Differential Marking in the DP

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1. Introduction

n-DOM:

(1) El ataque del perro a Juan fue sorprendente.
The attack GEN.DEF dog DOM Juan was surprising
'The dog's attack on Juan was surprising.'

(2) a. * La captura del perro a Juan fue sorprendente.
The capture GEN.DEF dog DOM Juan was surprising
b. La captura de Juan por el perro fue sorprendente.
The capture GEN Juan BY the dog was surprising
'The dog's capture of Juan was surprising.'

2. Conditions on v-DOM

Animacy:

(3) a. Juan mencionó a / *Ø Chomsky.
Juan mentioned DOM Chomsky
'Juan mentioned Chomsky.'
b. * Juan mencionó al problema.
Juan metioned DOM.DEF problem
'Juan mentioned the problem.'

Specificity:

(4) a. Juan está buscando a una gestora.
Juan is seeking DOM a manager
'Juan is looking for a (specific or non specific) manager.'
b. Juan está buscando una gestora.
'Juan is looking for a (non-specific) manager.'

3. Conditions on n-DOM

DATA: The grammaticality judgments reported in this section and the next come from a survey of 8 speakers of peninsular Spanish, ages between 25 and 40, linguistically sophisticated but did not know the purpose of the survey. The survey consisted of 45 sentences in Spanish for which they had to provide a judgment of acceptable, unacceptable, not sure. The survey was administered in writing and participants were able to spend as much time as they wanted on the answers. I'm still in the process of analyzing the results and there will be more surveys.

Transitives:

(5) a. La colonización de los isleños por los europeos
the colonization GEN the islanders BY the europeans
'The colonization of the Islanders by the Europeans'
b. * La colonización a los isleños de/por los europeos
the colonization DOM the islanders GEN/BY the europeans

(6) a. La persecución de los isleños por los europeos
the persecution GEN the islanders BY the europeans
'The persecution of the Islanders by the Europeans'
b. La persecución a los isleños de/por los europeos
the persecution DOM the islanders GEN/BY the europeans

No animacy constraint in n-DOM:

(7) a. El ataque a la ciudad
the attack DOM the city
b. El golpe a la pared
the hit DOM the wall
c. El miedo a las tormentas
the fear DOM the storms

No specificity effect in n-DOM:

(8) 'María presenció / presenciaría sin remordimiento…
'Maria witnessed / would witness without remorse
…la persecución de/a un contable que fue/fuera honrado.'
…the persecution GEN/DOM an accountant that was.INDIC/is.SUBJ honest
…the persecution of an accountant that is honest.'

No n-DOM in intransitive predicates:

Intransitives:

(9) a. La llegada tardía de Juan
the arrival late GEN Juan
'Juan's late arrival'
b. * La llegada tardía a Juan
the arrival late DOM Juan

(10) a. El trabajo eficiente de María
the work efficient GEN Maria
'Maria's efficient work'
b. * El trabajo eficiente a María
the work efficient DOM Maria

No n-DOM in ditransitive predicates:

Ditransitives:

(11) a. La entrega de un paquete a María por Juan
the delivery GEN a package TO Maria BY Juan
'The delivery of a package to Maria by Juan'

b. ? La entrega de Juan de un paquete a María
the delivery GEN Juan GEN a package TO Maria

c. * La entrega a un paquete a María
the delivery DOM a package TO Maria

To summarize this section, these are the puzzling empirical facts that I propose to account for: (i) the contrast between *persecución* and *colonización,* (ii) the absence of n-DOM with unaccusatives, (iii) the absence of n-DOM among ditransitives.

4. Event structure and n-DOM

I propose that all three puzzles can be accounted for by appealing to the sub-event structure of the nominal. Let's assume that we can divide events into two types (see Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 2006 for an overview, and see also Ramchand 2008 among others):

Type 1: Type1 event includes a state S1 that acts as a source or initiation point. Call S1 the initial state. S1 is subject to a process that acts on the IA and the output of the process is a resultant state S2 in which some property of the IA has been altered. The alteration can involve:

(i) creation: The IA denotes something that exists in S2 but did not in S1: build, breed, grow, develop
(ii) modification or destruction: The IA in S2 has or lacks a property that it had or lacked in S1: kill, mutilate, dissolve, colonize, break, open.
(iii) displacement: The IA in S2 is in a location different from S1: transport, bury, lift, lower

Type 2: Type2 event includes a S1 that acts as a source or initiation point. S1 is subject to a process that acts on the IA but the output of the process does not entail any transformation on the IA. Examples: mention, push, attack, pursue, help. Compare mutilate (type1) with torture (type2), capture (type1) with hunt (type2), destroy (type 1) with attack (type2).

(12) n-DOM:
(i) [cion/on] nominals: persecución 'persecution', empujón 'push', achuchón 'cuddle', inspección 'inspection, circunnavegación 'circumnavigation'
(ii) [a] nominals: estafa 'fraud', caza 'hunt', crítica 'criticism'
(iii) [ada], [azo] nominals: puñalada 'stab', bastonazo 'blow'
(iv) [ura] nominals: tortura 'torture', mordedura 'bite'
(v) [e] nominals: ataque 'attack', combate 'combat', golpe 'blow'
(vi) [o] nominals: beso 'kiss', abrazo 'hug', acoso ' harassment', consejo 'advice', miedo 'fear'
(vii)[nza] nominals: advertencia 'warning'
(viii)[aje]: Ø
(ix) [miento] nominals: reconocimiento 'recognition', acompañamiento 'accompaniment', acatamiento 'obedience'
(x) [da] nominals: despedida 'farewell', cogida 'catching (as in a bull-fight)'

(13) no n-DOM:
(i) [cion] nominals: colonización 'colonization' (cristianización 'cristianization', catalanización 'catalanization'), mutilación 'mutilation' , disolución 'dissolution'
(ii) [a] nominals: entrega 'delivery', mejora 'improvement'
(iii) [ada], [azo] nominals: Ø

(iv) [ura] nominals: captura ‘capture’, rotura ‘break’
(v) [e] nominals: trueque ‘exchange’, ligue ‘hook-up’, transporte ‘transport’,
(vi) [o] nominals: despido ‘firing’, entierro ‘burial’, retraso ‘delay’, traslado ‘transfer’, susto ‘scare’
(vii)[nza] nominals: crianza ‘breeding, growing’, transferencia ‘transfer’
(viii)[aje] nominals: fichaje ‘hiring’, maquillaje ‘make-up’
(ix)[miento] nominals: Ø
(x) [da/o] nominals: bordado ‘embroidering’, barnizado ‘barnishing’

(14) The nouns that accept n-DOM on their IA are nouns that denote a Type2 event structure, that is, an event structure that does not entail a change of state for the IA.

Compare:	n-DOM		no n-DOM
	persecución	/	*colonización*
	‘persecution’		‘colonization’
	ataque	/	*destrucción*
	‘attack’		‘destruction’
	tortura	/	*mutilación*
	‘torture’		‘mutilation’
	caza	/	*captura*
	‘chase’		‘capture’
	golpe	/	*rotura*
	‘blow’		‘break’
	puñalada	/	*apuñalamiento*
	‘stabbing’		‘stabbing’

Ditransitives and unaccusatives: internal argument always involves a change of state

5. Syntactic analysis (a sketch, likely to be revised)

Type2 event

S → P

(15) $[_n$ EA *n* $[_p$ IA *p* [√]]]
√=root (i.e.: √ataq-, √tortur-, √persecu- …)
‘Process’ is encoded in *p* and √.

Type1 event

S1 → P → S2

(16) $[_n$ EA *n* $[_p$ *p* $[_s$ IA *s* [√]]]]
s=state
√=root (i.e.: √constr-, √mutil-, √romp- …)

(17) $[_n$ EA n[p[s[√]]] $[_p$ IA t(p) $[_s$ t(s) t(√)]]]

(18) /a/ ←→ K / $n_{[ev]}$ [_____ H]

(19) /de/ ←→ K / [$_n$ ____]

Conclusions

n-DOM is distinct and independent from v-DOM.
n-DOM in event nominals is possible if the IA suffers no change of state. Stated more generally; n-DOM is possible when the sub-event structure of the event denoted by the head noun is simple and includes a simple process.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. n-DOM is not accusative case

v-DOM has often been equated with accusative case (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006, López 2012), assigned by little *v* or a functional category within the v-VP/√P complex.

(20) *Mainstream analysis of nominalizations*
[n [v [√]]] See Alexiadou 2001, Borer 2012, Embick 2010

Is n-DOM accusative Case (i.e.: n-DOM=v-DOM)?

Answer: No

(i) n-DOM without verbal morphology

(21) El bastonazo del policía al manifestante *bastonar
'The policeman's hitting the demonstrator (with a stick)'

(22) La dentellada del perro al niño *dentellar
'The dog's biting the child'

(23) El miedo de Juan a las arañas *medear
'Juan's fear of spiders'

(ii) n-DOM alternates with genitive

(24) a. Koch cazó unos conejos.
'Koch caught some rabbits.'
b. Marine cazó **a** un hombre que se escapaba.
'Marine caught a man who was running away.'

(25) a. La caza **a**l hombre escapado
'The hunting of the escaped man'
b. La caza **de** los conejos
the hunting GEN the rabbits
'The hunting of the rabbits'
c. * La caza los conejos
'The hunting of the rabbits'

(iii) Spanish nominalizations have no adverbs.

(26) a. La injusta acusación al sargento
'The unjust accusation to the sergeant'
b. * La injustamente acusación al sargento

(27) El acusar al soldado injustamente
'Unjustly blaming the soldier'

This leads to the conclusion that Spanish nominalizations do not include a fully-fledged vP. Instead, they are derived by a parallel derivation (López 2015)

(28) a. acusación : [[acus]$_{\sqrt}$ [[a]$_{v}$ cion]$_{n}$ López 2015
b. acusación : [[[acus]$_{\sqrt}$ a]$_{v}$ cion]$_{n}$ Mainstream analysis

In (a), the verbal morpheme is embedded within the syntactic head *n* and not able to project onto a phrase. Presumably, within this structure *v* should not be able to license n-DOM either.

(iv) n-DOM is not a dependent case (on this notion, Marantz 1991, Baker 2015).

(29)* Fue atacada a la ciudad por Napoleón.
Was attached DOM the city by Napoleon

(30) a. El ataque a la ciudad por Napoleón
'Napoleon's attack on the city'
b. El ataque a la ciudad
'The attack on the city'

If there is a dependent case in DPs, that must be *por* (see Alexiadou's 2001 on nominalizations being ergative).

(31) a. * El ataque por Napoleón
b. * La destrucción por Napoleón

Appendix 2. n-DOM is not inherent case

Torrego (1998) argues that some instances of v-DOM in Spanish involve inherent case. These are instances in which v-DOM seems to be obligatory (i.e.: *acusar* 'accuse', *castigar* 'punish', *ofender* 'offend', *empujar* 'push', *golpear* 'hit'. Torrego's (1998) additional claim is that these instances of inherent accusative are the ones that survive in nominalizations (i.e.: inherent case behaves like a preposition). Indeed, it is the case that when we have verbs with obligatory v-DOM their corresponding nominal also exhibits n-DOM:

(32) La acusación al sargento fue instruida por el fiscal de la audiencia provincial.
'The accusation against the sergeant was filed by the DA.'

But: there are numerous examples of n-DOM in which the verbal equivalent does not require v-DOM:

(33) a. El ataque a los soldados enemigos
b. Napoleón atacó (a) unos soldados enemigos

And examples of n-DOM without a verbal counterpart:

(34) El bastonazo de Cristina a Iñaki
'Cristina's hitting Iñaki'

In any case, it seems that dative case, the classic example of inherent case, is not available in nominals.

(35) a. María le entregó el paquete a Susana.
Juan CL delivered the package DAT Susana
b. María entregó el paquete a Susana.
Juan delivered the package to Susana
c. La entrega del paquete a Susana
'The delivery of the package to Susana'

Demonte 1995, Bleam 1999

Applicative:

(36) a. Juan le construyó una casa a su padre.
Juan CL built a house DAT his father
'Juan built his father a house.'

b. Juan construyó una casa para su padre

c. La construcción de la casa para su padre
the construction GEN the house for his father

d. * La construcción de la casa a su padre
the construction GEN the house DAT his father

Psych verbs:

(37) a. A María le preocupa la salud de su madre.
DAT Maria CL worry the health of her mother
'Mary is worried about her mother's health.'

b. * La preocupación a María

c. La preocupación de María
'Mary's concern'