

Prepositional verbs in Catalan: From event to argument structure

Víctor Acedo-Matellán, University of Oxford
Isabel Oltra-Massuet, Universitat Rovira i Virgili

0. Background: encoding Individual- and Stage-Level predicates

- Spinoff of a larger investigation (Acedo-Matellán 2019): how do languages encode the I(ndividual-)L(evel) and S(tage-)L(evel) distinction?
- Reminder (based on the seminal proposal by Carlson (1980 [1977]))
 - IL predicates denote properties of individuals.
 - SL predicates denote properties of stages = “a spatiotemporal part of an individual” (Kratzer 1995: 126)
- (1) a. Peter *knows mathematics*: a property of the individual Peter
b. Peter *sat on the sofa*: a property of Peter at a particular slice of space-time
- Observation: frequently languages avoid encoding IL predicates as verbs (see also the typologists, with a different terminology—e.g., Wetzer 1996, Stassen 1997)
- More specifically: IL predicates are never expressed as unergative verbs, i.e., they need an internal argument
- Intransitive Prepositional Verbs (IPVs), cf. *differ from*, *think of*, are a good testbed, since they are intransitive, so they can be either unergative or unaccusative
- Prediction
 - IPVs testing out as IL should be unaccusative, their PP complement an underlying predicate
 - IPVs testing out as SL should not be thus constrained
- Seems to be true, at least according to our corpus of Catalan IPVs
- Roadmap
 1. Intransitive Prepositional Verbs
 2. Individual- / Stage-Level Intransitive Prepositional Verbs
 3. Unergative and unaccusative Intransitive Prepositional Verbs
 4. The nature of the PPC
 5. Summary of results
 6. Analysis
 7. Conclusions

1. Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

- IPVs select a PP with argumental properties (the PP complement, PPC)

(2) L'Assumpta pensava en la seva germana.
the=Assumpta think.PST.IPFV.3SG in the her sister
'Assumpta was thinking of her sister.'

(3) L'estudi consta de set capítols.
the=study consist.3SG of seven chapters
'The study consists of seven chapters.'

- PPCs, even of the droppable kind, are not VP adjuncts, e.g., cannot be stranded under *fer-ho* 'do-so' replacement of the VP

(4) a. *L'Assumpta ho feia en la seva germana. [Cf. (2)]
the=Assumpta it do.PST.IPFV.3SG in the her sister
b. L'Assumpta ho feia a la cuina. [e.g., *llegia poesia*]
the=Assumpta it do.PST.IPFV.3SG in the kitchen read.PST.IPFV.3SG poetry
'Assumpta did it in the kitchen (read poetry).'

- Its absence may induce severe ungrammaticality

(5) *L'estudi consta.
the=study consist.3SG

- IPVs not super extensively studied
 - Catalan: Rosselló (2008), Ginebra & Montserrat (2021), GIEC
 - Italian: Kuhn & Mollica (2013)
 - Spanish: Demonte (1991), Cano (1999), Gallego (2010)
 - Portuguese: Gonçalves & Raposo (2013)
 - English: Marantz (1984), Neeleman (1997), Merchant (2019)
- Demonte (1991) identifies two classes of IPVs in Spanish, but she does not study the aspectual properties in detail, nor is aspect the point of departure. Cf. also Gallego (2010) for a revamping of Demonte (1991)
- In fact, aspectual, IL/SL dimension of IPVs in Romance: not dealt with in any detail
- Our corpus: see Appendix

2. The Individual-Level/Stage-Level distinction in IPVs

- Four established IL/SL diagnostic tests
 - embeddability under perception verbs
 - compatibility with a depictive secondary predicate
 - compatibility with a locative modifier
 - embeddability under a temporal clause with a universal quantifier interpretation.

- Milsark (1974:101): predicates that can be embedded under perception verbs like *see* are SL predicates, whereas those that cannot are IL predicates

- (6) a. *He vist la teva mare patir de miopia.
have.1SG see.PTCP the your.F mother suffer.INF from myopia
b. He vist la Maria parlar de moltes coses.
have.1SG see.PTCP the Maria talk.INF of many.F.PL things
'I have seen Maria talk about many things.'

- Patterning with *patir de* 'suffer from': *diferir de* 'differ from', *obeir a* 'be due to', *prevaler sobre/damunt* 'prevail over', *tendir a* 'tend to', etc.
- Patterning with *parlar de* 'talk about': *abusar de* 'abuse', *discrepar de*, 'disagree with', *disposar de* 'use', *prorrompre en* 'break out in', etc.

- Silvagni (2017: 73): only SL predicates admit depictive secondary predication

- (7) a. *L'Artur pateix amoïnat de migranya.
the=Artur(M.SG) suffer.3SG worried.M.SG from migraine
b. La noia parlava feliç de moltes coses.
the.F.SG girl.F.SG talk.PST.IPFV.3SG happy.F.SG of many things
'The girl was happy talking about many things.'

- Patterning with *patir de* 'suffer from': *abundant de/en* 'abound in', *concordar amb* 'match with', *prevaler sobre* 'prevail over', *raure en* 'lie in', etc.
- Patterning with *parlar de* 'talk about': *gaudir de* 'enjoy', *jugar a* 'play', *procurar per* 'act in favour of', *renegar de* 'renounce', etc.

- Kratzer (1995): only SL predicates are compatible with locative modification

- Preliminary: important here is to use the right locative modifier

- Maienborn (2001: 191): event-related vs frame-setting locatives (cf. Hernanz 1993, Rigau 2008 for Catalan)

- (8) a. Eva signed the contract [in Argentina.]_{EVENT-RELATED}
b. [In Argentina,]_{FRAME-SETTING} Eva is still very popular.

- Frame-setting locatives set "a frame for the proposition expressed by the rest of the sentence" (Maienborn 2001: 192) and have a conditional or temporal interpretation

- Only frame-setting locatives are compatible with both IL and SL predicates!

- (9) In Argentina, Bill {sang opera/weighed 65 kilos}.
= "When in Argentina, Bill {sang opera/weighed 65 kilos}."

- Event-related locatives are only compatible with SL predicates

- Catalan distinguishes the two kinds via *hi*-pronominalization: only event-related locatives can be replaced via *hi* (Rigau 2008, Todolí 2008)

- (10) a. A Barcelona *hi*_i sopem, al terrat_i.
 at Barcelona LOC dine.1PL at.the roof
 ‘In Barcelona we have dinner there, on the roof.’
 b. *A Barcelona_i *hi*_i sopem al terrat.
 at Barcelona LOC dine.1PL at.the roof

- Only SL predicates can coappear with *hi* when the pronoun is understood as referring to a locative modifier

- (11) a. La Cecília (*hi*) cantava òpera. [*hi* = ‘in Argentina’, ‘in the shower’, etc.]
 the Cecília LOC sing.PST.IPFV.3SG opera
 ‘Cecília sang opera there.’
 b. La Cecília (**hi*) pesava 60 quilos.
 the Cecília LOC weigh.PST.IPFV.3SG 60 kilo
 ‘Cecília weighed 60 kilo (*there).’

- Applying the test to IPVs

- (12) a. *En Joan *hi* pateix del cor, a l'hospital
 the Joan LOC suffer.3SG from.the heart at the=hospital
 b. A l'oficina *hi* parlo de la meva passió per la llengua.
 at the=office LOC talk.1SG of the my.F.SG passion for the language
 ‘At the office I talk about my passion for language.’

- Patterning with *patir de* ‘suffer from’: *consistir en* ‘consist in’, *constar de* ‘consist of’, *harmonitzar amb* ‘harmonize with’, *versar sobre* ‘be about’, etc.
- Patterning with *parlar de* ‘talk about’: *contestar a* ‘answer’, *conviuire amb* ‘live together with’, *optar per* ‘opt for’, *resistir a* ‘resist’, etc.

- Kratzer (1995: 129) only SL predicates are felicitous in *when*-clauses with a universal interpretation

- (13) a. When Mary speaks French, she *speaks* it well.
 b. *When Mary knows French, she *knows* it well.

- Kratzer (1995): only SL predicates possess a Davidsonian event argument bindable by the universal quantifier in *when* or *each time*

- The application of this test to our Catalan IPVs yields very sharp results

- (14) a. *Cada vegada que en Lluís pateix del cor ...
 every time that the Lluís suffers.3SG from.the heart
 b. Cada vegada que parla de la Núria, a en Marc li brillen els ulls.
 every time that talk.3SG of the Núria to the Marc DAT sparkle the eyes
 ‘Every time that Marc talks about Núria, his eyes sparkle.’

- Patterning with *patir de* ‘suffer from’: *creure en* ‘have the existence of someone/something as true’, *dependre de* ‘depend on’, *donar a* ‘be oriented to’, *equivaler a* ‘be equivalent to’, etc.
- Patterning with *parlar de* ‘talk about’: *advocar per* ‘advocate for’, *discutir de* ‘have an argument about’, *fardar de* ‘boast about’, *pensar en* ‘think of, etc.
- Interim summary: according to the tests, the next IPVs test out as IL

abundar en ‘abound in’
concordar amb ‘match with’
consistir en ‘consist in’
constar de ‘consist of’
correspondre a/amb ‘correspond to’
creure en ‘have the existence of X as true’
dependre de ‘depend on’
diferir de ‘differ from’
disposar de ‘have at one’s disposal’
donar a ‘be oriented to’
entendre-hi de/en ‘know about’
equivaler a ‘be equivalent to’
gaudir de ‘have’

harmonitzar amb ‘harmonize with’
obeir a ‘be due to’
patir de ‘suffer from’
prevaler sobre/damunt ‘prevail over’
raure en ‘lie in’
recolzar en/damunt/sobre ‘depend on’
respondre a ‘be due to’
resultar de ‘resultar from’
servir per a ‘be valid for’
tendir a ‘tend to’
tractar de/sobre ‘be about’
versar sobre ‘be about’

3. Unergative and unaccusative Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

- Tests
 - Licensing an arbitrary *pro* in the 3rd person plural
 - Licensing of the “V_{3SG} *que* V_{3SG}” construction
- Borer (2005:118–119) (building on Pesetsky 1995:39ff, ultimately Belletti & Rizzi 1988; see also Bartra 2008 and Rosselló 2008 for Catalan): in Null Subject Languages, episodic sentences admit a null subject with arbitrary interpretation only if it corresponds to an external argument

- (15) a. Calleu, que aquí dormen. [Rosselló (2008:1891)]
 shut.up.IMP.2PL that here sleep.3PL
 ‘Be quiet, there are people sleeping here.’ [Can be only one person sleeping]
- b. #Calleu, que ara entren.
 shut.up.IMP.2PL that now enter.3PL
 ≠ ‘Be quiet, there are people entering now.’ [Cannot be only one person entering]

- Similarly, for our IPVs

- (16) a. Han parlat de polítiques socials. [Can be one person talking]
 have.3PL talked.PTCP of policies social
 ‘Somebody has talked about social policies.’
- b. *Pateixen de miopia. [Cannot be only one person suffering]
 suffer.3PL from myopia

- Patterning with *parlar de* ‘talk about’: *aspirar a* ‘aspire to’, *dubtar de* ‘doubt’, *irrompre a* ‘burst into’, *somiar amb* ‘dream with’, etc.
- Patterning with *patir de* ‘suffer from’: *constar de* ‘consist of’, *conviure amb* ‘live together with’, *correspondre a/amb* ‘correspond to’, *dependre de* ‘depend on’, etc.
- Rosselló (2008): unergative, but not unaccusative verbs in Catalan can be used in a reduplicative construction of the format “V_{3SG} que V_{3SG}”, with the interpretation of an unceasing eventuality

- (17) a. La Marta, sempre *plora* *que plora*. [Rosselló (2008:1920–1921)]
 the Marta always cry.3SG that cry.3SG
 ‘Marta, she is always crying.’
 b. *El mal temps *arriba* *que arriba*.
 the bad weather arrive.3SG that arrive.3SG

- Applied to our IPVs

- (18) a. La Laia *parla* *que parla* (*de la feina*).
 the Laia talk.3SG that talk.3SG of the work
 ‘Laia, she is always talking (about work).’
 b. *L’oncle *pateix* *que pateix* (*de migranya*)
 the=uncle suffer.3SG that suffer.3SG from migraine

- Patterning with *parlar de* ‘talk about’: *abusar de* ‘abuse’, *confiar en* ‘trust’, *dubtar de* ‘doubt’, *parlar de* ‘talk about’, etc.
- Patterning with *patir de* ‘suffer from’: *comptar amb* ‘count on’, *consistir en* ‘consist in’, *procurar per* ‘act in favour of’, *versar sobre* ‘be about’, etc.
- Interim summary
 - All IPVs patterning as IL (Section 2) pattern as unaccusative according to these tests
 - The IPVs patterning as SL form a heterogeneous set with respect to unergativity/unaccusativity

4. The nature of the Prepositional Phrase Complement

- To further probe the structure of the IPV, we inquire into the nature of the PPC
 - Can the PPC always pronominalize?
 - Can the PPC be dropped in generic sentences (Demonte 1991)
- PPC ordinarily pronominalizes as either *en*, if headed by *de*, or as *hi*, if headed by any other preposition

- (19) Depenien *del* *blat* *ucraïnès*. → *En* depenien.
 depend.IPFV.3PL of.the wheat Ukrainian *en* depend.IPFV.3PL

- (20) Compta *amb* *nosaltres*. → Compta-*hi*.
 count.IMP.2SG with us count.IMP.2SG-*hi*
 ‘Count on us.’

- Several IPVs test out as both SL and as IL (often with a non-animate subject)

(24)	<i>creure en</i>	‘put one’s faith in’ (SL)	/	‘have the existence of X as true’ (IL)
	<i>concordar amb</i>	‘agree with’ (SL)	/	‘match with’ (IL)
	<i>gaudir de</i>	‘enjoy’ (SL)	/	‘have’ (IL)
	<i>disposar de</i>	‘use’ (SL)	/	‘have at one’s disposal’ (IL)
	<i>patir amb/de</i>	‘worry about (<i>per</i>)’ (SL)	/	‘suffer from (<i>de</i>)’ (IL)
	<i>recolzar sobre</i>	‘lean against’ (SL)	/	‘depend on’ (IL)
	<i>respondre a</i>	‘reply to’ (SL)	/	‘be due to’ (IL)
	<i>tractar de</i>	‘deal with’ (SL)	/	‘be about’ (IL)

- *Patir* ‘worry’ / ‘suffer’ shows a change in preposition according to IL/SL reading

(25)	a.	Veig	l’Ona	<i>patir</i>	<i>per</i>	la	seva	cosina.	[SL]
		see.1SG	the=Ona	suffer.INF	for	the	her	cousin	
		‘I see Ona worry about her cousin’							
	b.	*Veig	l’Ona	<i>patir</i>	<i>de</i>		miopia.	[IL]	
		see.1SG	the=Ona	suffer.INF	from		myopia		

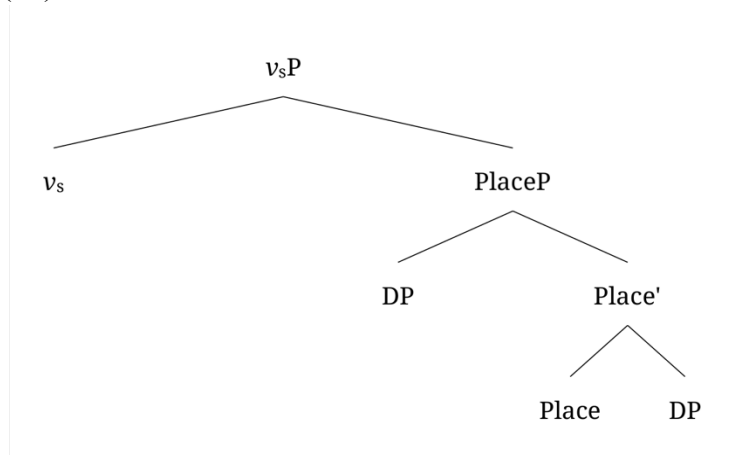
6. Analysis

- Syntactic approach to argument structure (Hale & Keyser’s 1993, 1998, 2002; Mateu 2002; Acedo-Matellán 2016)
- Roots are independent units not determining syntax (Marantz 1997, Borer 2005, Acquaviva 2009), allowing an explanation for cases of elasticity like *patir per* ‘worry about’ / *patir de* ‘suffer from’
- Functional heads articulating argument structure configurations
 - eventuality head v (cf. Ramchand 2008 for two basic eventuality heads)
 - v_e for events
 - v_s for states
 - Voice (Kratzer 1996) introduces the external argument
 - Place, an adpositional head articulating a property with respect to an entity
 - Path, merged on top of Place, introduces a transition to a final state/location

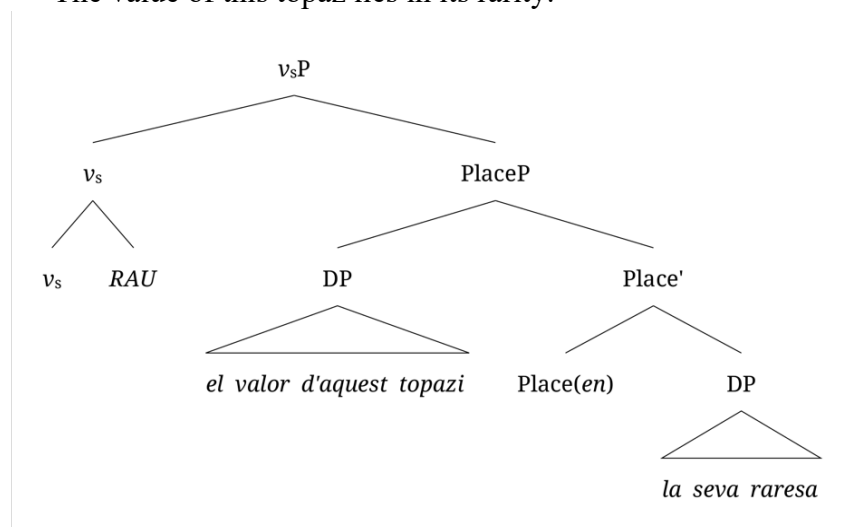
6.1. Individual-Level Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

- Basic configuration

(26)



- (27) El valor d'aquest topazi rau en la seva raresa.
the value of=this topaz lie.3SG in the its rarity
'The value of this topaz lies in its rarity.'



- Equivalence between the value of the topaz and its rarity (via Place)
 - v_s derives IL status, as per the conflation of IL predicates and states (Kratzer 1995, Silvagni 2017)
 - No Voice head: no external argument, unaccusative verbs
 - The PPC is really a predicate, accounting for its non-droppability
- IL *constar de* 'consist of', *abundat en* 'abound in' cannot pronominalize their PPC, why?
Hypothesis: this is related to their ability to license two constructions

(28) *Locative-subject vs theme-subject constar* 'consist, be there'

- a. La llista consta de cognoms valencians.
the list consist.3SG of last.names Valencian
'The list consists of Valencian last names.'

- b. A la llista hi *consten* (els) cognoms valencians.
 at the list LOC be.stated.3SG the last.names Valencian
 ‘On the list there are (the) Valencian last names.’
 b’. Els cognoms valencians *consten* a la llista.
 the last.names Valencian be.stated.3PL at the list
 ‘The Valencian last names are on the list.’

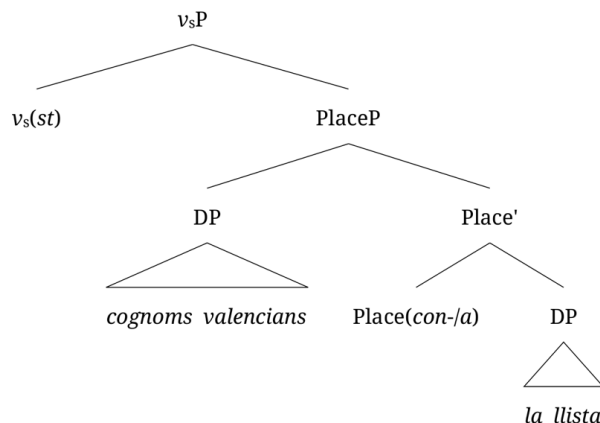
(29) *Locative-subject vs theme-subject* abundar ‘be abundant, abound’

- a. Catalunya *abunda* {en/d’} esglésies romàniques.
 Catalonia abound.3SG {in/of} = churches Romanesque
 ‘Catalonia abounds in Romanesque churches.’
 b. A Catalunya hi *abunden* (les) esglésies romàniques.
 at Catalonia LOC abound.3PL the churches Romanesque
 ‘In Catalonia there abound Romanesque churches.’
 b’. Les esglésies romàniques *abunden* a Catalunya.
 the churches Romanesque abound.3PL at Catalonia
 ‘Romanesque churches are abundant in Catalonia.’

- We following Gallego’s (2010) (finally reject account of Spanish cognates), based on Freeze’s (1992) analysis of existential sentences as derived from theme-subject, locative sentences

- Theme-subject alternant of *constar*

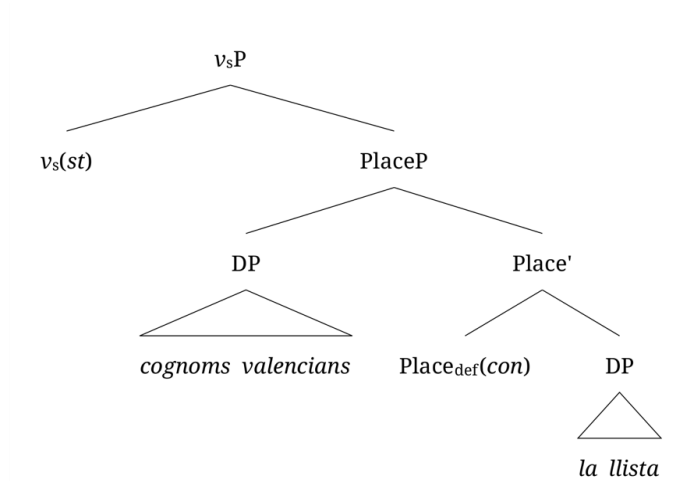
- (30) A la llista hi *consten* cognoms valencians
 at the list LOC be.stated.3PL last.names Valencian
 ‘On the list there are Valencian last names.’



- *cognoms valencians* enters agreement relation with T (subject-verb agreement)
- No root attached to the eventuality head: no conceptual “flavouring”
- Place incorporates into v_s , attaching as a prefix
 - in situ copy pronounced as a locative preposition (*a*)
 - dislocated copy realized as the prefix *con-* (*con-star*; cf. Gallego 2010)

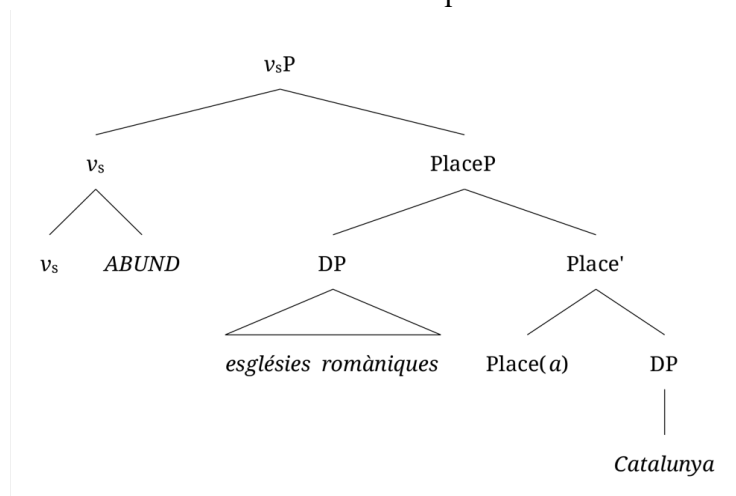
- IPV, locative-subject alternant of *constar*

(31) La llista *consta* *de* cognoms valencians.
the list consist.3SG of last.names Valencian
'The list consists of Valencian last names.'



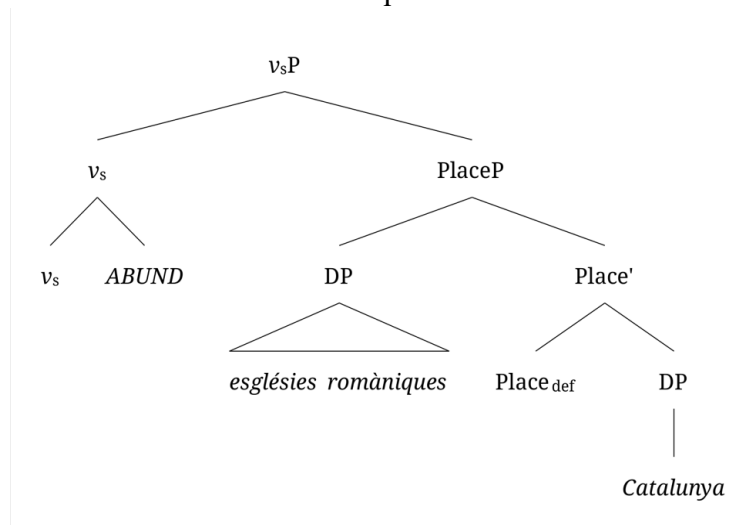
- Partly following Gallego's (2010) first analysis for Spanish cognate
- Defective Place, not corresponding to a preposition, and licensing its specifier and not assigning case to its complement (Burzio's generalization at the level of the PP)
- *Cognoms valencians* is a quirky subject, case-licensed by *de*; since it is not a PP, it cannot pronominalize (via *hi* or *en*)
- *La llista* enters into a case agreement with T
- Same analysis for the *abundat* alternants, plus a root merged with the eventuality head
- Theme-subject alternant of *abundat*

(32) A Catalunya *hi abunden* esglésies romàniques.
at Catalonia LOC abound.3PL churches Romanesque
'In Catalonia there abound Romanesque churches.'



- Locative-subject alternant of *abundar*

- (33) Catalunya *abunda* {*en/d'*} *esglésies* romàniques.
 Catalonia abound.3SG {in/of}=churches Romanesque
 ‘Catalonia abounds in Romanesque churches.’



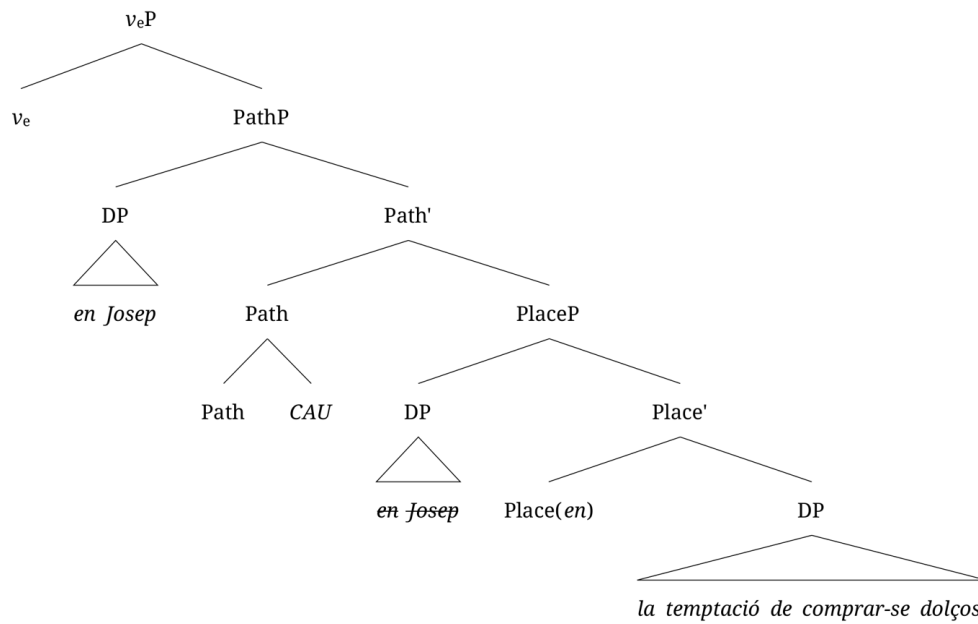
6.2. Unaccusative Stage-Level Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

- Basic ingredients
 - v_e (yielding a SL predicate)
 - no Voice head (no external argument)
 - PPC corresponds to PlaceP, hence non-droppable
- Two types
 - telic (involving change), as *caure en* ‘fall in’: featuring Path on top of Place
 - atelic (not involving change), as *convivre amb* ‘live together with’: not featuring Path
- Repetitive vs non-repetitive reading with *for*-adverbials

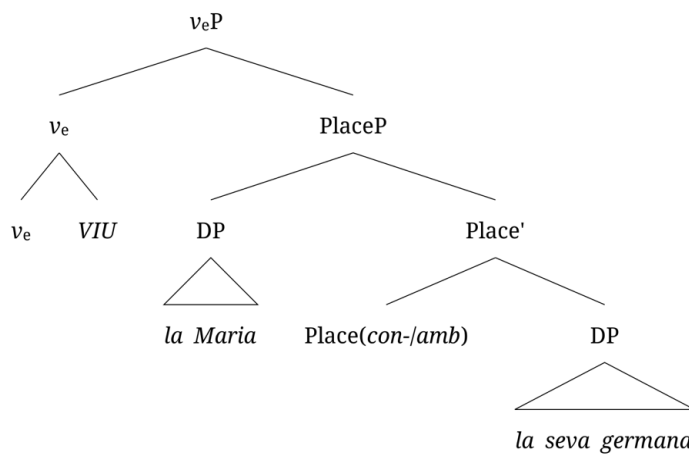
- (34) a. En Josep va *caure en* la temptació de comprar-se dolços
 the Josep PST.3SG fall.INF in the temptation of buy.INF=REFL.3 sweets
durant anys.
 during years
 ‘Josep succumbed to the temptation of buying sweets for years.’
 b. La Maria va *convivre amb* la seva germana *durant anys.*
 the Maria PST.3SG live.together.INF with the her sister during years
 ‘Maria lived together with her sister for years.’

- Analyses

- (35) En Josep va *caure en* la temptació de comprar-se dolços.
 the Josep PST.3SG fall.INF in the temptation of buy.INF=REFL.3 sweets
 ‘Josep succumbed to the temptation of buying himself sweets.’



- (36) La Maria va *conviure* amb la seva germana.
the Maria PST.3SG live.together.INF with the her sister
'Maria lived together with her sister.'



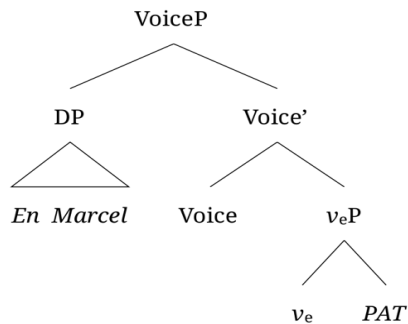
6.3. Non-unaccusative Intransitive Prepositional Verbs allowing PPC drop

- Basic ingredients
 - v_e (yielding a SL predicate)
 - Voice head (external argument)
 - PPC corresponds to a *low* adjunct, hence droppable
- Remember, PPCs are not VP-adjuncts

- (37) *En Marcel *patia* i ho feia per la Maria.
the Marcel worry.PST.IPFV.3SG and it do. PST.IPFV.3SG for the Maria
'Marcel worried and he did so about Maria.'

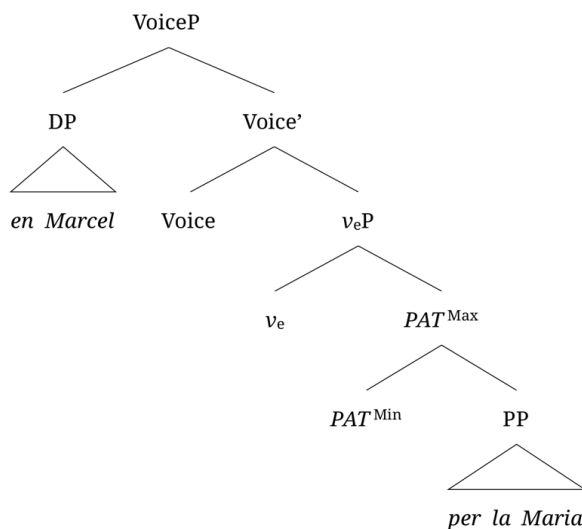
- Basic unergative structure, without the PPC

(38)



- Structure with a PPC: PPC as an adjunct to the root

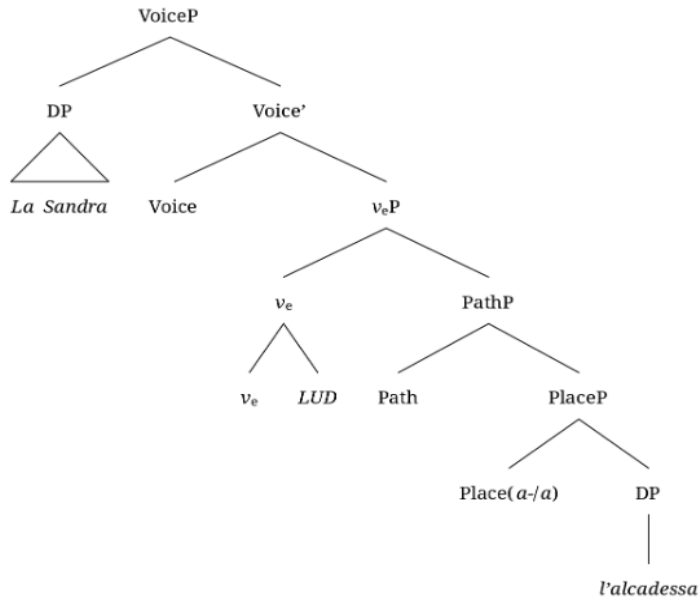
(39)



6.4. Non-unaccusative Intransitive Prepositional Verbs disallowing PPC drop

- Basic ingredients
 - v_e (yielding a SL predicate)
 - Voice head (external argument)
 - PPC corresponds to a (non-adjunct) PlaceP, hence not droppable
 - Two aspectual types
 - involving some transition: Path
 - not involving any transition: no Path
- Transition subtype: *alludir a* ‘allude to’, repetitive reading with a *for*-adverbial

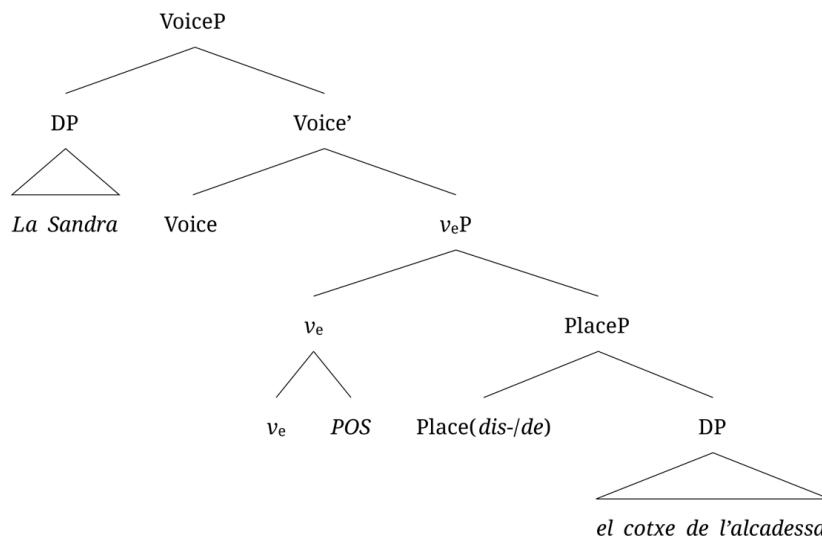
(40) Al debat, la Sandra va *alludir* a l'alcaldeessa durant mitja hora.
 at=the debate the Sandra PST.3SG allude.INF to the=mayoress during half hour
 ‘In the debate, Sandra referred to the mayoress for half an hour.’



- Again, Place is prefixed onto Path, thence onto v_e , both copies realized as *a*

- Non-transition subtype: *disposar de* ‘use’, single-event reading with a *for*-adverbial

(41) La Sandra va *disposar del* cotxe de l'alcaldeessa
 the Sandra PST.3SG use.INF of.the car of the=mayoress
 durant tres hores.
 during three hours
 ‘Sandra had the mayoress’s car at her disposal for three hours.’



- Place prefixed to the verb, with two allomorphs: *dis-* on the verb, *de* in situ

7. Conclusions and prospects

- Characterization of IPVs as IL predicates robustly predicts their argument structure properties
 - theme-like subject
 - compulsory PPC

- IPVs testing out as SL constitute a heterogeneous class as regards their argument structure properties
- More specific empirical contributions
 - IPVs that ban the expression of their PPC as pronouns (*constar de* ‘consist of’)
 - class of SL IPVs disallowing PPC drop (*al·ludir a* ‘allude to’)
- IL IPVs involve a small-clause structure formed by the surface subject and the PPC. The real predicate is the PPC, which is consistent with the hypothesis that IL predicates cannot be encoded as unergative verbs (Property Verbalization Constraint; Acedo-Matellán 2019)
- To look into: contribution of the preposition in ambivalent cases like the SL *patir per* ‘worry about’ / IL *patir de* ‘suffer from’

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APPENDIX

List of Catalan IPVs

Note that verbs appear with the preposition(s) introducing the PPC. Also worth noting is that several English renditions (checked against the Merriam-Webster dictionary of English) are transitive:

<i>abundar en</i> ‘abound in’	<i>harmonitzar amb</i> ‘harmonize with’
<i>abusar de</i> ‘abuse’	<i>incórrer en</i> ‘incur’
<i>advocar per</i> ‘advocate for’	<i>insistir en</i> ‘insist in’
<i>alludir a</i> ‘allude to’	<i>irrompre a/en</i> ‘burst into’
<i>aprofundir en</i> ‘delve into’	<i>jugar a</i> ‘play’
<i>aspirar a</i> ‘aspire to’	<i>lligar amb</i> ‘pick up, score with’
<i>caure en</i> ‘fall for’	<i>obeir a</i> ‘be due to’
<i>coincidir amb</i> ‘happen to be in the same place as’	<i>optar per</i> ‘opt for’
<i>collaborar amb</i> ‘collaborate with’	<i>parlar de</i> ‘talk about’
<i>comptar amb</i> ‘count on’	<i>participar en</i> ‘participate in’
<i>concordar amb</i> ‘agree with’ / ‘match with’	<i>patir de</i> ‘suffer from’
<i>confiar en</i> ‘trust in’	<i>patir per</i> ‘worry about’
<i>consistir en</i> ‘consist in’	<i>pensar en</i> ‘think of’
<i>constar de</i> ‘consist of’	<i>prescindir de</i> ‘dispense with’
<i>contestar a</i> ‘reply to’	<i>presumir de</i> ‘boast about’
<i>contribuir a</i> ‘contribute to’	<i>prevaler sobre/damunt/per damunt</i> ‘prevail over’
<i>conviure amb</i> ‘live together with’	<i>procurar per</i> ‘act in favour of’
<i>correspondre a/amb</i> ‘correspond to’	<i>prorrompre en</i> ‘break out in’
<i>creure en</i> ‘put one’s faith in’ / ‘have the existence of someone/something as true’	<i>raure en</i> ‘lie in’
<i>dependre de</i> ‘depend on’	<i>recolzar en/damunt/sobre</i> ‘lean against’ / ‘depend on’
<i>desconfiar de</i> ‘mistrust’	<i>redundar en</i> ‘result in’
<i>diferir de</i> ‘differ from’	<i>renegar de</i> ‘renounce’
<i>discrepar de</i> ‘disagree with’	<i>renunciar a</i> ‘renounce’
<i>discutir de</i> ‘have an argument about’	<i>resistir a</i> ‘resist’
<i>disposar de</i> ‘use’ / ‘have at one’s disposal’	<i>respondre a</i> ‘reply to’ / ‘be due to’
<i>donar a</i> ‘be oriented to’	<i>resultar de</i> ‘result from’
<i>dubtar de/sobre</i> ‘doubt’	<i>servir per a</i> ‘be valid for’
<i>ensopegar amb</i> ‘bump into’	<i>somiar amb/en</i> ‘dream of’
<i>entendre-hi de/en</i> ‘know about’	<i>tendir a</i> ‘tend to’
<i>equivaler a</i> ‘be equivalent to’	<i>tractar de/sobre</i> ‘deal with’ / ‘be about’
<i>fardar de</i> ‘boast about’	<i>versar sobre</i> ‘be about’
<i>gaudir de</i> ‘enjoy’ / ‘have’	

Table 1: Results of the IL/SL tests and argument structure tests, per IPV

IL IPV S							
	IL/SL DISTINCTION TESTS				ARGUMENT STRUCTURE TESTS		
	PERCEPTION VERBS	DEPictIVE PREDICATES	LOCATIVE MODIFIERS	TEMPORAL CLAUSE	PPC DROP	IMPERSONAL PRO	V <i>QUE</i> V
<i>abundar en</i> 'abound in'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>concordar amb</i> 'match with'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>consistir en</i> 'consist in'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>constar de</i> 'consist of'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>correspondre a/amb</i> 'correspond to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>creure en</i> 'have the existence of X as true'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>dependre de</i> 'depend on'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>diferir de</i> 'differ from'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>disposar de</i> 'have at one's disposal'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>donar a</i> 'be oriented to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>entendre-hi de/en</i> 'know about'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>equivaler a</i> 'be equivalent to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>gaudir de</i> 'have'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>harmonitzar amb</i> 'harmonize with'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>obeir a</i> 'be due to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>patir de</i> 'suffer from'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>prevaler sobre/damunt</i> 'prevail over'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>raure en</i> 'lie in'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>recolzar en/damunt/sobre</i> 'depend on'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>respondre a</i> 'be due to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>resultar de</i> 'result from'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>servir per a</i> 'be valid for'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>tendir a</i> 'tend to'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>tractar de/sobre</i> 'be about'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>versar sobre</i> 'be about'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
UNACCUSATIVE SL IPV S							
	IL/SL DISTINCTION TESTS				ARGUMENT STRUCTURE TESTS		
	PERCEPTION VERBS	DEPictIVE PREDICATES	LOCATIVE MODIFIERS	TEMPORAL CLAUSE	PPC DROP	IMPERSONAL PRO	V <i>QUE</i> V
<i>caure en</i> 'fall for'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
<i>coincidir amb</i> 'happen to be in the same place'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
<i>convivre amb</i> 'live together with'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
<i>incórrer en</i> 'incur'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
<i>recolzar en/damunt/sobre</i> 'lean against'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
<i>redundar en</i> 'result in'	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*

Prepositional verbs in Catalan: From event to argument structure
V́ctor Acedo-Matellán & Isabel Oltra-Massuet

NON-UNACCUSATIVE SL IPV _s THAT ALLOW PPC DROP							
	IL/SL DISTINCTION TESTS				ARGUMENT STRUCTURE TESTS		
	PERCEPTION VERBS	DEPICTIVE PREDICATES	LOCATIVE MODIFIERS	TEMPORAL CLAUSE	PPC DROP	IMPERSONAL PRO	V <i>QUE</i> V
<i>abusar de</i> ‘abuse’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>aprofundir en</i> ‘delve into’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>collaborar amb</i> ‘collaborate with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>confiar en</i> ‘confiar en’	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>contestar a</i> ‘reply to’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>contribuir a</i> ‘contribute to’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>creure en</i> ‘put one’s faith in’	?	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	*
<i>desconfiar de</i> ‘mistrust’	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>discrepar de</i> ‘disagree with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>discutir de</i> ‘have an argument about’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>dubtar de/sobre</i> ‘doubt’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>ensopegar amb</i> ‘bump into’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>fardar de</i> ‘boast about’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
<i>gaudir de</i> ‘enjoy’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
<i>insistir en</i> ‘insist in’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>jugar a</i> ‘play’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>lligar amb</i> ‘pick up, score with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>parlar de</i> ‘talk about’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>participar en</i> ‘participate in’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?
<i>patir per</i> ‘worry about’	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>pensar en</i> ‘think of’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>presumir de</i> ‘boast about’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
<i>resistir a</i> ‘resist’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
<i>renunciar a</i> ‘renounce’	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	?
<i>respondre a</i> ‘reply to’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>somiar amb/en</i> ‘dream of’	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
NON-UNACCUSATIVE SL IPV _s THAT DISALLOW PPC DROP							
	IL/SL DISTINCTION TESTS				ARGUMENT STRUCTURE TESTS		
	PERCEPTION VERBS	DEPICTIVE PREDICATES	LOCATIVE MODIFIERS	TEMPORAL CLAUSE	PPC DROP	IMPERSONAL PRO	V <i>QUE</i> V
<i>advocar per</i> ‘advocate for’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>al·ludir a</i> ‘allude to’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>aspirar a</i> ‘aspire to’	?	✓	*	?	*	✓	*
<i>comptar amb</i> ‘count on’	?	✓	??	✓	*	✓	*
<i>concordar amb</i> ‘agree with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>disposar de</i> ‘use’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>irrompre a/en</i> ‘burst into’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>optar per</i> ‘opt for’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>prescindir de</i> ‘dispense with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>procurar per</i> ‘act in favour of’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>prorrrompre en</i> ‘break out in’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>renegar de</i> ‘renounce’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
<i>tractar de/sobre</i> ‘deal with’	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	?	*