

June 26th-28th The syntactic variation of Catalan and Spanish dialects

Microvariation of *dins* in Catalan

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Goal:

To show that by means of a fine-grained structure it is possible to explain the microvariation in the use of apparently similar lexical items in different varieties.

We take as an example the case of *dins* in Catalan and Majorcan.

1. Introduction and data

- The use of *dins* presents certain differences across dialects of Catalan. We distinguish two varieties:

a. Catalan:

(1) En Joan és dins (de) l'habitació.

→ En Joan és (*de) dins.

‘Joan is inside (of) (the room)’

b. Majorcan:

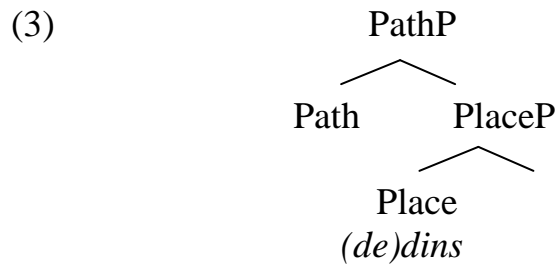
(2) En Joan està dins (*de) s'habitació

→ En Joan està *(de)dins.

‘Joan is inside (of) (the room)’

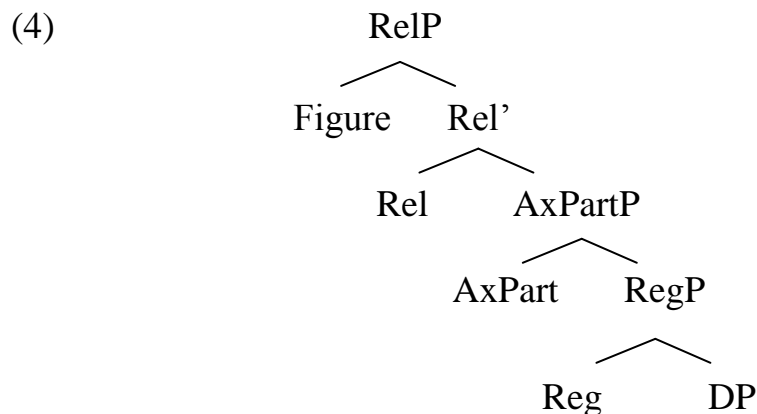
2. General structure of spatial expressions

- Assuming a Path-Place structure (Jackendoff 1983) it is not possible to explain the contrasts between *dins* in Catalan and Majorcan:



- *dins* would lexicalize *Place* in both cases. Where would *de* be?

- We assume a structure in line with Svenonius (2010):



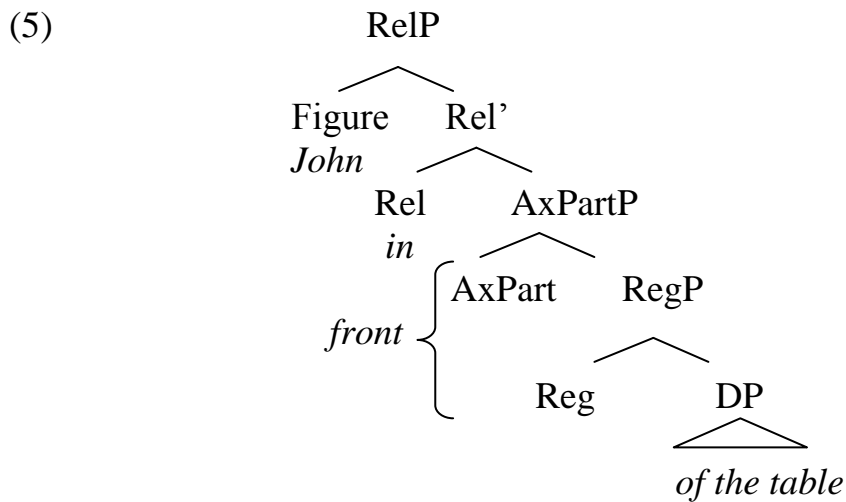
DP: it represents the entity that becomes the Ground of the spatial relationship

Reg(ion): it gives the points of space the entity (DP) occupies.

Ax(ial)Part: it gives a subpart of the Region.

Rel(ation): it gives a relationship between a Figure and a Ground → *Place*

→ This structure allows to determine the exact part of the structure that lexical items spell out:



→ In line with a *laissez-faire* approach (Starke 2004), not all the projections need to be present, but they have to appear in the same order.

3. The case of *bajo* in Spanish

-The lexical item *bajo* appears in contexts like the following in Spanish:

- (6)
- a. La pelota está **bajo** la mesa.
'The ball is under the table.'
 - b. La pelota está **debajo** de la mesa.
the ball is below of the table

There are three important differences between *debajo* and *bajo*:

1. The presence of *de* preceding the DP with *debajo*, unlike with *bajo*:

- (7)
- a. La pelota está bajo (*de) la mesa.
 - b. La pelota está debajo *(de) la mesa
the ball is under/below (of) the table

2. The possibility of omission. Only with *debajo* the Ground can be omitted.

- (8) a. La pelota está bajo *(la mesa).
b. La pelota está debajo (de la mesa).
the ball is under/below (of the table)

3. The presence of *de-* preceding *bajo* in the case of *debajo*.

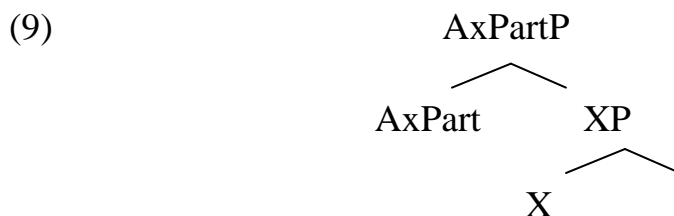
- How do we explain this?

→ *debajo* lexicalizes *AxPart* (in line with Fábregas 2007), unlike *bajo*

→ The two first properties of *debajo* can be explained by the presence of *AxPart* (cf. Romeu, in preparation). The nominal origin of *AxPart* explains:

- that elements that lexicalize *AxPart* can appear alone.
- that a genitive marker is needed to combine it with a DP.

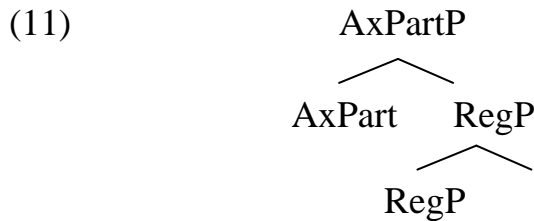
→ If *bajo* can lexicalize *AxPart* in cases like *debajo*, but it doesn't lexicalize it always, as in the cases of *bajo*, its internal structure must be at least the following, according to the anchor condition (Abels and Muriungi 2008, Caha 2009, Pantcheva 2011):



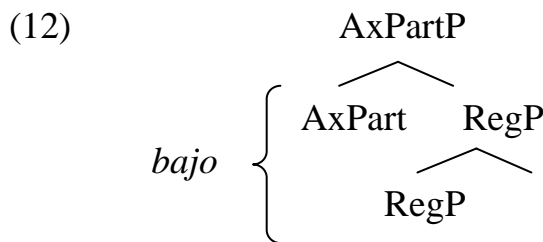
- (10) **The Anchor Condition:** In a lexical entry, the feature which is lowest in the functional sequence must be matched against the syntactic structure.

Caha (2009:89)

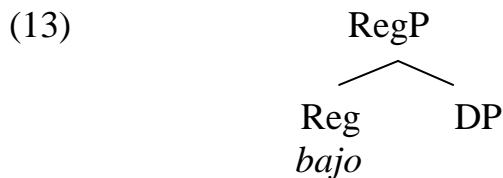
- According to the structure above, we assume that this *XP* is *RegP*:



→ So the maximal structure of *bajo* is the one in (11):



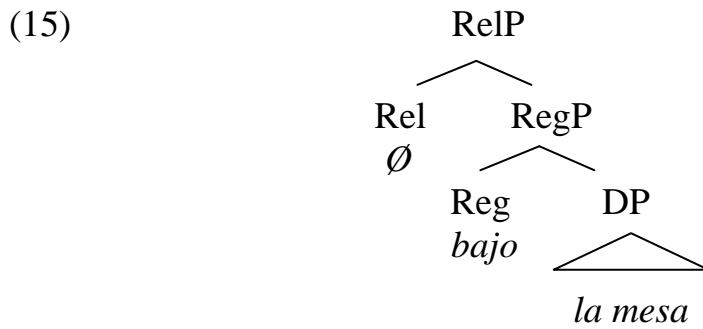
- By the superset principle (Caha 2009, Pantcheva 2011) it is possible to lexicalize only *Reg*, if there is no other lexical item that can lexicalize only *Reg* (Elsewhere condition):



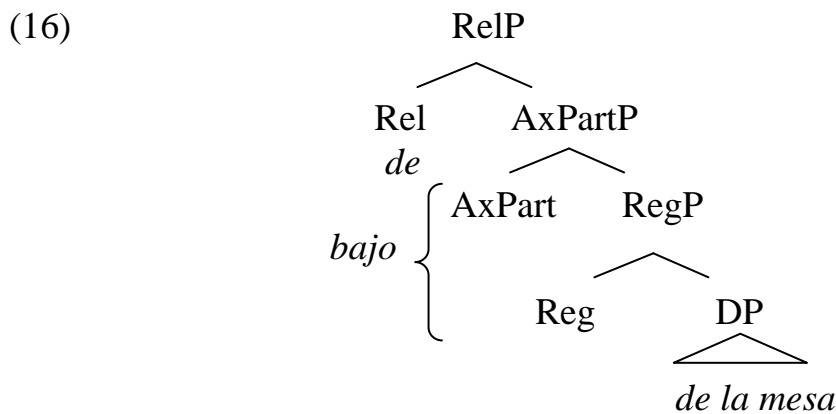
- (14) **The Superset Principle:** A phonological exponent is inserted into a node if its lexical entry has a (sub-)constituent which matches that node.

Caha (2009:67)

- If *bajo* lexicalizes *AxPart* and *Reg*, *Rel* is empty in cases like *bajo*:



- One would expect that it could be occupied. This is what happens with elements like *de* or *a* in cases like *debajo* or *abajo*:



- By itself, *bajo* doesn't lexicalize *Rel*, because of the anchor condition:

→ If it lexicalizes *Reg*, it can't lexicalize *Rel* unless it lexicalizes also *Axpart*

Main ideas:

→ The nominal origin of *AxPart* allows to omit the Ground:

- (17) a. La pelota está bajo *(la mesa).
 b. La pelota está debajo (de la mesa).
 'The ball is under/ below (the table)'

→ The presence of *AxPart* requires the presence of genitive case in the Ground:

(18) La pelota está debajo *(de) la mesa.

3. Analysis of *dins* in Catalan and Majorcan

a. Catalan:

(19) En Joan és dins (de) l'habitació.

→ En Joan és (*de) dins.

‘Joan is inside (of) (the room)’

b. Majorcan:

(20) En Joan està dins (*de) s'habitació

→ En Joan està *(de) dins.

‘Joan is inside (of) (the room)’

Main differences:

- *dins* can't combine with genitive in Majorcan, unless it is preceded by *de*

- the Ground can't be omitted in Majorcan, unless *dins* is preceded by *de*

→ Does *dins* lexicalize a different position in Catalan and Majorcan?

- Catalan

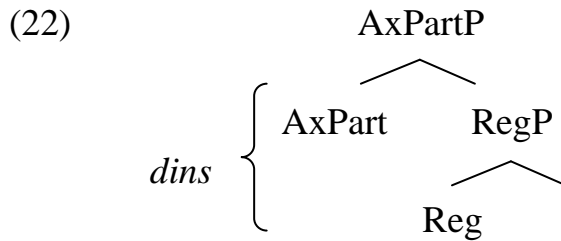
(21) a. En Joan és dins (de) l'habitació.

b. En Joan és dins.

- To explain the two possibilities in (21)a, it is necessary to assume that *dins* can lexicalize *AxPart* or not.

→ Then it has to lexicalize *Reg* and can't lexicalize *Rel*:

→ In Catalan *dins*, like *bajo* lexicalizes *AxPart* and *Reg*



Is it possible to have an element lexicalizing *Rel*?

→ This can be seen in Majorcan:

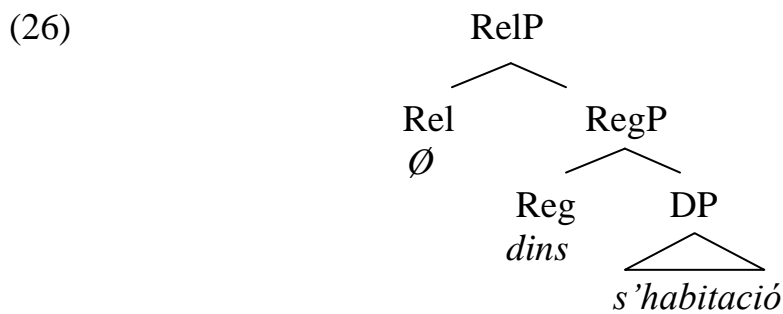
(23) dedins

- Majorcan

- (24) a. En Joan està dins (*de) s'habitació
- b. En Joan està *(de)dins.

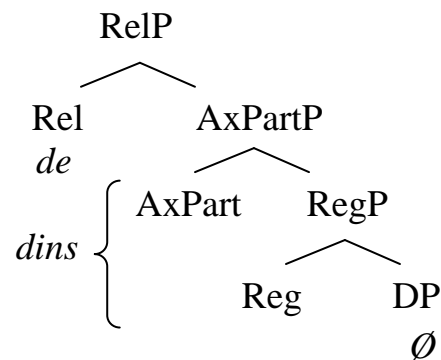
Here it seems that *dins* is used as *Reg* and *AxPart*

(25) En Joan està dins (*de) s'habitació



(27) En Joan està *(de)dins.

(28)



*it could be possible to think that *dedins* is the form for *AxPart+Reg* and *dins* the form for *Reg* only but then it wouldn't be possible to explain cases like *dedins s'habitació* or *dedins jo*

***Open question:**

Why isn't *dins* preceded by *de* in Catalan?

→ It could be the case that the *d-* preceding *-ins* lexicalizes *Rel*

→ from Latin *de ĭntus*

- then it is necessary to assume that it always lexicalizes *Rel* and, thus, it always has to lexicalize *AxPart*.

→ In that case, *dins l'habitació* has a non-pronounced *de*: *dins de l'habitació*.

Summary:

- Unlike Catalan, Majorcan needs *de* preceding *dins* when *dins* lexicalizes *AxPart*

- In Majorcan *dins* can lexicalize *AxPart* or not, but it always lexicalizes *Region*.

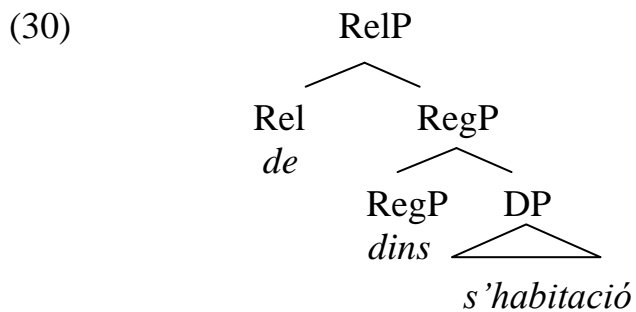
- This is the same in Catalan, unless we consider that *d-* lexicalizes *Rel*

4. Some predictions

- It should be possible to find a case in which *dins* is only *Reg* and there is an explicit element lexicalizing *Rel*:

→ Another possibility in Majorcan:

(29) En Joan està (a) dedins (?de) s'habitació



→ Other cases:

(31) embajo la tierra (Leonese dialect)

- If an element lexicalizes *AxPart* its complement can be omitted and there must be a genitive marker:

(32) a. debajo de mí
b. *debajo {yo/mí}

*It should be possible to have *Reg* elements with nominative

→ This is actually possible in colloquial Majorcan:

- (33) Tenc un sentiment d'ansietat (a) (de)dins jo que no aguant més.
'I have a feeling of anxiety inside me that I can't stand anymore.'

- If an element lexicalizes *Reg* it will always have spatial meaning. If not, it can appear in non-spatial contexts:

→ In Spanish, *sobre*, which only lexicalizes *Rel*, can be used in these cases:

- (34) El libro trata sobre mí.
'The book is about me.'

→ In Majorcan, they have *damunt* for spatial cases and *sobre* for non spatial. Only *sobre* can appear in these cases.

- (35) a. Es llibre està {damunt/*sobre} meu.
'The book is on me.'
b. Es llibre és {sobre/*damunt} mi.
'The book is about me.'

- Interestingly, in these cases it is possible to have *mi*, unlike in the case of *bajo* or *dins* in Catalan and Majorcan:

- (36) dins meu/*dins mi

- Elements that lexicalize *Reg* should be different from those that don't:

→ *bajo* always has a spatial meaning, unlike *sobre*:

- (37) Juan habló sobre historia.
'Juan talked about history.'

→ It doesn't combine with oblique case:

- (38) a. La nube está sobre mí.
b. *La pelota está bajo mí.
'The ball is over/under me.'

→ *sobre* lexicalizes only *Rel*:



- This could explain why *sobre* doesn't appear as an *AxPart*:

- (40) a. *desobre, *asobre → encima, arriba ('above, up')
b. debajo, abajo

Conclusions

→ By means of a fine-grained structure, it is possible to explain subtle properties of lexical items and compare them with similar lexical items across very close dialects.

→ It is also possible to predict other possibilities in different dialects.

→ By means of principles of lexicalization like the superset principle or the anchor condition it is possible to restrict the possibilities.

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