_{DAT}
- (32) a. La va contestar/respondre
 b. La contestó/respondió
 (S)he **answered her**_{ACC}

In the case of *contestar*, Catalan rules do accept the use with DO of person, although this use is accepted only with the meaning ‘refuse to admit, reject energetically (an authority, an act of government, an established situation, an ideology, etc.), especially when making clear the disagreement with an act of protest’ (*DIEC2*). This use, exemplified in (33), clearly relates to an especially high degree of affectedness, so that in all varieties it will be encoded transitively:

- (33) El nou rector **fou contestat** pels estudiants més radicals
The new rector was answered by the most radical students

On the other hand, the *DCVB* includes the transitive construction and the intransitive one within the same definition, ‘answer; say or write in correspondence with what someone else said or wrote’, with examples like *Preguntau an es metges per ses virtuts des vi, y vos contestaran desfent-se amb elogis d’aquesta beguda* ‘Ask PREP the doctors about the virtues of wine, and they will answer you by lavishing praise on this drink’ or *A pesar de lo ben contestat que quedà aquell protestant* ‘In spite of how well that protester was answered’.⁴⁶ However, judging from this last

⁴⁶ In the first example, the PREP can instantiate a dative marker (IO) or it can introduce a differently marked DO (DOM).

example with obvious transitive encoding, we can deduce that this type of structure is especially suitable for participants considered affected, like someone who protests and *receives* an answer.

As for Spanish, similarly to what occurs with verbs like *escribir*, it is not clear whether the accusative/dative alternation we see with *contestar* is an instantiation of *laísmo/loísmo* or rather a true regimen alternation. Indeed, the *DPD* observes that when *contestar* means ‘answer [something] to what someone says or asks’,

«es transitivo; la respuesta se expresa mediante un complemento directo y la persona a quien se dirige, con un complemento indirecto: *Nosotros LE contestamos que no* (*Tiempo* [Col.] 21.1.97)».⁴⁷

And the *DPD* remarks that:

«A veces se elide el complemento directo, pero el complemento de persona sigue siendo indirecto: *Adiós, guardaespaldas—exclamó ella. No LE contestó* (Tomás Orilla [Esp. 1984]). En ocasiones, el verbo funciona como intransitivo y la respuesta se expresa mediante un complemento precedido de *con*: *LE contesté CON un gruñido* (Bolaño *Detectives* [Chile 1998] 512)».⁴⁸

Likewise, the *NGLE* (§16.10g) explains that

«se registran [...] casos de laísmo [y loísmo] con verbos intransitivos [...] o bien con verbos transitivos que no poseen objetos directos de persona [...] *Tampoco te había dicho la chica ninguna cosa del otro jueves, para que tú vayas y la contestes así* (Sánchez Ferlosio, *Jarama*)».⁴⁹

In the case of *responder/responder*, both Catalan and Spanish prescriptive grammars and dictionaries restrict the accusative to the answer’s content (which, of course, can be elided), disallowing it for the Goal or Recipient of the answer. This holds for the meaning ‘address (by words, gestures, which satisfy someone’s question, etc., or which have some relation with someone’s question) an interlocutor who has previously directed to him/her a question or accusation’, exemplified with sentences like *M’ho han preguntat a mi, i no sé què respondre* ‘They have asked me and I do not know what to answer’, *Li ha respost que no en tenia ganes* ‘(S)he answered him/her_{DAT} that (s)he did not feel like it’ (*DIEC2*).

Therefore, in prescriptive grammars the use of the accusative construction in (32) is disallowed with the verbs *responder* and *contestar* when they have the general meaning ‘give someone an answer’. As we saw, in the case of *contestar*, only the *DIEC2* admits the use with accusative of person, but exclusively in cases where the answer is accompanied by a vigorous refusal or act of protest. Nevertheless, the fact is

⁴⁷ ‘it is transitive; the answer is expressed by a DO and the person the answer is addressed to is expressed by an IO: *Nosotros LE contestamos que no* ‘We answered him/her_{DAT} no’ (*Tiempo* [Col.] 21.1.97).’

⁴⁸ ‘Sometimes the direct complement is elided, but the complement of person is still indirect: *Adiós, guardaespaldas—exclamó ella. No LE contestó* ‘Goodbye, bodyguard,’ she said. He did not answer her_{DAT}’ (Tomás Orilla [Esp. 1984]). Sometimes, the verb works as intransitive and the answer is expressed by a complement preceded by *con* ‘with’: *LE contesté CON un gruñido* ‘I answered him/her_{DAT} with a grunt’ (Bolaño *Detectives* [Chile 1998] 512).’

⁴⁹ ‘we find [...] instances of laísmo [and loísmo] with intransitive verbs [...] or with transitive verbs without direct objects of person: *Tampoco te había dicho la chica ninguna cosa del otro jueves, para que tú vayas y la contestes así* ‘It is not as if the girl told you anything to get excited about, for you to go and answer her_{ACC} like that’ (Sánchez Ferlosio, *Jarama*)’.

that the transitive pattern is used as much with *contestar* as with *responder*, both in Catalan as in Spanish, and as much with the meaning of disagreement accompanied by acts of protest as with the general meaning of giving someone an answer. Let us look at some authentic examples from Catalan:

- (34) a. Rajoy ha dit [...] Doncs bé, Oriol Pujol ja l'ha respost. (M)
Rajoy said [...]. Well then, Oriol Pujol has already answered him_{ACC}
- b. I és que a primera hora del matí Mas havia plantejat internacionalitzar el conflicte si l'Estat espanyol no li feia cas; doncs bé, al cap de poc el van respondre Alberto Ruiz Gallardón i María Dolores de Cospedal (M)
And first thing in the morning Mas had proposed to internationalize the conflict if Spain did not pay attention to him; well then, shortly thereafter Alberto Ruiz Gallardón and María Dolores de Cospedal answered him_{ACC}
- c. Vaig sentir el que deia la Rahola i volia contestar-la (M)
I heard what Rahola was saying and I wanted to answer her_{ACC}
- d. Duran va apuntar ahir en una entrevista a *El Periódico* que Convergència i Unió estava perdent la centralitat. El va respondre també ahir el secretari d'organització de Convergència, Josep Rull, que li va dir que no era moment de la vella política de l'ambigüitat. (M)
Duran said yesterday in an interview in El Periódico that Convergència i Unió was losing its centrality. The organization secretary of Convergència, Josep Rull, also answered him_{ACC} yesterday and told him_{DAT} that it was not the time for the old politics of ambiguity.
- e. I el Cañas, a la Núria Cadenes, també la va respondre ben malament (S, Central Cat)
And Cañas, PREP_{DOM} Núria Cadenes, answered her_{ACC} very rudely too

Crucially, standard Catalan, where there is no DOM, provides examples of monotransitivization with full DPs. This proves that we are not dealing with a mere pronoun case-confusing phenomenon:

- (35) Ràpidament, al seu perfil de Twitter, Montilla va respondre el president Mas (P)
Quickly, in his Twitter profile, Montilla answered president Mas

This is an option that exists only in certain areas, specifically those where the affectedness relation is lax (in Central Catalan, but not in Valencian and Balearic Catalan) and therefore allows a greater number of situations to be treated as transitive, among them those encoded by the event 'direct an answer to somebody, answer somebody'.

3.2. Verbs of transfer of possession

3.2.1. Verbs of dispossession

According to Catalan prescriptive grammars, the verb *robar* –if we disregard those configurations including both what is stolen (in accusative) and the victim of the action (in dative) (36)– can be inserted in two other configurations in which the same

participant (the victim) is expressed, but maintaining the dative in one case (37) and using the accusative in the other (38).⁵⁰

- (36) Han robat la cartera al Joan
They have stolen the wallet [_{DAT} PREP John]
- (37) Han robat al Joan → **Li han robat**
They have robbed [_{DAT} PREP John] → *They have **robbed him***_{DAT}
- (38) Han robat el Joan → **L'han robat**
They have robbed John → *They have **stolen robbed him***_{ACC}

There are semantic differences according to the *DIEC2*. With dative case, the verb means ‘appropriate wrongfully, with violence, with deception, secretly (what is the property of somebody else)’, as in *Això és robar als pobres* ‘This is robbing [_{DAT} PREP the poor]’. With accusative case, the verb’s meaning is slightly different: ‘dispossess (somebody) of the things which belong to him/her, wrongfully, with violence, with deception, secretly’, as in *El van robar a la sortida del cinema* ‘They robbed [_{ACC} him] at the exit of the cinema’. Interestingly, the former pattern (dative complement) is the only one admitted by the descriptive dictionary *GDLC*.

Although this semantic distinction is extremely subtle, a correlation with the degree of affectedness can be found: if someone steals (with violence or deception) from you what belongs to you, you are affected; but you are far more affected if you are dispossessed of your properties (also with violence or deception).⁵¹

Therefore, behind the use of one structure or the other there is a subtle semantic difference, as proved by analyzing several occurrences of the verb *robar* in one and the same literary work. In (39), with accusative, the context reveals that the individual, before being robbed, was killed, whereas this is not the case in (40), with dative:

- (39) - A qui vas confiar els diners? [...] - A un home de confiança. [...] - El van matar. I el van robar. (L)
 “Who did you give the money to?” [...] “To a reliable man.” [...] “They killed him_{ACC}. And they **robbed him**_{ACC}.”
- (40) - Puja aquí dalt i balla: a rostir-te eternament perquè no has anat a missa o has **robat** al veí. (L)
 “Go up there and dance: go roast in Hell for eternity because you haven’t gone to mass or **robbed** [_{DAT} PREP your neighbor].”

⁵⁰ For a complete diachronic analysis of Catalan verbs of dispossession, see Pineda (2010), where near-synonymous verbs *robar*, *emblar* and *furtar* are accounted for, revealing crucial differences with respect to their current behaviour in Modern Catalan.

⁵¹ The *DCVB* also admits various constructions for this verb. As a transitive verb and with the meaning ‘to dispossess someone of the things which belong to him/her; take them from him/her with violence or deception’, *robar* can be used with DO indicating who is dispossessed (*Han enganats e robats e morts aquells qui en ells se fiaven* ‘They have deceived and robbed and killed those who trusted them’); in this case passivization is possible (*Sapiatz que fui robat e perdí tot quant portaua* ‘You know that I was robbed and lost all I carried’). These examples, corresponding to the accusative encoding, reflect a degree of affectedness that is especially high, since the victim remains dispossessed of everything (s)he owned or is even murdered (note underlined text). The verb can also be used with the meaning ‘to take, to appropriate wrongfully, with violence or deception, what belongs to someone else’; in that case, *robar* can appear with a IO (*Tot quant los prelats conseruauen e stojauen [...], emblauen e robauen e tollien als pobres* ‘All that the prelates kept and stored [...], they robbed and stole [_{DAT} PREP the poor]’) or together with a DO expressing what has been stolen (*Gents que los prenen e roben lurs fruytes* ‘people who take or steal them_{DAT} their fruits’).

As we can see, the use of accusative for the complement of person of *robar* turns up when the referent is greatly affected (39). However, in those varieties where the current affectedness relation is stricter, the accusative encoding will not be frequent and as seen in (41) will only appear in contexts where the high degree of affection of the victim is specified (e.g. if (s)he is killed: see underlined text) –note that (41c) is from the 14th century.

- (41) a. Li demanen si **l’han robat** i diu que no, que no eren lladres els qui l’han agredit. (L)
*They ask him_{DAT} whether they have **robbed him_{ACC}** and he says that they have not, that those who attacked him_{ACC} were not thieves*
- b. Creus que podria ser un muntatge? Que **el van robar** i li van tallar les venes? (M)
*Do you think it could be a set-up? That they **robbed him_{ACC}** and they cut his veins?*
- c. Alguns roden rochas molt grans ab lurs caps incessantment, per tal com són stats reveladors de secrets e han enganats, **robats** e morts [_{ACC} aquells qui en ells se fiaven]. (L)
*Some of them are ceaselessly rolling very big rocks with their heads, because they have revealed secrets and have cheated, **robbed** and killed [_{ACC} those who trusted them]*

By contrast, in those varieties with a more flexible affectedness relation, the accusative can even be extended to those situations in which that kind of information is not explicitly stated, as in (42). Again, given that (42b) is from the 14th century it is fair to say that this distinction was already present in Old Catalan.

- (42) a. Finalment em van portar a una oficina sota terra i em va entrevistar un policia.
 - ¿**L’han robat** a l’estació de tren?⁵²
 - No, a l’hotel. [...]
 - ¿Què ha perdut?
 Li vaig fer una llista de les meves possessions.
 - ¿Quants diners?
 - Unes 100 lliures. (L)
They finally brought me to an office below ground and a policeman interrogated me.
*“Did they **rob you_{ACC}** at the train station?”*
“No, at the hotel.[...]”
“What did you lose?”
Then I wrote down a list of my possessions.
“How much money?”
“About 100 pounds.”
- b. Si elles són riques, per un cap o per altre, o en mort o en vida, o vetlant o dormint, **seran** per aquells **robades**, enganades e ginyades o ab falços

⁵² Note that a 3rd person pronoun *el* is used here to refer to a 2nd person participant. This corresponds to *vostè* (3rd person), which indicates politeness and respect.

abraçaments o ab menaços o altres maneres exquisides, que tot quant han e poden haver los donen o·ls presten a no tornar-ho jamay. (L)
*If they [women] are rich, in one way or another, whether living or dead, awake or asleep, they **will be** by those [men] **robbed**, deceived and cheated either with false embraces or with threats or other exquisite ways, so that they [the women] will give, or lend to them all they have or may have, for it never to be returned.*

Indeed, in their dictionary, Ginebra & Montserrat (1999) only give the transitive pattern for *robar* when expressing the victim of the robbery, as in *Han robat el teu germà? Sí que l'han robat i ara farà la denúncia del robatori* 'Did they rob your brother?' 'Yes, they robbed him_{ACC} and now he will report the robbery', or also with a place, as in *Ara roben bancs* 'Now they rob banks'.

In the case of Spanish, according to the *DRAE* *robar* is used with accusative for the loot and, only when the verb means 'kidnap', with accusative for the person. Therefore, accusative is only admitted when the participant is a totally affected entity and the verb entirely changes its meaning. The very same observation is made by the *DPD*.⁵³

We find a more fine-grained description in the *GDLE*, where Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1328-1329) points out that, although *robar* is generally followed by a dative complement, «una minoría de hablantes, fundamentalmente americanos (y del cono sur), pueden emplear el acusativo referido a un objeto animado» [a minority of speakers, fundamentally Latin American (and from the Southern Cone), can use the accusative when referring to an animate object], and that this «supone una reinterpretación del verbo, umentando su grado de transitividad e implicando un cambio de significado» [implies a reinterpretation of the verb, increasing its degree of transitivity and thus bringing about a change in meaning]. Thus, according to the author, the use of *robar* with accusative of person would correspond to 'kidnap' (as in the example (43c)) but also to 'mug':

- (43) a. Cuando Pedro_i estaba en los grandes almacenes, **le_i robaron** Ø_k.
*When Pedro_i was in the department store, they **robbed him**_{iDAT} Ø_k*
 b. Pedro_i acababa de comprarse un monedero_j cuando {lo_{j,*i} / se_i lo_j} **robaron**.
*Pedro_i had just bought a wallet_j when they **stole** {it_j, *him_i / it_j from him_i}*
 c. A aquella niña_i del parque **la_i robaron** unos delincuentes.
*[_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} that girl_i from the park], some criminals **robbed her**_{iACC}*

Crucially, Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1329, fn. 23) goes even further and recognizes that some speakers do accept *robar* with a complement of person in accusative with the standard meaning 'rob, steal'. She claims that her informants from Peru and Argentina do accept a sentence like *A mi madre la robaron* '[_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} my

⁵³ Specifically, the *DPD* claims that when *robar* means 'take someone's possession without his/her consent', it selects a DO expressing what has been taken, as in *Una señora dice que usted LE robó su bolso* 'A woman says that you stole her_{DAT} her handbag'. And «[s]i el complemento directo no está explícito, el complemento de persona sigue siendo indirecto» [if the DO is not explicit, the complement of person continues to be indirect], as in *Los ladrones entran en su hogar, LE roban, quieren matarla* 'The thieves break into her home, rob her_{DAT}, want to kill her_{ACC}'. Finally, the *DPD* declares that only when the verb means 'kidnap' does it take a DO of person, as in *Viajaba con su hija [...]. Los indios LA_{ACC} robaron una noche, tal vez codiciando su belleza* 'He was travelling with his daughter [...]. One night the Indians kidnapped her_{ACC}, perhaps because they coveted her beauty'.

mother, they robbed her_{ACC}’ with the meaning ‘they stole something from her’ and adds that this encoding «parece implicar que el acto de sustracción tuvo lugar en presencia del individuo afectado y con notable perjuicio del mismo» [seems to imply that the event took place in the presence of the person affected and caused significant harm to him/her]. This observation fits perfectly into our hypothesis.

Indeed, at least in some varieties, it seems that the accusative can also refer to the person from whom something is stolen, as shown by the following sentences extracted from web forums and digital new media (in all cases from South America):⁵⁴

- (44) a. **Lo robaron** dos veces en una semana y se fue de Punta del Este. [...] El bodeguero Carlos Pulenta regresó a Mendoza luego de sufrir dos robos (P)
*They **robbed him**_{ACC} twice in a week and he left Punta del Este. [...] The wine-producer Carlos Pulenta went back to Mendoza after suffering two robberies*
- b. **Lo robaron** y le devolvieron todo: increíble (P)
*They **robbed him**_{ACC} and gave everything back to him: incredible*
- c. Se quedó con dinero robado, pero después **lo robaron** a él. (P)
*He took stolen money, but then they **robbed him**_{ACC, PREP_{DOM}} him*
- d. Meten presa a mujer por fingir que **la robaron**. La fémica acudió a la comisaría indicando que le habían hurtado un bolso (P)
*A woman is taken prisoner for pretending that someone had **robbed her**_{ACC}. The woman went to the police station saying that someone had stolen from her_{DAT} a handbag*
- e. La mujer se encontraba sola y estaba entrando en su coche cuando los asaltantes **la robaron**, llevándose un reloj valorado en 18.000 euros antes de huir a bordo de una motocicleta. (P)
*The woman was alone and was entering her car when the robbers **robbed her**_{ACC}, taking with them a an €18,000 watch before fleeing the scene on a motorbike*

Indeed, also the *NGLE* (§35.8n) admits that:

«el verbo *robar* (en el sentido de ‘desposeer a alguien de algo’ [...]) admite complementos directos de persona en el español de algunas áreas, entre otras la rioplatense, la caribeña continental, la mexicana y la europea, como en *A Maite la robaron ayer en el tren*, o en *Cuando tenía 15 años, ella y tres amigos entraron en la casa de Ruth Pelke, una profesora de estudios bíblicos de 78 años, la robaron y asesinaron* (País [Esp.] 2/10/1987)».⁵⁵

The *NGLE* reminds that «este uso de *robar* es [...] raro o minoritario en otras áreas (la andina, la antillana y parte de la centroamericana), donde se prefiere *A Maite le robaron en el tren*» [this use of *robar* is [...] a rare or minority usage in other areas (the Andean and Antilles language area and part of the Central American area), where

⁵⁴ We reproduce the context in detail to make it clear that the examples do not involve the meaning ‘kidnap’ and also to show that they are varieties without generalized *loísmo/laísmo* since they use the dative form *le* when necessary.

⁵⁵ ‘the verb *robar* in the sense of ‘dispossessing someone of something’ admits direct objects of person in some Spanish-speaking areas, as in Rio de la Plata, the continental Caribbean, Mexico and Spain, as in *A Maite la robaron ayer en el tren* ‘PREP Maite, they robbed her_{ACC} yesterday in the train’, or in *Cuando tenía 15 años, ella y tres amigos entraron en la casa de Ruth Pelke, una profesora de estudios bíblicos de 78 años, la robaron y asesinaron* ‘When she was 15 years old, she and three friends broke into the house of Ruth Pelke, a 78-year-old teacher of biblical studies, robbed her_{ACC} and murdered her’ (País [Esp.] 2/10/1987)’.

A Maite le robaron en el tren ‘PREP Maite, they robbed her_{DAT} in the train’ is preferred].

All in all, the use of DO of person is described as *laismo* and is not a recommended option. Specifically, the *NGLE* (§16.10e) ascribes it to a conflation

«entre las estructuras que exigen complemento directo y las que piden uno indirecto [...] es posible *robar una billetera* y también *robar a alguien una billetera*, por lo que los hablantes *laistas* tienden a formar oraciones como *A Laura la robaron la billetera*».⁵⁶

However, this conflating approach does not seem correct to us, for several reasons. First, this is not a phenomenon restricted to sentences where there is a recoverable DO, much less to sentences where the IO and the purportedly recoverable DO are feminine: the accusative pattern with *robar* appears with both feminine and masculine complements of person, as we have shown. Second, the phenomenon occurs with various verbs. Third, it has been documented among speakers from non-*laista* varieties. Fourth, it happens in other Romance languages, such as Catalan, where there is no confusion between dative and accusative pronouns (there is no *laismo/loismo*). Finally, as Spanish bears DOM with all animate DOs, DO and IO converge into *a+DP*, so the alternation is only detectable in the realm of pronouns (*lo, la* vs. *le*), thus apparently ascribable to *laismo/loismo*; however, in several Catalan varieties there is no DOM and therefore the accusative/dative alternation is also found with full DPs (38), so it is not reducible to something which only affects pronouns.

In turn, the *DPD* includes *robar* in the group of verbs with which DO omission is frequent and the indirect complement of person can consequently become a direct one, whenever the sentence keeps its meaning when passivizing. However, among the examples of verbs which pass the test and verbs which do not, *robar* does not appear, so we cannot really draw any conclusions. At any rate, a Google search shows that, indeed, the passivization of *robar* is really quite frequent in Spanish, especially in the American varieties (45), but also in European Spanish (46):

- (45) a. El líder piquetero contó que la mujer **fue robada** cuando salía de la casa de su hermana. [...] “Le pusieron a mi hija un revólver en la cabeza y le sacaron el auto que se había comprado.” (P)
*The picket leader explained that the woman **was robbed** when she was leaving her sister’s home. [...] “They put a revolver to my daughter’s head and took from her the car she had bought.”*
- b. Una vez adentro del medio de transporte le robó el celular a Antonella De Rosa [...] Si bien él negó haber estado en el ómnibus donde la mujer **fue robada**, lograron identificarlo por su tarjeta SUBE. (P)
*Once inside the means of transport he stole the phone [_{DAT} PREP Antonella De Rosa [...] Although he denied having been in the bus where the woman **was robbed**, they were eventually able to identify him thanks to his SUBE card.*
- c. En el interior del banco Provincial [...] un hombre **fue robado** en plena taquilla de pago, por un sujeto que entró, lo apuntó y salió con el dinero. (P)

⁵⁶ ‘between the structures which require DO and those which require an IO [...] Because it is possible to say *robar una billetera* ‘to steal a wallet’ and also *robar a alguien una billetera* ‘to steal [_{DAT} someone] a wallet’, *laista* speakers tend to form sentences as like *A Laura la robaron la billetera* ‘[_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} Laura], they stole her_{ACC} the wallet’.

*Inside the Provincial bank [...] a man **was robbed** right at the teller's window, by an individual who entered, pointed his weapon at him and left with the money*

- (46) a. Mi marido **fue robado** por los ingleses con un barco cargado de riquezas. Se quedaron con el barco y con el cuerpo de mi marido, aunque no enteramente, pues tuvieron la ocurrencia de mandarme un pedazo suyo como testimonio de su muerte (L)
*My husband **was robbed** by the English with a ship laden with treasure. They took the ship and my husband's body, although not in its entirety, since it occurred to them to send me a piece as a proof of his death.*
- b. El hombre **fue robado**, violado por las tres mujeres y abandonado en la carretera. (P)
*The man **was robbed**, raped by the three women and abandoned in the road.*

As we can see, especially in American Spanish, explicitating a context of extreme violence is not a *sine qua non* condition for the use of the transitive pattern (and the resulting passivization), but it rather depends on the speaker's interpretation of the degree of affectedness implied in the described process –as is the case in Catalan. We can conclude that what we see in (44) is not *laismo/loísmo* but rather true DOs, because they can passivize without incurring any change in meaning (45)-(46).

In conclusion, neither in Catalan nor in Spanish is the explicit mention of a context of extreme violence a *sine qua non* condition for the use of the accusative structure (and subsequent passivization), but it rather depends on the speaker's interpretation, on the degree of affectedness implied in the process as perceived by the speaker of a given variety, together with a stricter or laxer implementation of the relevant affectedness relation.

3.2.2. Verbs of possession

At the opposite semantic pole of dispossession, this is to say, in the opposite direction from the notion of transfer of possession, we find *pay*-verbs, which display exactly the same syntactic variation pattern we detected in the previous cases. In Catalan, according to the *DIEC2*, two uses of *pagar* 'pay' must be distinguished. On the one hand, we have the use in which the accusative expresses what is transferred, with the meaning 'to give someone (what someone else owes him/her)'; in this case the IO can be expressed (47) or not (48). On the other hand, there is the use where the accusative refers to the person who receives what is transferred (49).

- (47) Pagar el lloguer al propietari de la casa
Pay the rent [DAT PREP the landlord]
- (48) Pagar els seus deutes
Pay one's debts
- (49) Encara no han pagat els treballadors
They have not yet paid the workers

Although it is not explicitly stated, it is clear from the use seen in (47) that we could leave unspecified what is paid for, yielding the construction seen in (50), which we should compare to (49).

- (50) Pagar al propietari de la casa
Pay [DAT PREP the landlord]

Therefore, in Catalan the complement of person of *pagar* can receive both either (51) or dative case (52), as the following authentic occurrences show:

- (51) a. Potser convindria cuidar-lo més. Ja **el pagueu** prou bé? (M)
*Maybe you should take better care of him. Do you **pay him**_{ACC} well enough?*
 b. La prostitució posa la persona a l'alçada d'un objecte. **Les pagues** per un servei. (M)
*Prostitution puts the person on the same level as an object. You **pay them**_{ACC} [the prostitutes] for a service.*
- (52) a. Com que **li paguen** molt bé, s'ha d'adaptar al que li diuen (P)
*Since they **pay him/her**_{DAT} very well, (s)he must adapt herself/himself to what they tell him/her_{DAT}*
 b. A l'època llarga de CiU al poder, a algú amb molt de temps **li pagaven** per fer informes inquisitorials sobre periodistes de la casa. (P)
*During CiU's long spell in power, [_{DAT}PREP someone with a lot of time on his/her hands], they **paid him/her**_{DAT} to write inquisitorial reports on house journalists*

As for the dialectal distribution of these variants, as we saw in the previous cases, Central Catalan is the variety where the accusative encoding is most generalized, whereas Valencian and Balearic Catalan generally maintain the dative complement.

For Spanish, the *DRAE* states that *pagar* with the meaning 'give to someone else, or satisfy, what is owed' is a transitive verb, although no examples are provided and it is therefore not clear whether this definition includes explicitating what is paid or not. The *DPD* is more explicit and points out that the DO can be omitted and, as a consequence, it is possible to reinterpret the complement of person as a DO. We exemplify this option in (53).

- (53) a. Una empleada del hogar declara que Urdangarín **la pagaba** en negro (P)
*A domestic servant declares that Urdangarín **paid her**_{ACC} under the table*
 b. ellos tenían un empleado y **lo pagaban** entre los dos (P)
*they had an employee and **paid him**_{ACC} between the two of them*

However, the *DPD* discourages the use of the verb in this fashion. Specifically, it explains that

«[c]uando significa 'satisfacer [lo que se debe] o sufragar [un gasto]', es transitivo: *Paga tus impuestos y tus deudas de honor* (Quintero Danza [Ven. 1991]) [...]. Además del complemento directo, puede llevar un complemento indirecto que expresa la persona que recibe el pago: '*LE pagaría a Cárceles los desperfectos*' (PzReverte Maestro [Esp. 1988]) [...]. Es frecuente omitir el complemento directo, por estar implícito o sobreentendido: *No LE pagamos para que sea original, sino para que nos entretenga a la gente* (VLlosa Tía [Perú 1977]). En estos casos, es posible reinterpretar el complemento de persona como directo [...], aunque se trata de una opción menos extendida en el uso y, por tanto, menos recomendable: *El Safari es mío y al tractorista LO pago yo* (Ibargüengoitia Crímenes [Méx. 1979])».⁵⁷

⁵⁷ 'when it means 'satisfy [what is owed] or defray [costs]', it is transitive: *Paga tus impuestos y tus deudas de honor* 'You pay your taxes and your honor debts' (Quintero Danza [Ven. 1991]) [...]. In addition to the direct complement, it can have an indirect complement expressing the individual who receives the payment: *LE pagaría a Cárceles los desperfectos* 'I/(S)he would pay him_{DAT} damages, [_{DAT}PREP Cárceles]' (PzReverte Maestro [Esp. 1988]) [...]. It is frequent to omit the direct complement,

Along the same lines, the *NGLE* (§16.10e) ascribes constructions like *¿Cuánto tengo que pagarla?* ‘How much must I pay her_{ACC}?’ or *Básicamente la pagan para que se quite la ropa* ‘They basically pay her_{ACC} to take her clothes off’ to an instantiation of *laísmo* which results from the conflation between the structure with DO (*pagar una cantidad* ‘pay an amount’) and the structure with DO and IO (*pagar una cantidad a alguien* ‘pay an amount to someone’). However, this does not seem to be a plausible account; indeed, we have already seen that this is not a phenomenon restricted to feminine accusatives (see also what we said in the previous subsection devoted to *robar*, a verb for which the *NGLE* offers the same reasoning).⁵⁸

We should also mention the reflections by Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1328-1329) in the *GDLE* about the dative/accusative alternation with *pagar*. According to her, this verb is normally accompanied by an IO (dative complement), although (like with *robar*) a minority of speakers, primarily in the Southern Cone of South America, may use it to refer to an animate object, implying an enhanced degree of transitivity and thus a change in meaning:

- (54) a. A Juan le pagué el alquiler
 [_{DAT} PREP Juan], I paid him_{DAT} the rent
 b. A Juan **le pagué** con creces
 [_{DAT} PREP Juan], I **paid him**_{DAT} by far
 c. A Juan **lo pagué** con creces
 [_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} Juan], I **paid him**_{ACC} by far

Specifically, according to the author the use of *pagar* with an accusative complement of person (54c) would correspond to ‘reward, content’, although she admits that the use of *pagar* for ‘reward’ (which seems to be a relic of Medieval Spanish) was only corroborated by one of the speakers who made that distinction (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999: 1329, fn. 22). Therefore, some speakers are able to use the transitive pattern with the regular meaning ‘pay’.

As noted above, according to García (1975) bivalent verbs take dative complements whenever the distance between the participant in-focus (subject) and the participant out-of-focus (complement) is minor, for example when the out-of-focus participant is higher than normal on the scale of *activeness*. Assuming the existence of a natural correlation between *activeness* and animacy (living beings are expected to act), García (1975: 317) predicts that the animacy of the object will influence the choice between *lo* and *le* –it is the very simple idea that ‘people, especially, will be more likely than things to be referred to with *le*, because people have a greater natural, or inherent, capacity for action’. However, with some verbs, the participant designating a person can be referred to by *lo* or *le* depending on its implications, and then «the more human involvement is the one that rates *le*». This is precisely the case of *pagar* ‘pay’: according to García (1975: 318), the sentence *Los pagó* with reference to a group of people implies «either a transaction in slaves, or a final (contemptuous)

because it is implicit or understood: *No LE pagamos para que sea original, sino para que nos entretenga a la gente* ‘We do not pay him/her_{DAT} for him/her to be original, but to entertain people’ (VLlosa Tía [Perú 1977]). In these cases, it is possible to reinterpret the complement of person as direct [...], although this option is less extended in the use and, therefore, less advisable: *El Safari es mío y al tractorista LO pago yo* ‘The Safari is mine and [_{ACC} PREP_{DOM} the tractor driver], I pay him_{ACC}’ (Ibargüengoitia *Crímenes* [Méx. 1979]).

⁵⁸ The idea that the use of a DO complement of person with *pagar* ‘pay’ (and with other verbs such as *ganar* ‘win’) is an instance of social (rather than geographical) variation restricted to *laísta/loísta* speakers is also found in another passage of the *NGLE* (§35.8o).

paying off of employees who will have no further claim on the payer)», whereas *Les pagó* «is appropriate in reference to creditors, regular employees, or anybody who is treated properly».

In sum, in both Catalan and Spanish *pagar* can be used with a complement of person in either dative or accusative case. From the data presented so far we can deduce that, in the majority of varieties, regardless of the laxness of the affectedness relation, an event consisting of ‘paying (to) somebody’ is easily encoded as transitive because the participant is regarded as sufficiently affected; by contrast, in other varieties with a less flexible relation, in order for the accusative use to be grammatical there must be present a context involving reward for the participant, a notion that is unequivocally close to affectedness.

4. Analysis

4.1. DIOM and DOM

In section 2 we presented our proposal that what lies behind dative/accusative alternation is not an alternation between transitive and intransitive structures but rather is due to Differential Goal Marking, DGM –or Differential Indirect Object Marking, DIOM. This is to say, most verbs in section 3 are originally dative-taking unergatives, which can also appear with an accusative-marked object that continues to be a Goal, but differently marked. Therefore, regardless of their accusative or dative marking of the IO, they are always unergative verbs.

It is important to note some differences between traditional DOM and the kind of DIOM we are proposing here. Spanish (and Catalan) DOM (*a*-marked DO when some conditions are met, such as animacy or referentiality) consists of dative-marking actual DOs. These differently marked DOs preserve the structural behaviour of what they are so that, for example, they can passivize, as illustrated by the example in (55). This will be a crucial point of our analysis.

- (55) Vi la mesa / a la chica → La mesa / La chica fue vista
I saw the table / PREP_{DOM} the girl → *The table / the girl was seen*

By contrast, Spanish and Catalan DIOM goes farther. DIOM results in a *true* monotransitivization of verbs, so that the originally dative complements behave now as DOs: among the DO features they acquire, there is passivization, as we have shown throughout section 3. Additionally, in Spanish as well as in some Catalan varieties, a monotransitivized Goal, when appearing as a full DP, will display DOM too (56), just like every other animate DO (57). Thus, it is not only superficially but also theoretically impossible to distinguish a monotransitivized Goal from an IO.

- (56) Robaron al hombre
 Van robar (a) l’home
They robbed [_{Goal-ACC} *PREP_{DOM} the man*]
- (57) Vi a la chica
 Vaig veure (a) la noia
I saw [_{Patient-ACC} *PREP_{DOM} the girl*]

Recall that the triggering factor for Spanish/Catalan DIOM has to do with affectedness. In particular, the possibility of accusative-marking a Goal depends on an affectedness relation whose influence varies across social and geographical varieties.

At this point, we should mention what Bilous (2011: 114-115) observes with reference to classical DOM, in the sense that those parameters which would be relevant for differential case marking will vary across languages: a given parameter can be relevant in one language, whereas in another language the realization of very same parameter can be grammatically unmarked. Likewise, as we have seen, in the case of Differential Indirect Object Marking (DIOM), there are differences across languages and dialects, too. What follows from the data in section 3 is that motivations for DIOM are different across languages and even across dialects –the factors that trigger DIOM vary, as do the factors that trigger DOM. Additionally, we have seen that DIOM is present synchronically for some verbs and there is also a diachronic evolution for some other verbs.

In sum, we argue that the dative/accusative alternation in Spanish and Catalan verbs has to do with variations (from the speaker's view) in the degree of transitivity and, more specifically, in the majority of cases what varies is the value of affectedness. In the alternation, several originally intransitive verbs are used transitively: this is what we called monotransitivization (or, simply, transitivization). It occurs when there is something in the meaning of the verb which allows the speaker to conceive the event as bearing a (more or less) transitive pattern, so that dative case is replaced with accusative case. Indeed, we postulate that this constitutes an instance of Differential Goal Marking (DGM), in line with what Bilous (2011) calls DIOM: we are dealing with Goals which seem to be affected to a certain point, so that they are marked differently, with accusative case.

However, this does not mean that these monotransitivized Goals are patients in the strict meaning –as Bilous (2011: 12) notes, «le terme “patient” est utile pour décrire la transitivité prototypique seulement» [the term *patient* is useful to describe prototypical transitivity only]. They are not part of highly transitive events, or prototypically transitive events. They have only a certain degree of transitivity, normally due to the affectedness factor. Indeed, when the case distinction results in a meaning or interpretational difference, a general pattern exists: transitive encoding relates with a higher degree of affectedness.

Finally, recall that in Spanish DOM is a highly generalized phenomena: those patients which are animate (human patients, or anthropomorphized objects) and definite, as well as indefinite ones with a referential interpretation, are headed by the dative marker *a*. In other Romance languages, like French, [+human] patients do not display any particular marking. Finally, in Catalan we find a puzzling situation: despite the fact that DOM is not prescriptively admitted in standard Catalan, this phenomenon is more and more extended every day becoming increasingly widespread, so that in the present-day language DOM is especially pervasive in those varieties most under the influence of Spanish. This is the case of the Catalan varieties spoken in Barcelona and several areas within the Valencian region. However, as previously noted, dative-marking a DO does not mean merely treating it like an IO, since they are Themes that continue to be pronominalized by accusative clitics, cannot undergo passivization, etc. Simultaneously, DIOM, or monotransitivization of dative-taking verbs, is becoming more widespread in Catalan. In this regard, let us note how this differentiation is occurring across varieties:

- (i) Most Central Catalan varieties follow the French model, that is to say, they preserve the accusative case and refuse DOM, and they even extend the transitive pattern to verbs that were originally dative-taking (*El telefonem* ‘We phone him_{ACC}’, *L’ajuden* ‘They help him/her_{ACC}’, etc.). However, the

Central Catalan variety spoken in Barcelona combines the phenomenon of DIOM with the pervasive use of DOM.

- (ii) Balearic varieties, as well as some of the Valencian varieties, are equidistant and generally preserve the original dative-taking pattern of usage; in addition, especially in Valencian Catalan, DOM is generalized.

4.2. *Accusative-marked Goals*

We argued that accusative-marked arguments which can be found with verbs in section 3 are not standard DOs and are thus not traditional Patients. Indeed, they are not complements of any transitive verbs, but rather the verbs they appear with continue to be intransitive (unergative). One might then ask why these Goals require or allow for accusative marking. To answer this question, it is important to keep in mind Desclés's (1998) distinction between semantic and syntactic transitivity, since the constructions we are dealing with are a mismatch of this two kinds of transitivity.

On the semantic side, the strength of the affectedness relation will make the difference: the degree of the affectedness relation is different depending on the (geographical and sometimes social or individual) dialect. Thus, speakers for which this relation is quite flexible can conceive the events described by the verbs in section 3 as semantically transitive events, with a somehow affected complement of person, although it continues to be a Goal. On the other hand, speakers with a rather stricter relation will not be able to conceive such events as semantically transitive, so the accusative marked structure will crash and they will opt for the dative encoding. For all these Goal complements, whether they are dative or accusative marked, the most appropriate thematic role is usually Beneficiary (or Maleficiary), or Recipient –we have used the generic term *Goal*.

As far as syntactic transitivity is concerned, we are dealing with a curious construct. On the one hand, the complement can be accusative-marked in some varieties, something which could lead us to identify these constructions as instances of syntactic transitivity. On the other hand, however, in subsection 4.5 we will argue that these are not instances of traditional transitive constructions, because their structure is a Double Object Construction (DOC), with an Applicative phrase relating the accusative or dative marked Goal to a nominal head (a kind of cognate Theme) which, after conflation, gives rise to the lexical verb (*robar – hacer robo* ‘rob – commit robbery’, *llamar – hacer llamada* ‘call – make a call’, etc.).

As we have just mentioned, complements of the verbs in section 3 can be seen as more Patient-like (but still being a Goal), or less Patient-like (and, of course, still being a Goal). At this point, it is worth considering the distinction between high and low transitivity set forth by Hopper & Thompson (1980) within the functionalist framework. These authors conceive transitivity as «a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is “carried-over” or “transferred” from an agent to a patient», and, with the aim of isolating the components of the transitivity notion, they distinguish ten parameters related to the effectiveness or intensity of an action (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 251). Among these parameters, each of which must be understood as a scalar value, there is one related to the affectedness of the object. Although with some theoretical differences –which will not be discussed here– we would like to recycle and slightly modify the parameter or scalar value of affectedness and include it in our proposal. For us, high transitivity corresponds to an object that is totally affected (together with an agent high in potency), whereas low transitivity (instead of corresponding to a non-affected object) corresponds to a less affected object, that is, to a non-prototypically affected object. This parameter, or what we call

the affectedness relation, allows us to establish different degrees in the transfer of an activity from an agent to a patient, this is to say, different degrees of transitivity (high vs. low, or prototypical vs. non-prototypical).⁵⁹ And our monotransitivized events are instances of low or non-prototypical transitivity.

Finally, we would like to note that dative/accusative alternations constitute a very appropriate field of study for cognitive linguistics. Indeed, if we consider the prototype theory, we could easily account for differently marked IOs: these IOs are not obviously close to the prototype of their category, which may make it harder to identify them with the prototype and eventually lead speakers to classify these objects as belonging to another category whose prototype bears similarities with them. For example, we can easily see that prototypically DOs follow the verb, whereas IOs come after DOs; therefore, when the DO is elided (or the cognate Theme is conflated) the IO adopts a surface position which usually corresponds to a DO. Indeed, this is Ramos's (2005: 105) approach:

«En aquest entorn sintàctic, més propi del CD, és fàcil que el parlant tendisca a interpretar el CI com un CD, i que el que en un principi era una funció semàntica de Destinatari acabe percebent-se com un Pacient.»⁶⁰

Ramos additionally notes that one formal aspect which could stop this process, the surface difference between IOs (*a*-DPs) and DOs (DPs), is neutralized: in Valencian Catalan, as well as in some other varieties, the preposition introducing human DOs (DOM) is very widespread; and in those Central Catalan varieties where there is no DOM, there is phonetic confluence with DP, since *al pare* (IO) 'PREP the father' and *el pare* (DO) 'the father' are pronounced exactly the same.

4.3. Previous considerations

According to our proposal, agent-accusative verbs can be split into two classes: true transitive verbs on the one hand and, on the other, (mono)transitivized verbs, which result from agent-dative verbs bearing Differential Goal Marking (DGM). As for monotransitivized verbs, those discussed in section 3, we postulate that their structure is different from the standard transitive one, as we will see next.

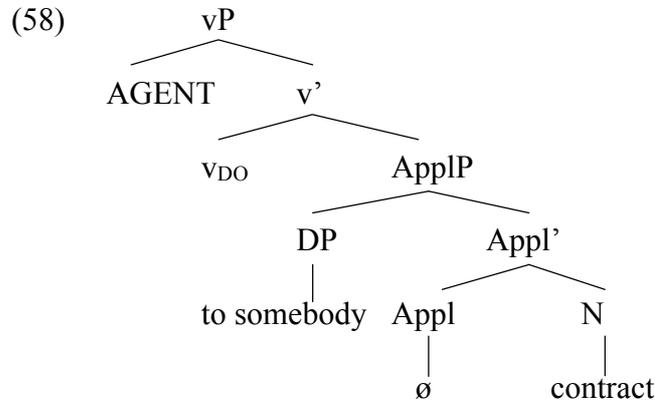
Torrego (2010: 460-463) proposes that the structure of »Spanish transitive accusative predicates with dative morphology« includes a nominal element in the DO position which ends up conflating with the verb. We must specify that what the author considers (animate) objects with dative morphology includes both accusative complements (*El profesor vigila a sus alumnos* 'The teacher watches his students') and true dative complements (*El profesor habla a sus estudiantes* 'The teacher talks to his students') (Torrego 2010: 453).

According to her, «the characterization of agentive transitive accusatives as verbs with a single object cannot be right for Spanish»; rather, «these verbs replicate the underlying behaviour of double object verbs, as in the light verb paraphrases *dar a alguien un saludo o un contrato* 'give someone a greeting or a contract'» (Torrego 2010: 460). Therefore, she proposes that «Spanish agentive predicates are hidden

⁵⁹ Not unexpectedly, there is a correlation between the degrees of transitivity (high vs. low) in Hopper & Thompson's (1980), or prototypical vs. non-prototypical transitivity, and Levin's (1999) distinction between Core Transitive Verbs and Non-Core Transitive Verbs, respectively. All in all, delimitating each of these categories is a controversial issue, because some verbs behave in one language as prototypically transitive but not in another language (Kittilä 2008).

⁶⁰ 'In this syntactic context, more typical of a DO, it is easy for the speaker to tend to interpret the IO as a DO, and what originally was a Recipient semantic role is in the end considered a Patient.'

ditransitives involving an Appl head and that the single animate object that appears with dative case morphology is in fact dative» (Torrego 2010: 461-462). Therefore, in her account, agentive verbs with a dative-marked complement (a DO with DOM) have the following structure (58):⁶¹

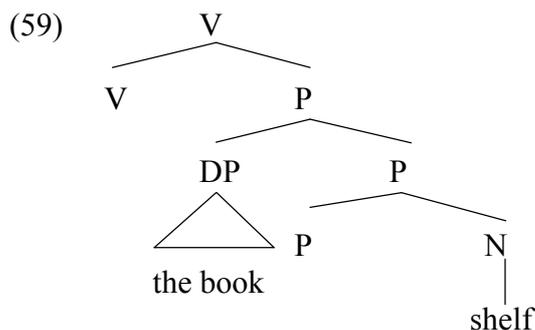


In this structure, the light verb (v_{DO}) selects a Low Applicative, which in turn takes a N (*contrato* ‘contract’) as a complement and an animate DP (*a alguien* ‘to somebody’) as a specifier. Assuming this view on the single object of transitive verbs («transitive accusative verbs» in Torrego’s words), we expect them to always bear dative morphology «simply because it is dative» (Torrego 2010: 462), that is to say, because it is an animate object in the specifier position of an Applicative head, so it is a Goal/Beneficiary which receives the inherent case from the Applicative.

Additionally, the phonological form *contratar* is obtained after the N *contrato* conflates with the verb, following Hale & Keyser’s (2002) proposal on locative transitive verbs as illustrated in (59) for the structure ‘shelve the book’.

⁶¹ Likewise, Bilous (2011: 308-310) suggests that the complements of those verbs which cross-linguistically assign dative case, such as *help*-verbs, are licensed in the same way as structural datives in ditransitive configurations. He follows Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) and Cummins et al.’s (2010) proposal on the existence of a PP whose head P assigns dative case. Unlike normal ditransitive constructions, in *help*-verbs there is an empty P and no specifier of P. The analysis with a phonologically realized P (*a/à*), holds for Spanish and Catalan verbs such which appear with a dative complement (or, more precisely, for those varieties using a dative complement). But what about those Spanish and Catalan varieties which mark these complements with the accusative case? In other words, what about DGM? A single modification is needed to account for them in Bilous’s model. They are verbs selecting a PP whose lexical head P is null: crucially, when P is null, the PP is interpreted as accusative-marked, since Romance languages have no case morphological desinence (Bilous 2011: 310, 313). By contrast, in Ukrainian, where morphological desinences for case exist, a null P compatible with the θ -role assigned to the complement will be selected, thus a null P bearing the feature [dat].

- (i) a. Ivan dopomih Mariji.
Ivan helped [_{DAT} *Marij*]
 b. Jean aida Marie.
Jean helped [_{ACC} *Marie*]



What about the structure of our monotonativized verbs? We propose that the accusative pattern for all originally intransitive verbs seen in section 3 does not correspond to a standard transitive structure. Rather, it is a subcase of intransitive (unergative) structure, since what is present is not a standard DO but rather a differently marked IO (Goal). Thus, the accusative complement of our verbs originates in the specifier position of a Low Applicative Phrase, and this is why it acquires the Goal interpretation.

4.4. Theoretical assumptions

Before presenting the structure for monotonativized agentive dative-taking verbs, several theoretical considerations need to be spelled out. We combine a (neo-)constructionist framework (Distributed Morphology; Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, Harley & Noyer 1999, Pylkkänen 2002) with some basic ideas of derived from Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) analysis of argument structure.

We would argue that the differences between alternating variants of the same verb are not located at all in the lexical component (as the lexicalist or projectionist approaches would suggest) but rather in the syntactic one. We adopt the basic (neo-)constructionist hypothesis that argument structure is determined not by (the lexical entry of) a particular verb, but rather by the kind of construction. We agree with Marantz's (1997: 212) claim that «structures carry meaning», in the sense that constructions have (abstract) meaning regardless of the lexical items we put in them.

The flexibility of the predicates to appear in different syntactic and structural contexts follows from the combination of a very impoverished lexical entry (which does not decide at all the syntax of that lexical element) and the assumption that the meaning derives from the syntactic structure. In the set of constructions a verb can appear in, there is not a different item for each possible structure (*robar*₁, *robar*₂, etc.), as one might gather from a lexicalist approach, rather there is always the very same lexical item, which acquires a different meaning depending on the particular syntactic structure we are dealing with. Natural languages have a series of structural combinations that are materialized or lexically expressed by lexical items like *robar* or *telefonar*. Additionally, these lexical items (verbs) are made up of a lexical root conflated into a verbalizer functional head, *v* (following Marantz 1997). Roots are nothing more than concrete ways to do what is generically conveyed by each of the syntactic configurations allowed in the grammar. In conclusion, we understand that the global meaning of a sentence has two parts: on the one hand, the structural meaning, which is abstract; on the other, the root conceptual meaning, which is concrete.

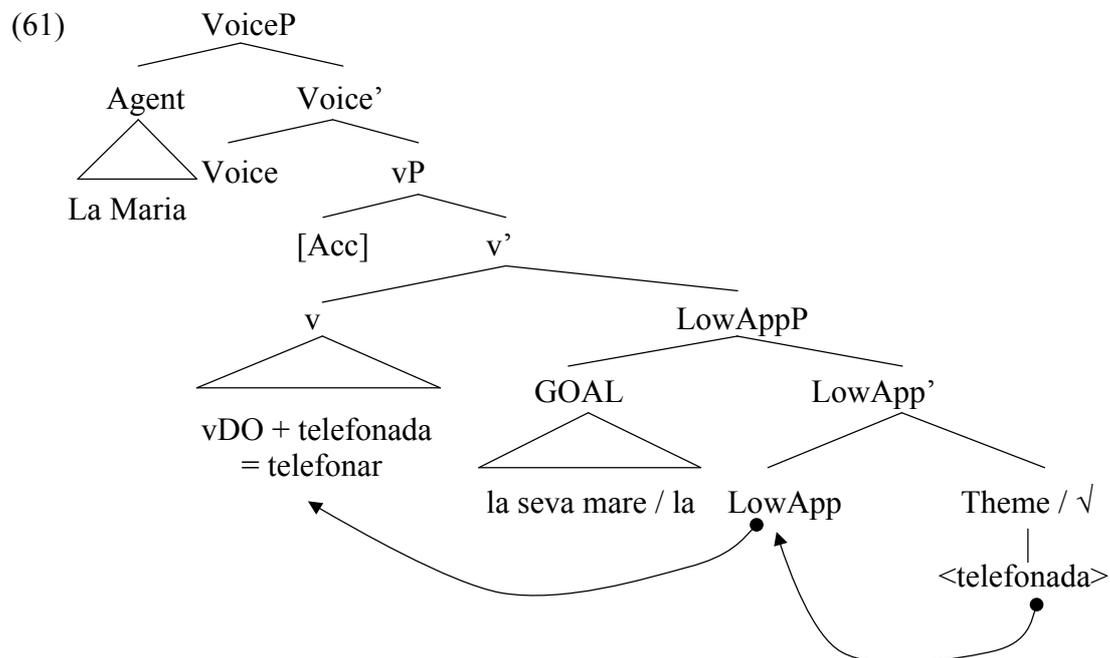
We assume that arguments are licensed (as participants or modifiers of an event) on the basis of the event structures which are possible given the two basic syntactic relations defined by Hale & Keyser (head-complement, head-specifier) and the three

types of heads: event-introducer heads (light *v*, or *v*), argument-introducer heads (Voice, Applicative) and roots –we follow Levin (1999) in assuming that a root can also license an argument as its complement: for example, as we will see next, the roots corresponding to the verbs under study can license an Applicative component.

4.5. The structure

Now let us turn to an analysis of the verbs of interest here as illustrated in (60). As we can see in the corresponding structure in (61), the animate accusative-marked (being a full DP or a clitic) complement (Goal) originates in the specifier of a LowAppl Phrase:⁶²

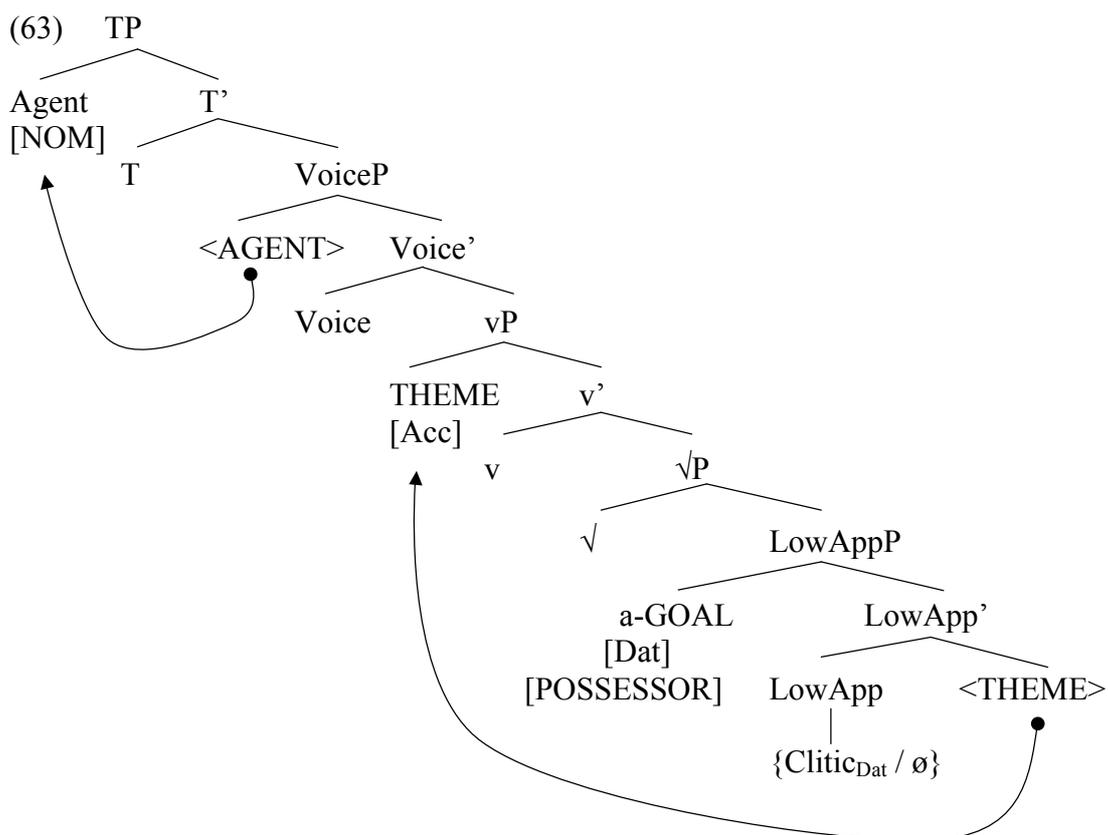
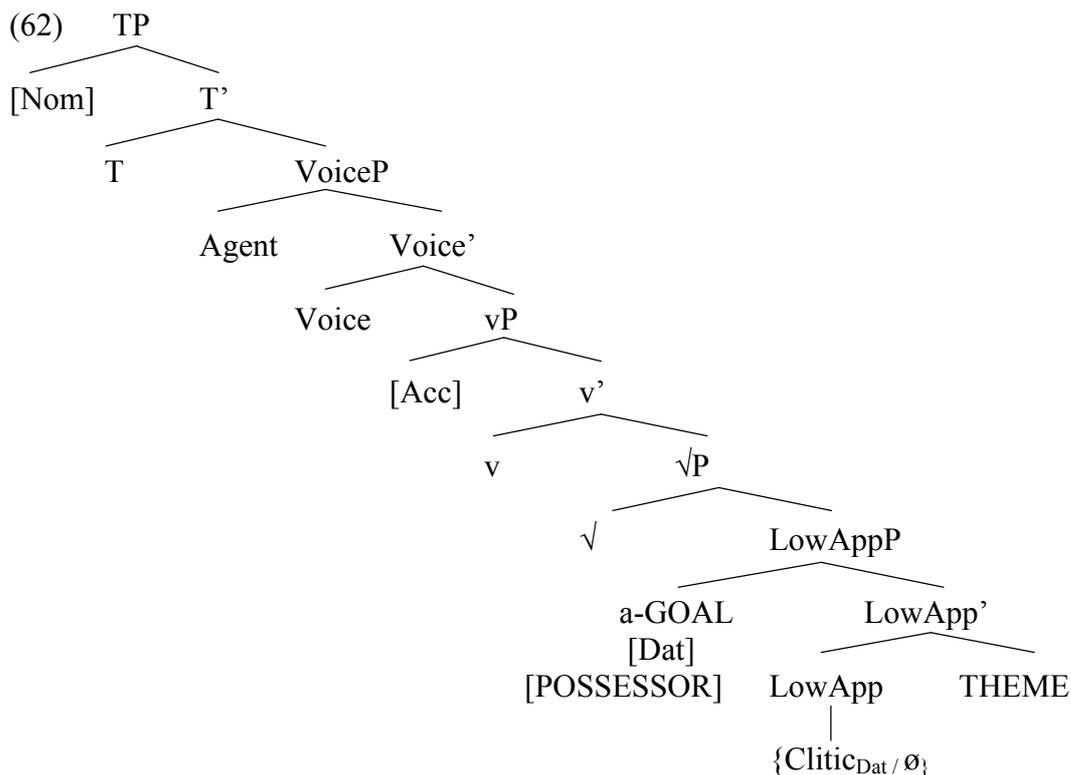
- (60) La Maria telefona la seva mare → La Maria la telefona
 Maria phones her mother → Maria phones her_{ACC}



As far as case assignment is concerned, we extend what Sáez (2009) proposes for the particular case of *ayudar*-verbs: once the nominal head conflates, the accusative case usually assigned to the Theme can now be transferred to the Goal argument. However, this proposal can be refined in order to fit into the general account of Spanish Low Applicative constructions. This is to say, our aim is to provide a unified account of all ditransitive constructions in Spanish, including both the standard ones with an explicit DO and an explicit IO (see section 1) and those hidden behind agentive intransitive constructions (unergative verbs).

To do so, we must take into account the analysis for Spanish and Catalan traditional ditransitive constructions such as *María (le) dio el libro a Juan* ‘María (CL_{DAT}) gave Juan the book’. We provide the structures for the base-generated word order and the surface word order in (62) and (63) respectively (see also section 1).

⁶² Along the same lines, Sáez (2009: 65) proposes that accusative clitics in the very specific case of verbs such as *ayudar* ‘help’ are generated in this position, where they obtain «the goal interpretation in the conceptual-intentional interface».

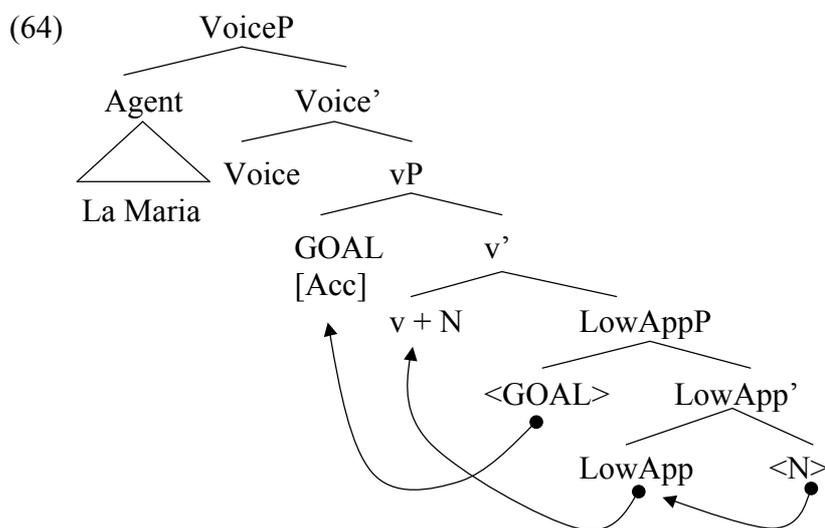


Recall that in Romance languages the LowAppI head assigns inherent dative case (and Recipient/Possessor θ -role) to its Specifier (see Pineda 2013a,b and references therein). By contrast, in languages such as English it assigns inherent accusative case (and Theme θ -role). These case differences explain why in Romance languages it is only the DO that can passivize (*El libro (le) fue dado a Juan* ‘The book was given to

Juan') whereas in standard English the IO can passivize (*Juan was given the book*). As a consequence of case-checking, Romance ditransitive constructions usually reflect DO>>IO ordering, because DO has moved up to check its structural (accusative) case –and, from there, it can go up to passivize. On the other hand, in English-like languages, the item that moves (to receive structural accusative) is IO, so final word order will be IO>>DO, which happens to be the same as base word order.

Having made these observations, we can now go back to LowAppl constructions with intransitive verbs in (61). Recall that, according to Sáez (2009), the accusative case normally assigned to the Theme (hence structural accusative) can ultimately be assigned to the Goal, since the purported DO has conflated with the verb yielding the formation of an unergative verb. However, in order to explain the passivization of the Goals with the verbs under study, we can make a more specific proposal. In Sáez's analysis, if the Goal receives the accusative which is usually assigned to the Theme (i.e. structural accusative), one is led to think that the LowAppl head does not assign inherent case. However, it is assumed in the literature that it does so (Pylkkänen 2002). Therefore, we think that it is worth rethinking the analysis so that it fits into the general behaviour of Applicative heads across languages, in the sense that Applicatives always assign inherent case –whether it is dative case to its specifier, as in Spanish (see (63) and also Cuervo 2003a) or accusative case to its complement, as in English DOC.

Our proposal is that in Spanish and Catalan unergative constructions with an accusative complement of person, the LowAppl head is English-like, so it assigns inherent accusative case. However, it reserves its case for the nominal head, even though it ends up conflated with the verb. As a consequence, there is no more inherent accusative case available for the Goal, so that it must go up in order to check structural accusative case.⁶³ This is illustrated in (64).



As we noted above, differently marked Goals acquire true DO features, such as the passivization option, something which is not available for current Spanish and Catalan Goals. Indeed, from the position where they check their structural accusative case,

⁶³ Regarding Spanish and Catalan unergative constructions with dative complement of person, our proposal is that they do not have any English-like Applicative, but rather display the LowApplicative head usual in Spanish, that which assigns dative case to its specifier (see (11) in subsection 2.3).

these Goals are able to passivize, as expected. In sum, differently marked Goals bear accusative case and are able to passivize (65), just like English current Goals (66).

- (65) Un brètol ha robat el Joan → El Joan ha estat robat per un brètol
A scoundrel has robbed Joan → Joan has been robbed by a scoundrel
- (66) I gave Mary the book → Mary was given the book

Therefore, in a certain way, these Romance constructions are strictly speaking Double Accusative or Double Object Constructions: Spanish and Catalan Goals in structures like (64) behave exactly like English Goals with standard ditransitive verbs.

At this point, we are led to suggest that Spanish and Catalan DOC Goals can be divided into two groups: current dative-marked Goals, whether doubled by a dative clitic (Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003a,b) or not (Pineda 2013a,b), and accusative-marked Goals with monotransitivized verbs. Along the same lines, but referring only to *ayudar*-verbs, Sáez (2009: 68) claims that «the goals of *ayudar*-verbs are the faithful counterpart of English DOC Goals as far as case properties are concerned». We explicitly argue that this group of Goals is not as restricted as suggested by Sáez (2009), but it lies behind what appears to be a dative/accusative alternation.

In contrast, we do not share at all Sáez's (2009: 68) assertion that dative case «can only be assigned to the (thematically) more prominent of two internal arguments». This proposal leads Sáez (2009: 69-70) to argue that the complement of person of verbs such as *servir* 'serve' and *pagar* 'pay' can only bear dative case if a DO is present, as in *El camarero le sirvió el café* 'The waiter served him_{DAT} the coffee' whereas in the absence of such a DO «the goal must obtain accusative case». ⁶⁴ As we have seen, all the verbs in section 3 can also select a dative-marked complement, despite the absence (or conflation) of any DO. Likewise, Torrego's (2010) dative-taking verbs do not have any surface DO either. In order to account for all these unergative verbs with a dative complement (which Sáez seems to omit from his analysis), we must assume that, although the Theme is conflated into the verb, it somehow deprives the verb of assigning structural accusative case to the complement, and dative will be resorted to.

The afore-mentioned double accusative constructions will only be possible in those varieties where a lax affectedness relation exists. For all remaining varieties, this option is simply not available, so that, even if the Theme conflates to the verb, accusative case assignment will be ruled out (the corresponding structure will not be processed), and the only option for the single surface complement will be dative case. This will thus be the situation for those varieties where the events described by the verbs in section 3 cannot be conceived as transitive, and where there is a strict affectedness relation. ⁶⁵

Therefore, against Sáez (2009), when the DO is not present, dative/accusative variation for the single complement exists, as a consequence of the different degrees of strength of the affectedness constraint, coupled with the different ways speakers conceive the events.

⁶⁴ He extends this explanation to account for unergative verbs such as *ayudar* 'help' with accusative complements: «in certain instances where the theme does not structurally manifest itself, as in the conflation cases analyzed here, the goal must receive accusative case» (Sáez 2009: 69).

⁶⁵ Indeed, this is also what happens with Torrego's (2010: 461-462) agentive verbs, where «the single animate object that appears with dative case morphology is in fact dative» and «will *always* be marked with dative morphology, simply because it is dative». Recall that she refers only to lexical DPs.

4.6. Empirical evidence

In the previous sections we argued that the use of accusative complements with verbs which would originally ask for a dative argument responds to something other than a pure standard transitive configuration. We claimed that they are instances of Differential IO Marking, or Differential Goal Marking. Here we wish to mention several pieces of evidence supporting the idea that accusative marked complements continue to be Goals.

One interesting piece of evidence has to do with the existence of constructions like the examples in (22), repeated here as (67):

- (67) a. Els parents de Madrid... Hòstia, encara no **els he trucat** que em caso! (*M*)
*My relatives from Madrid... Hell, I have not **phoned them**_{ACC} [to say] that I'm getting married yet!*
- b. **L'has de trucar** que t'agrada molt [el jersei que t'ha fet]. Ja **li trucaràs**. (*S*, Central Cat)
*You must **phone her**_{ACC} that you like it very much [the sweater she made for you]. I'm sure you'll **phone her**_{DAT}*

As we can see, the accusative encoding for the complement of person is maintained even when the configuration includes an embedded clause, in other words, even when there is a true DO (a *that*-clause) in the sentence. Interestingly, the same holds in Basque, as pointed out by Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina (2009: 14):

- (68) Abisa nazazu zer balio duen sardinak
*Advise me*_{ACC} *how much the sardine costs*

According to the authors,

«[o]sagarria [...] absolutiboaz markatzen bada, orduan nekez esan daiteke, lehen begiratuan behintzat, ondoren datozkien mendeko perpausek ere absolutiboa jasotzen dutela».⁶⁶

As a result, they call into question the idea that the embedded sentence bears absolutive case, that is, the idea that it is actually a DO. However, we claim that a different point of view is possible: we call into question the idea that the complement of person is actually a DO. Therefore, these examples provide strong evidence in support of the idea that we are dealing with differently marked (accusative-marked) Goals or IOs.

A second piece of evidence has to do with the semantics, as we have already suggested above. The crucial idea is that all the complements of person of the verbs in section 3, regardless of their final case marking (dative or accusative), share their thematic role, which instead of Patient is rather Beneficiary/Maleficiary or Recipient, with the result that the realization as a DO does not fit properly. These semantic interpretations are all included in our label *Goal*. In other words, a functional projection (LowAppl) compatible with the θ -role assigned to the complement will be selected. Therefore, the verbal semantics legitimates the verification of the dative case (thus, a Goal) by assigning the proper θ -role: in order to verify dative case, the

⁶⁶ 'if the complement is absolutive-marked, then we can hardly say, at least at first sight, that the embedded sentences coming after receive absolutive case too'.

argument will be placed in the specifier of a LowApplP and, as we saw, in some varieties this configuration will lead to the accusative-assignment for the Goal.

Still more evidence comes from Sáez's (2009) analysis of a particular group of verbs, the *ayudar*-class. Sáez (2009) provides empirical evidence that accusative-marked complements with *ayudar*-verbs are Goals: they are [+animate]. This explains the contrast in (69a) and (69b), related to the so-called *me-lui* restriction. Considering that third-person accusative clitics are [-animate] (unlike dative clitics and direct-object strong pronouns), he argues that the third-person accusative clitic in *María lo ayudó* 'María helped him_{ACC}' inherits the feature [+animate] from the particular configuration displayed by the verb *ayudar*. Specifically, «the feature [+animate] is part of the bundle of features forming the applicative head and [...], as a consequence, the pronominal clitic located in the specifier of the ApplP must inherit such a feature in some way» (Sáez 2009: 65). This is illustrated in (69).

- (69) a. Tu me la hiciste conocer
 You made me know her_{ACC}
 b. *Tu me la hiciste ayudar
 You made me help her_{ACC}

Crucially, this also holds for most of monotonized Goals we have dealt with (both in Spanish and Catalan), as seen in (70).

- (70) a. *Tu me la hiciste pagar
 You made me pay her_{ACC}
 b. *Tu me la hiciste disparar
 You made me shoot her_{ACC}

However, some of the verbs under study yield grammatical constructions, at least for some speakers. This would point to the fact that for the relevant speakers the monotonization process is fully set up and the participant is conceived nearly as a true Patient, so that the corresponding clitic even gets rid of its [+animate] feature. This is illustrated below for Spanish *telefonar* (71) and Catalan *trucar* (72).

- (71) Tu me la hiciste telefonar
 You made me phone her_{ACC}
 (72) Tu me la vas fer trucar
 You made me phone her_{ACC}

Finally, a last piece of evidence comes from cross-linguistic data. Most of the verbs studied in section 3 appear cross-linguistically with a dative complement (see Chung 1978 for Austronesian languages, Arad 1998 for Hebrew, Svenonius 2002 and Jónsson 2010 for Icelandic, and Blume 1998 for a variety of typologically unrelated languages). Bilous (2011: 303-308) analyzes the particular case of *help*-verbs: whereas in French this verb assigns accusative case to its complement, in Germanic and Slavic languages there is a dative complement. We have also seen that in Spanish and Catalan both options are possible. Interestingly, in Old French (as pointed out by Troberg 2008), as well as in Old Spanish and Old Catalan, this verb used to appear with a dative complement. This leads Bilous (and us) to propose that the accusative marking for these kind of verbs is an instance of Differential Indirect Object Marking, so that «ce qui apparaît à la surface comme un OD du verbe “aider” en français est en

fait un OI marqué de façon différentielle» [what appears in surface as a DO of the verb *aider* in French is indeed a differently marked IO]. Other verbs with a similar behaviour are those meaning ‘pay’, ‘obey’ and ‘answer’: depending on the particular language, their complements will display Differential Indirect Object Marking (for example accusative in some Spanish and Catalan varieties, or genitive in Ukrainian), or will keep the original dative encoding. Among the verbs which, cross-linguistically, are subject to DIOM, Bilous lists those meaning ‘phone’, ‘answer’, ‘serve’ and ‘applaud’, among others –their complements bear dative case in Ukrainian, but in other languages they appear with a non-dative complement. Note that all of them have been included in our data.

5. Conclusions

We have argued that ditransitive constructions in (European) Spanish and Catalan surface as Double Object Constructions, and the *a*-Goal is a dative-marked DP. In addition, we have shown that dative clitic doubling has no structural consequences: Spanish and Catalan *a*-Goals can be optionally clitic-doubled (like Greek genitive DP-Goals) and this variation can be accounted for in terms of what portions of shared structure are pronounced (i.e. silence variation). Crucially, in both Catalan and (European) Spanish dative clitic doubling is much closer to a systematic fact present in some dialects and absent in others, and does not seem to be a matter of real choice made by speakers between two allegedly different structures. For standard or current ditransitive constructions, we have proposed a structure with a Low Applicative head through which a possession relation is established between the Goal and the Theme.

In addition, we have argued that the affectedness/possession relation which acts in the realm of [DO + *a* + Goal] constructions is also present in the transitive pattern (agent-accusative constructions) and it is thus behind dative/accusative alternations in Spanish and Catalan. Specifically, it is this affectedness relation (or a version of it) that is ultimately responsible for the dative/accusative alternations with agentive verbs with one single complement of person. In other words, it is responsible for the implementation, or non-implementation, of Differential Indirect Object Marking (DIOM) in unergative verbs. In general lines, accusative encoding corresponds to a conception of the event as more prototypically transitive (with a fairly prototypically affected complement), together with a rather flexible affectedness relation, whereas dative encoding signals that the speaker conceives a lower degree of transitivity, this is to say, a lower affectedness of the complement, together with a more rigid constraint. In this regard, we have proposed to treat the accusative variants (of these originally dative-taking unergatives) as instances of accusative-marked IOs. Therefore, the same structure with a Low Applicative Head has been postulated for these verbs, with the difference that, now, the Theme argument conflates with the verb and the IO ends up bearing accusative case.

In sum, we have tried to provide a unified account of ditransitive constructions and transitivity alternations (dative/accusative alternations) in Spanish and Catalan.

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