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The Latin psych verbs of the ē-class: (de)transitivization and syntactic alignment

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ABSTRACT

(ENGLISH VERSION)

This thesis investigates the syntax of the Latin psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class. The main aim of the work is to provide a formal analysis of their possible syntactic configurations in the Generative Grammar framework. The psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class are mostly stative in nature and are attested in different patterns: an impersonal pattern (the *piget*-type), a Subject Experiencer pattern (the *doleo*-type), and an Object Experiencer pattern (the *placeo* and the *urgeo*-type). While the *urgeo*-type (in which the Experiencer is assigned the Accusative) does not show remarkable syntactic peculiarities if compared to regular transitive verbs, the other types share common characteristics. The basic configuration of these verbs is that of the *piget*-type, in which both arguments are VP-internal, as none of them receives the Nominative. From this basic structure different patterns can be derived, by promoting the Experiencer or the Stimulus to the subject position. The most ancient type is a transimpersonal configuration, which is progressively de-transitivized in time: the internal Experiencer is re-analysed as a *quirky* subject and, in a successive stage, the predicate is re-transitivized and its structure is finally aligned with the prototypical accusative pattern. This gives rise to an $\text{Exp}_{\text{Nom}}/\text{Stim}_{\text{Acc}}$ configuration. When this process takes place an internal argument is assigned the Inherent Accusative, i.e. a “transitional” Case which does not display the properties of the Structural Accusative: the DP which receives it cannot be passivized and cannot easily undergo \bar{A} -movement. This process of (de)transitivization affects all the verbs described in this work, which outlines a detailed formal analysis of their syntax under a diachronic perspective.

ABSTRACT

(ITALIAN VERSION)

Il lavoro analizza la sintassi dei verbi psicologici del latino appartenenti alla classe in - \bar{e} -. Il suo scopo principale è quello di fornire una rappresentazione formale adeguata per tale classe di verbi nel quadro della Grammatica Generativa. I verbi psicologici della classe in - \bar{e} - sono per lo più di natura stativa e sono attestati in diverse configurazioni: il tipo impersonale (quello di *piget*), il tipo a Soggetto Esperiente (quello di *doleo*) ed il tipo ad Oggetto Esperiente (quello di *placeo* e di *urgeo*). Mentre il tipo di *urgeo* (in cui l'Esperiente riceve il Caso Accusativo) non mostra peculiarità sintattiche di rilievo se comparato coi verbi regolarmente transitivi, gli altri tipi sono accomunati da caratteristiche sintattiche simili: essi sono verbi che selezionano due argomenti interni, generati in sintassi con una ricca quantità di tratti tematici. La configurazione di base dei verbi stativi di questa classe è quella del tipo impersonale, in cui il Nominativo non viene assegnato a nessuno dei due argomenti. A partire da tale configurazione, diverse strutture possono essere derivate promuovendo alla posizione di soggetto l'Esperiente o lo Stimolo. Il tipo più antico è una struttura transimpersonale, che è progressivamente detransitivizzata, poiché l'Esperiente è rianalizzato come *quirky subject*; in una seconda fase, una volta che il verbo è stato allineato ad una struttura con Soggetto Esperiente, si assiste ad un nuovo processo di transitivizzazione che porta all'allineamento col pattern prototipico delle lingue accusative e dà così luogo ad una configurazione in cui l'Esperiente animato riceve il Nominativo e lo Stimolo riceve l'Accusativo. Durante il processo appena descritto, un argomento interno riceve l'Accusativo Inerente, ossia un Caso di transizione che non ha le stesse proprietà dell'Accusativo Strutturale, in quanto il DP che lo riceve non può essere passivizzato e non può essere sottoposto a movimento di tipo \bar{A} . Il processo di transitivizzazione appena descritto coinvolge tutti i verbi presi in considerazione in questo lavoro, che propone per essi un'analisi formale adottando una prospettiva diacronica.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Overview

The main topic of this work is the syntax of Latin psych verbs in \bar{e} -, which belong to the so-called *second conjugation*. The second conjugation includes a great variety of verbal forms, which trace back to different kind of morphological types. Namely, it includes both causative predicates, which are formed by means of a suffix -**eye-*, and stative verbs formed by means of a morpheme \bar{e} -. The verbs belonging to the latter group are generally considered as intransitives, in that they do not select for an internal object (Ernout, 1953; Hocquard, 1981, a.o.), rather they are depictive or property predicates, whose main characteristic is to signify a certain state of an entity. On the other side, causative predicates are basically transitive and usually select for an internal affected object.

Anyway, this schematic classification of \bar{e} -verbs is not totally satisfactory. A closer look to the data clearly shows that this class of predicates deserves a more detailed investigation. A first noticeable fact is that some “stative” verbs are also attested in a transitive pattern: under the assumption that they are basically intransitive, this is clearly unexpected. More interestingly, these transitive stative verbs mostly belong to the class of psych predicates. Namely, psych predicates with a stative morpheme \bar{e} - represent a peculiar case, in that they undergo a clear transitivization process in time and show different degrees of alignment with the core transitive pattern of accusative languages. Furthermore, transitivized psych predicates are generally attested in alternating structures, in which the thematic roles are inserted in the syntax in different ways. A second remarkable fact is that a wide number of transitivized psych predicates traces back to a physic reference, which is to be considered as the basic one, in that it is strictly related to the meaning of the verbal stem. Thus, the psych predicates of this class are the output of a semantic shift, which clearly affects the selection of thematic roles and has direct consequences on their syntax.

These few notes trigger a series of interesting questions, which constitute the cornerstone of this thesis. First of all, as far as psych \bar{e} -verbs are concerned, it is necessary to investigate how thematic properties are related to syntactic configurations, i.e. it is necessary to wonder what the link between syntax and semantics is. This requires an appropriate theoretical model, capable to predict how arguments-to-Cases

linking actually works in languages. Furthermore, a clearer view of how Actionality is connected with thematic roles is required, since in psych \bar{e} -verbs the presence of a semantic shift clearly affects the actional status of the predicate and the distribution of its thematic roles. As will be abundantly explained in the course of the thesis, when a verb like *palleo* (“to be pale”) assumes the meaning “to fear something”, its actional status undergoes a clear change towards a more complex structure: on the one side, the predicate selects for one more argument – and this is a case of template augmentation –; on the other, the verb can be no more considered as a true state, in that, under the psych meaning, it involves a kind of process. This change strongly affects the nature of the thematic roles, giving rise to a different semantic relationship.

Thus, this kind of semantic and syntactic shift is a complex phenomenon that involves a series of interrelated factors, which I will separately analyse in the course of the thesis.

My aim is to provide a syntactic analysis of the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class by adopting a diachronic perspective. This is an unavoidable starting point, since the syntax of Latin psych \bar{e} -verbs is subject to high variation in time. Indeed, the comparison between the syntactic behaviour of these verbs in different periods allows for a subtler analysis of their characteristics.

This very brief overview of the topic of this work signals that transitivity has a major role in determining the syntactic change I will deal with. As I will explain, the diachronic change of psych \bar{e} -verb is tightly related to transitivity. Namely, it involves a process of de-transitivization and a successive process of re-transitivization, which I will outline in very detail in the next chapters. Anyway, since transitivity is one of the main problems of this thesis, I will provide here a description of this notion, by referring to some well-known works on the topic.

2. Transitivity and Case assignment

Transitivity can be interpreted both as a syntactic and as a semantic property. Under a mere syntactic point of view, it consists of a specific Case-assignment pattern. Namely, a verb can be considered as a transitive verb when it assigns Accusative Case to one of its (internal) arguments.

From this simple statement some crucial questions arise. First of all it should be clarified whether transitivity is necessarily connected with the assignment of the

Nominative or it is independently displayed. As I will explain in detail in the course of the work, the pair Nom(inative)/Acc(usative) is not indispensable for a verb to be syntactically transitive. In some non-accusative languages the Accusative can be assigned even if no DP bears the Nominative, while the verb is marked by means of a specific Agent-affix, which clearly reveals the transitive nature of the predicate. Obviously, in accusative languages, in which a strong Nominative Requirement exists, transitivity tends to be tightly connected with the presence of the Nominative, since impersonal verbs are quite rare and the sole argument of intransitives regularly agrees with the verb which selects for it.

As convincingly shown by H(opper) and T(hompson) (1980), transitivity can also be viewed as a semantic notion. It is traditionally defined as “a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is ‘carried over’ or ‘transferred’ from an agent to a patient” (H&T: 251). If this is true, the main topic to be investigated is the interface between semantics and syntax. Indeed, if transitivity can be defined both under a semantic and under a syntactic point of view, what is expected is that the semantic notion of transitivity is encoded in syntax or, at least, that syntax is to some extent sensitive to semantic transitivity.

H&T propose that semantic transitivity is actually encoded in syntax, and report a high number of examples from a wide range of both accusative and ergative languages. They basically assume that transitivity is a complex notion, which can be decomposed in discrete features related to the following factors: *participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of O, individuation of O*. Under this view, a transitive sentence is typically characterized by the presence of two participants, one of which is an Agent, the other one being a highly affected Patient. This point of view emphasizes the prototypical nature of the transitive pattern, as also proposed in more recent works on the topic (Shibatani, 2009, a.o.). In accusative languages the pair Nom/Acc is connected with the “prototypical” relation holding between the Agent and the Patient, which perfectly meets the definition of H&T. Given this hypothesis, “the prototypical transitive situation is the one in which an action originates in a volitional agent, extends beyond the agent’s personal sphere, and terminates in a distinct patient achieving an intended effect on it” (Shibatani, 2009: 323), and is generally obtained by means of active Voice. Predicates which do not meet this definition – in that they involve thematic features which do not satisfy this semantic notion of transitivity – are more likely to be “marked” in several different

ways, depending on the characteristics of every single language. As Shibatani (2009) recalls, Case assignment is one of the most typical strategies to signal a non-prototypical relation between the arguments of a verbs and is not necessarily associated with a change in verbal Voice. If this view is correct, it follows that syntactic Cases can be interpreted as having a semantic value.

H&T recall that the Accusative has to be considered as the Case typical for transitivity, since it is prototypically associated with the Patient Role. This is shown for instance by Finnish, in which the Accusative is assigned to the syntactic object only if the verb is interpreted as having a perfective meaning, while the progressive reading generally selects for a Partitive-marked argument:

- (1) a. Likemies kirjoitti kirjeen valiokunnalle
 businessman wrote letter(ACC) committee-to
 “The businessman wrote a letter to the committee”
 b. Likemies kirjoitti kirjettä valiokunnalle
 businessman wrote letter(PART) committee-to
 “The businessman was writing a letter to the committee”

(H&T: ex. (33))

The property involved in this contrast is *aspect*, since, while (1a) employs a perfective form, in (1b) an imperfective progressive form is present. This has clear consequences on the affectedness of the object.

Anyway, as also noticed by Blake (1994), in accusative languages the presence of the Nom/Acc pattern is not necessarily associated with a high degree of transitivity, while it is generally acknowledged that patterns in which the pair Nom/Acc is not employed have a low (semantic) transitivity degree. Consider these examples from Italian:

- (2) a. Il ladro ha ucciso Gianni
 The thief_{Nom} has killed Gianni
 b. Gianni prova un forte dolore
 Gianni_{Nom} feels a strong pain_{Acc}
 c. Gianni propende per questa soluzione
 Gianni_{Nom} has-propensity for this solution

While (2a) is high in transitivity, (2b) displays an object which is not affected, and is also low in transitivity, with respect to other factors described by H&T. (2c) is also interesting, since the verb *propendere* selects for a PP, i.e. for an argument bearing an Inherent Case. The sentence is actually low in transitivity, since it involves no kinesis nor is its object highly affected. Thus, in Italian – as in other accusative languages – the pair Nom/Inherent Case stably signals a low degree of semantic transitivity, and this is coherent with the view that Cases actually have a semantic value with respect to theta roles. The fact that the reverse is not true indicates that the pair Nom/Acc is generalized, i.e. that it does not necessarily have a semantic content. The Nominative and the Accusative are certainly associated with the Agent and the Patient, which are the prototypical roles of the basic transitive semantic relation. Anyway, they are also used as “core cases” and have a basic structural function. This distinction is better interpreted as a Structural Case/Inherent Case contrast, and I will consider it in depth in the course of the thesis. What I would like to underline here is that in accusative languages the pair Nom/Acc tends to be generalized, regardless of the semantic relation holding between the arguments of a verb. This is the reason why sentences like (2b) are not high in semantic transitivity, even if they employ the Cases that are prototypical for syntactic transitivity.

What emerges from this brief discussion is that Case assignment is also related to typological factors. Therefore, accusative languages tend to assign the Nominative to the sole argument of monoargumental verbs and to extend the use of the Accusative to the majority of biargumental predicates. Scholars generally motivate this by providing Case Hierarchies, so as to correctly predict how Case selection works in languages. From Keenan and Comrie (1977) onwards many proposals have been outlined (Baker, 1994; Caha, 2009, a.o.). The Nominative is generally considered as the highest-ranking Case and is regularly followed in the hierarchy by the Accusative. In general, the Case which ranks higher is the most attested in monoargumental predicates, while in biargumental predicates the two highest Cases are assigned more frequently than others (Primus, 1999), thus constituting a regular basic pair. In Latin, for instance, as pointed out by Pinkster (1985), biargumental verbs mostly assign the Nominative and the Accusative, while the Dative and the Ablative are more rarely assigned to the internal argument of biargumental verbs (the Genitive is the least attested Case in this respect). This view is also supported by the acquisition of Case-system. Primus and Lindner

(1994) show, for instance, that German children tend to substitute the Dative with the Accusative, while the reverse trend is very rarely attested and is not systematic.

In Latin, the Accusative clearly ranks higher than the Dative and other Oblique Cases, since it is the most common Case assigned to the internal argument of biargumental verbs. Moreover, it tends to be generalized in contexts in which predicates tend to assign a small range of Cases, for instance in Late Latin, which can be considered as a “transitivizing” variety. Transitivity, indeed, is one of the most common way in which the Case system of an accusative language is simplified in less formal contexts.

The tendency towards transitivity is very strong in accusative languages and cannot be interpreted as necessarily related to the semantic notion of transitivity provided by H&T, as the typological factor plays a preponderant role in determining transitivity. In general, it can be stated that accusative languages like English, Italian and Latin tend to promote the animate argument to the prominent position. Since in such languages a Nominative Requirement is at work, it is generally satisfied by assigning the Nominative to the animate entity, in that *animacy* involves a series of related semantic features (like sentience, control, volition) which are clearly contained in the notion of *Agent*. Thus, Nominative assignment is to some extent semantically motivated. As for the Accusative, a different perspective has to be adopted. The internal argument of biargumental verbs can receive a wide variety of thematic roles (with a corresponding variety of semantic features); if we exclude the Patient, which is semantically related to transitivity, it follows that the Accusative has a less clear semantic value if compared to the Nominative. In some proposals (Croft, 1998, Croft 2012), the Nom/Acc relationship is interpreted as the encoding of a force-dynamic relation between the participants of an eventuality. This means that the Nominative-marked argument has to be considered as the entity from which the event originates and that the Accusative-marked argument is to be considered as its ending point. This may be a correct point of view (which I will further discuss in this work), but it does not capture the semantic status of the Accusative, in that also other Cases (like the Dative or other Oblique Cases) can mark the internal argument of a verb. Namely, the Accusative tends to be employed as an actual Structural Case, which is assigned to the internal argument of the verb with a not straightforward semantic interpretation. This is coherent with what I have pointed out before: the Accusative is the Case which displays a less clear semantic content and has the status of a true Structural Case.

One piece of evidence for this are the following examples from Italian:

- (3) a. Il cliente ha usufruito dello sconto
the client has benefited of-the discount
“The client has benefited from the discount”
b. Il cliente ha pagato per la prestazione usufruita
the client has paid for the service benefited
“The client has paid the service he has benefited from”

As can be seen, while the verb *usufruire* regularly selects for a PP headed by *di*, it can be used in a passive form like that in (3b), in which the internal argument is treated as the direct object of the verb. This tendency is quite common in Italian, even in the standard.

As I have recalled above, the verbs I will deal with in this work undergo a (de)transitivization process. This means that – at least in a certain stage of their syntactic development – they tend to be aligned with the core transitive pattern. This happens, for instance, with verbs like *horreo* (“to be stiff/bristled”), *doleo* (“to ache/suffer”) and *palleo* (“to be pale”), which are basic monoargumental predicates with a physic reference. They undergo a semantic shift which provides them with a clear psych meaning. Under this value, a transitive structure of the type $\text{Exp}_{\text{Nom}}/\text{Stim}_{\text{Acc}}$ can be employed. This kind of transitivization - in which the animate Experiencer is placed in the subject position and the Stimulus receives the Accusative - is coherent with the view that I have adopted so far: on the one side, the Experiencer is promoted to the prominent position, as the sensitive animate which bears Agent-like semantic features; on the other, there is no specific semantic requirement that leads to the assignment of the Accusative to the Stimulus. Consider that it is optionally expressed in an Inherent Cases like the Ablative or as a PP with a clearer semantic value. Thus, the tendency to align this structures with the core transitive pattern has both a semantic and a typological reason: the animacy of the Experiencer leads to emphasize its Agent-like nature, while the Stimulus is progressively opacified and is finally read as a syntactic object, with no univocal semantic reading. I will claim that, in case of transitivization and de-transitivization, a *transitional* Inherent Accusative can be assigned to the DP involved in this process. This will be a very important point of this work, and it will be discussed by providing data from other languages.

However, as will be clear in the course of the thesis, things are much more complicated than it appears at a first glance, and the high variety of possible patterns attested with psych \bar{e} -verbs requires a very detailed investigation of their syntax.

Here, in order to conclude this introduction about transitivity, I would like to underline an interesting point about Case-hierarchies and argument linking. I will start from the proposal of Primus (1999), which is very useful in this respect.

Primus (1999) applies O(ptimality) T(heory) to motivate the trend of Case assignment in German. I deem that her analysis can be extended also to other accusative languages. According to OT (on the lines of Prince and Smolensky, 1993 and Archangeli and Langendoen, 1997), as far as Case assignment in biargumental verbs is concerned, several constraints can be at work. In a viable case system, the most prominent factors are the *Distinctness of Cases* and the *Nominative Requirement*: if one of these requirements is violated, then the relative pattern is excluded. This is the reason why in most languages there are no verbs which assign the Nominative or the Dative to both their arguments. Moreover, as I have recalled above, impersonal forms are very rare in accusative languages, since agreement with the verbal head is always required. On the contrary, a pattern like Nom/Dat is more productive, as it does not violate the two aforementioned constraints.

A second group of requirements ranks lower and is constituted by three other cross-linguistic tendencies: (i) the encoding of an argument in the Dative if it has a less amount of agentive features (*Dative-Default*); (ii) the preference for the basic transitive pattern Nom/Acc; (iii) the tendency to assign the Nominative and the Accusative to the Agent and the Patient respectively (which is a further restriction on the previous tendency). Languages generally tolerate the violation of these three requirements, mostly if only one of them is not met. Instead, the violation of all these three requirements generally leads to the exclusion of the related pattern.

If we consider the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class, we can clearly observe that their syntactic structure tends to conform to the Nominative Requirement. As I will explain in the course of the dissertation, this process consists of a progressive detransitivization and leads to the violation of the Dative-Default (which is at work also in Latin for verbs like *placeo* “to please/like” and for the early *doleo*). Anyway, this is not a strong requirement in accusative languages and is progressively abandoned in Latin, in order to reach a fully aligned transitive pattern.

It is worth noticing that the Latin psych-verbs of the \bar{e} -class also include a set of impersonal predicates (*piget*, *pudet*, *taedet*, *miseret* and *paenitet*) which do not assign the Nominative to any of their arguments. This class of verbs is highly problematic, in that it violates the Nominative Requirement, which is a strong constraint in accusative languages. Starting from this problem, scholars have discussed the actual nature of Latin in its most ancient stage, since syntactic peculiarities like these are deemed to signal the non-accusative nature of the language in a non-attested phase. It is undeniable that Latin preserves some traces of non-accusative rules, which entail a slight different relationship between argument codification and Case assignment.

In traditional analyses a language is generally considered ergative if it treats the subject of a monoargumental intransitive verb like the patient of a biargumental transitive verb (Dixon, 1979, 1994). By contrast, an accusative language treats the subject of a transitive clause like the subject of intransitive predicates. Marantz (1984) proposes an “Ergative Parameter” in the Generative Grammar framework, according to which in ergative languages the assignment of thematic roles is inverted if compared to what happens in accusative languages. In the latter the Agent is assigned in Spec VP (i.e. in an external position), while the Patient is assigned by the verb itself and is therefore internal; by contrast, in ergative languages the opposite happens. The question is why ergative languages are rarer than accusative languages. This is probably due to the fact that in ergative languages there is no homomorphism between the thematic hierarchy and the Case hierarchy: the highest-ranking thematic role (the Agent) is not assigned the highest-ranking Case (Absolutive). However, in most ergative languages word order is coherent with the thematic hierarchy, as shown for example by Avar, in which the Erg > Acc order is highly preferred than the reverse. This also happens in accusative languages, if we consider word order in Dative-Default contexts: in the Dative Experiencer predicates of Italian and German, the Stimulus, albeit it is assigned the Nominative, occupies a lower position, since the first is canonical for the Experiencer.

Dixon (1979) points out that fully ergative languages do not exist, since, under certain circumstances, no language excludes the employment of the accusative pattern: a language can regularly display the Erg/Abs pattern in unmarked sentences and also display the Nom/Acc in specific syntactic contexts. On this basis, the best way to solve the problem of ergativity is to think of an “ergative rule”, which does not exclude the employment of a parallel “accusative rule” in the same system. This solution accounts

for very well known facts, such as “split intransitivity” phenomena, which would be odd if traced back to a genuine ergative system (Coon, 2013). Along these lines, one can suppose that also Latin employs ergative or active rules in its most ancient stage and that these rules are partially preserved in time. Anyway, their presence gives rise to interesting phenomena of syntactic alignment.

The impersonal verbs of the *piget*-class are a noticeable example of how the interface between syntax and semantics actually works. Indeed, they will constitute the starting point of my analysis, since they enable to observe in detail the relationship between transitivity and thematic roles in psych verbs. As will be clear, I will propose that these verbs represent a core structure, on whose basis the other psych \bar{e} -verbs of this class are syntactically modelled. The relationship between the ancient impersonal type and the more recent Subject Experiencer pattern is a very interesting topic to be investigated: under a diachronic perspective, it enables to observe a clear detransitivization and re-transitivization process, which progressively leads to the alignment of all psych \bar{e} -verbs with the full transitive pattern.

3. Methodological remarks

The framework I will refer to is Generative Grammar. This is a very important point, since Latin has been traditionally analysed in studies about IE languages, thus mostly under a diachronic comparative perspective. Generative Grammar has been applied to Latin only in recent years, starting from Oniga (2007), whose work is a crucial starting point for most updated research. More recently, Latin has been reconsidered in the Generative Grammar framework also by Ledgeway (2012), especially as far as its relationship with Romance varieties is concerned.

The main assumption on which this tendency has been developed is that Latin, as a natural language, is subject to the rules of the Universal Grammar exactly as modern languages. Obviously, our knowledge of Latin is quite limited, since it is represented by a restricted corpus, which is formed mostly by written texts of a good linguistic level. This means that – if we exclude epigraphic attestations – spoken Latin cannot be satisfactorily reconstructed, even if some traces of it emerge from the texts at our disposal (especially from the comedy/drama and from some works which employ a “mimetic” variety). Anyway, even if Latin is not a spoken viable language, we know

enough of its characteristics, since the corpus at our disposal includes a very wide number of texts.

Thus, linguistic research on Latin that conforms to a more formal approach is actually possible, provided that data are carefully collected and that an adapted notion of “grammaticality” is employed. In this respect, it is not possible to establish what was actually “ungrammatical” in Latin, since no speaker can be asked for judgments. We can only suppose that not attested patterns were not employed or maybe ungrammatical; on the same line, if the data are carefully analysed, linguistic constraints can be identified on the basis of their frequency and by strictly referring to the contexts in which they appear. This is the line that will be followed in this thesis, which is primarily based on the analysis of data.

Data have been collected by inquiring the most important *corpora* of Latin in the web. The main sources I have utilized are the *Thesaurus Latinae Linguae*, the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* and the *Brepolis* database, which provide all the main texts of Latin from the early centuries up to the very Late Period. In the first phase of my research, I have analysed some grammars of Latin (for instance Hoffmann and Szantyr, 1972; Conte, Berti and Mariotti, 2006) in order to investigate how the topic of my work is described under a non-formal point of view. What can be easily noticed is that traditional non-formal analyses actually contribute to the investigation of the phenomena I have dealt with, especially in that they provide very detailed descriptions and also outline a fruitful comparison with other ancient languages. The main weak point of non-formal analyses instead concerns the way in which these linguistic phenomena are classified. Traditional grammars separately treat phenomena which could be instead profitably compared, since they trace back to a sole common origin. As an instance, the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class are never treated as a coherent group with shared syntactic characteristics, and impersonals are generally kept distinct from personal verbs. Also transitivization is usually considered as a mere diachronic trend, and no grammar provides a subtler analysis of its syntactic entailments. Moreover, the notion of “Case” is mostly treated under the point of view of historical linguistics. Generative Grammar provides more refined tools in this respect, in that it enables to investigate the deep nature of linguistic phenomena. Thus, it can supply a scientific approach to phenomena which have been abundantly categorized by scholars but never analysed under a formal point of view.

Naturally, my work adopts a comparative perspective. As will be clear, I have capitalised the comparison with Italian, which is my mother tongue; anyway, I have collected data also from other modern languages either by interviewing native speakers or by using data reported in the literature.

4. Roadmap

To conclude, I will provide a detailed roadmap of this work.

In chapter 1. I will deal with the class of \bar{e} -verbs under a general point of view. Namely, I will discuss traditional classifications put forth so far and I will then provide a formal analysis of the semantic status of this class of verbs. This will be attained by investigating their morphology and their actional nature. Moreover, so as to correctly define the semantics of \bar{e} -verbs (and more precisely of the psych verbs of this class), I will discuss the notion of “thematic role” and its interaction with *Aktionsart*. I will then propose my own classification of \bar{e} -verbs. In chapter 2. I will present the most relevant analyses which have been proposed for stative psych verbs in the Generative Grammar framework. I will then analyse in very detail the impersonal psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class and I will outline my own proposal of analysis. In chapter 3. I will discuss the class of Subject-Experiencer psych verbs, which will be compared to impersonals, so as to reach a satisfactory unified analysis for all the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class.

CHAPTER 1

The second conjugation and the class of psych \bar{e} -verbs: morphology and semantics

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss some theoretical issues which are at the basis of the analysis that will be proposed in the course of the dissertation. I aim to isolate a subgroup of \bar{e} -verbs, namely psych predicates, and to investigate their syntactic behaviour so as to propose a formal analysis for them. In this picture, a first necessary step is a discussion about the general properties of \bar{e} -verbs: this will clarify why the psych verbs of this class are a topic which is worth describing in detail.

Latin \bar{e} -verbs have never been analysed in the Generative Grammar framework or under a formal syntactic approach: rather, they have been taken into account in studies about IE languages, mostly in a diachronic perspective. My aim is indeed to treat them under a formal syntactic point of view, namely in the Generative Grammar framework. As I have recalled in the *Introduction*, for a satisfactory syntactic classification of this class of verbs to be outlined, a very detailed investigation of their morphology and their semantics is needed. This is due to the fact that the second conjugation does not include a unique homogeneous group of predicates and is therefore a very complex category, in which different kinds of verbs have been inserted in time.

In the following paragraphs I will compare more traditional analyses – like that of Hocquard (1981), which can be considered the most extensive study about the topic so far – with more recent approaches and updated linguistic inquiries. The main facts I will take into account can be outlined as follows:

- (i) The Latin verbs of the \bar{e} -class are not a totally homogeneous group: they can be divided in at least three types on the basis of their different morphological status.
- (ii) The \bar{e} -morpheme mainly has a stative value.
- (iii) Stative \bar{e} -verbs have a basic monoargumental and intransitive reading. They are generally non-agentive verbs and “property predicates”.

- (iv) Even stative verbs themselves do not form a semantic coherent group. They are better categorized into different sub-classes that can be identified on the basis of their meaning as well as by applying specific syntactic tests.

My present purpose is to investigate how this category has been analysed in earlier studies, so as to isolate some problematic issues related to their possible syntactic configurations. It will emerge that the most interesting sub-class in this respect is that of psych verbs, in that they represent a very peculiar case of stative dynamic predicates and also display some noteworthy characteristics concerning thematic selection. Moreover, they represent an interesting case of interface between semantics and syntax with respect to transitivity.

In this chapter, after a general overview of the most common classifications of \bar{e} -verbs (§2.), I will concentrate on their morphological status (§3.), since this clearly constitutes the starting point to understand the common properties of the predicates belonging to this class. It will be shown that the \bar{e} -morpheme has an actual stative nature, which is shared by the majority of the verbs of the second conjugation. In §4. and §5. I will focus on semantics, so as to discuss in depth the notion of “stative”, since it will turn out to be crucial in the successive investigation about the syntactic structure of psych verbs. In §6. I will discuss the thematic theory, since this is one of the most problematic points to be dealt with when considering psych predicates. As will be clear from the discussion, I will propose a non-atomic notion of “thematic role”, which is particularly useful to describe the semantics of psych \bar{e} -verbs. Along this line, in §7. the Experiencer and the Stimulus, i.e. the typical roles for psych verbs, will be described. Finally, in §8. I will return to the whole class of stative \bar{e} -verbs, so as to provide some final remarks about their semantic classification, on the basis of what will have been proposed in the previous sections.

2. The classification of Latin \bar{e} -verbs

Latin \bar{e} -verbs have been traditionally classified into four distinct groups (Ernout, 1953; Leumann, 1977; Hocquard, 1981):

- a. Verbs with a radical *-ē-*, in which the long vowel is part of the verbal stem. *Fleo* “to cry” and *pleo* “to fill” are typical examples of this group together with *neo* “to spin” and *deleo* “to erase” (Leumann, 1977: 540; Ernout, 1953: 144).
- b. Causative transitive verbs. In this kind of formations, the *-ē-* results from the contraction of the two *e* contained in the inherited causative suffix **-eye-* (see Sanskrit *bhar-áya-ti* ‘he makes bring’ from the root **bher-*). This group includes two separate classes: the verbs of the first class display an *o*-vocalism in the root (see Greek $\varphi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega < *phor-eye/o-$ “to bring, take” from the root **bher-*) and can be identified on the basis of minimal pairs with vocalic gradation (*moneo* “to remind, admonish”/*memini* “to remember”, *noceo* “to harm, injure”/*nex* “death”, *torreo* “to pinch, drain”/*terra* “soil, terrain”). A second subclass includes verbs with a causative reading, although they are not provided with *o*-vocalism (*suādeo*, *terreo*, *voveo*)¹.
- c. Verbs with a consonantal base, which have a “stative” meaning. Starting from Ernout (1953) it has been noticed that these verbs are mostly intransitive (see *pateo* “to stand/be open”, *sileo* “to be still, to rest”). Some of them have a corresponding transitive causative form, which is formed with suffixes other than *-ē-* (i.e. *iaceo* “to lie”/*iacio* “to place”, or *pendeo* “to hang”/*pendo* “to hang, to make hang” or *glubeo* “to be in a state of peeling”/*glubo* “to peel”²). A small group of these verbs can have both a transitive and an intransitive use, with a consequent slight shift in the meaning. Consider the case of *maneo*:

- (1) a. *si consulem manere ad urbem senatui placuisset*
 if consul_{Acc} to-stay near city_{Acc} senate_{Dat} pleased_{Subj3rdSing}
 “In the case the senate agreed that the consul stayed near the city” (Liv. 30, 27)
- b. *hostium adventum mansit* (Liv. 42, 66)
 enemies_{Gen} arrival_{Acc} waited_{3rdSing}
 “He waited for the enemies’ arrival”

¹ As for *suadeo*, since it displays no *o*-vocalism, it is supposed to derive from the adjectival form *suavis* directly introduced into the verb, which has the causative meaning “to make sweet”. (Schrijver 1991: 148). *Terreo* is to be considered the output of PIE **tros-eie-* “to make scared” (de Vaan, 2008: 617). *Voveo* is problematic. Its *o*-vocalism is supposed to be the result of a process of analogic restoration from *a*-vocalism (de Vaan, 2008: 691)

² Notice that, while *iacio* is a present in **ye/o*, *pendo* is a thematic radical present: they belong to different verbal classes, i.e. to the fourth and the third conjugation respectively. Thus, the opposition between an *-ē-* form and a corresponding causative predicate can involve verbs included in different classes.

- d. Denominative intransitives (like *albeo* “to be white”, *caleo* “to be warm”, *putreo* “to be putrid”, *seneo* “to be old”, *frondeo* “to be in flower”) with a “stative” and depictive reading. Their roots are displayed in nouns and adjectives with a corresponding meaning, as shown for instance by *albor/albus* (“whiteness/white”) and *calor/calidus* (“warmth/warm”).

This classification is far from being unproblematic³. As I have already recalled, it is evident that in this wide group different kinds of predicates have been conflated and that they cannot be considered semantically homogeneous. On the other side, all these verbs belong to the second conjugation and have somehow undergone a parallel development in time, with consequent phenomena of analogy. The morpheme *-ē-* is indubitably present in the verbs of group (c) and can therefore be assigned a clear stative value, a fact which is confirmed by the formations in (d), regardless of what their derivation is supposed to be (see §3. for a detailed discussion about this issue). The verbs in (a) and (b) are instead only superficially comparable to those in (c) and (d), since their *-ē-* is not a true morpheme or is not a morpheme at all, even if it has been considered as a mark capable to include them in the second conjugation.

It can be easily noticed that the morphological classification which has been proposed by scholars enables to catalogue the verbs in *-ē-* in distinct *semantic* classes. In this respect, morphology is tightly related to semantics, in that it overtly signals the actional nature of the predicate and supplies information about its argumental selection. Against this background, in what follows, I will not take into account the verbs in (a), because, at a morphological level, they belong only superficially to the *ē*-class.

On the basis of the morphology-semantics interface, the other groups can be more properly classified in the following way:

- (i) The inherited morpheme *-ē-* can have a causative value: in this case, the verb generally selects for an Agent and displays a transitive pattern, which probably derives from an underlying complex syntactic structure (that of a causative). In this respect, morphology is strictly related to syntax, since it is the output of a

³ Here I will not discuss this problem under the point of view of the comparative Indo-European linguistics, since it is not strictly related to the purpose of my work. A detailed discussion about these issues can be found in Harðarson (1998), Rix (2001) and Jasanoff (2003), from which I borrow most of the observations in the following pages.

covert mechanism which leads to a transitive superficial pattern. The verbs in (b) belong to this class.

- (ii) A wide group of \bar{e} -verbs has a “stative” value. It includes predicates which are formed by means of an actual morpheme $-\bar{e}$ -. I will discuss the notion of *stativity* in §5., in order to problematize it on the basis of some recent research on the topic. Here I will only highlight that this group – which includes the verbs in (c) and (d) – is less homogeneous than it could appear at a first glance. If we consider semantics, the only possible generalization is that all the predicates included in this group can never be interpreted as achievements or accomplishments and do not select for any resultee, even if they can also display a transitive structure. As I will state later on, some of them can be read as abstract activities (i.e. *doleo*), while some others are true statives, namely “property predicates”, as they denote the status of an entity and describe its characteristics in an (also limited) period of time (i.e. *albeo* “to be white”, *areo* “to be dry”, *languedo* “to be faint, languid”, *sordeo* “to be dirty, sordid”, *squaleo* “to be dirty, squalid”, *rigeo* “to be stiff, solidified”, *rubeo* “to be red”, *horreo* “to be stiff, raised”). A major peculiarity of this latter group is the possibility to display a complex paradigm (the so called “Caland System”, see Watkins, 1971; Nussbaum, 1976), which includes a causative form in $-e-facio$, an inchoative/iterative form in $-\bar{e}-sc\bar{e}re$, an adjective with the morpheme $-\bar{i}dus$, and an abstract noun with a morpheme $-or$. All these forms are strictly related to the descriptive nature of the corresponding verb, regardless of the fact that it can be assigned a static or a dynamic value. This can be exemplified by the complete paradigm displayed by *caleo*:

- (2) a. *caleo*: “to feel/be warm” (X is warm)
b. *calefacio*: “to make someone feel/be warm” (Y makes X become warm)
c. *calesco*: “to progressively become warm” (X becomes warm, with no telic reading)
d. *calidus*: “warm/got warm” (X got warm: X is warm)
e. *calor*: “warmth”

(2a) and (2c) are intransitive verbs with a sole Nominative-marked argument: while (2a) has a property stative reading, (2c) is an inchoative or progressive form, which means that an entity gradually changes its state in a limited period of time, with no basic telic meaning⁴. The causative in (2b) is a complex predicate in that it involves two distinct entities, one of which is the Causer and the other is the Causee (with no compulsory telicity). The form in (2d) has different possible readings. It has been proposed that the adjectives in *-idus* typically refer to an individual level (Olsen, 2004); anyway, their reading has progressively been reinterpreted, so that a form like (2d) can simply mean “warm”, with a neuter quality value⁵. The noun in (2e) expresses a certain quality of an entity: “X got warm, so X is characterized by *warmth*”.

Also psych verbs in *-ē-* belong to this group and have a peculiar status, since their meaning has systematically undergone a semantic shift from a physic to a psych reference⁶.

The main issue of this work is to investigate the interaction between syntax and semantics in psych *ē*-verbs. The psych verbs of the *ē*-class do not belong to the subclass of the causatives in (i), since, under a morphological point of view, they are built by means of the stative morpheme *-ē-*. Namely, they are mostly derived from basic property predicates because of a semantic shift from a physic reading to a mental value. This triggers an interesting problem, which concerns the relationship between Actionality and thematic selection. As I will clarify later on (in §5.), the psych verbs of

⁴ I will treat this issue in detail in §8., where it will be pointed out that this meaning can shift in time towards a more neutral value.

⁵ More recently Di Gennaro (2008) has discussed the form in *-idus* and has proposed that it traces back to the verbal form in *-ē-sco*. I will return on her analysis in ch. 3. §6.1.

⁶ In ch. 3. I will provide a detailed list and a description of the verbs which undergo such a semantic shift. For the sake of clarity, I give here a couple of examples from *horreo*:

- (1) Mare cum horret fluctibus (Acc. trag. 413)
 sea_{Nom} when bristles waves_{AbI}
 “When the sea bristles with waves”
- (2) Cassium (...) horrebant (Cic.S. Rosc. 85)
 Cassius_{AccMasc} feared_{3rdPlur}
 “They feared Cassius”

While in (1) the verb has a physic meaning, in (2) it has shifted towards a psych reading, whose meaning is clearly borrowed from the corresponding physic value: someone gets his hair raised when they are horrified at something or fear it.

this class can actually be considered stative causatives and this entails that they determine a complex thematic relation between the arguments they select.

As emphasized in the preceding remarks, most of the stative verbs of the \bar{e} -class (the ones in c. and d.) are monoargumental in nature, since, as generally happens with property verbs, they are comparable to copular predicates. The fact that some of these predicates have corresponding transitive forms with no $-\bar{e}$ - morpheme, has led Ernout (1953) to think of the $-\bar{e}$ - morpheme itself as a possible marker of *intransitivity*. Non- \bar{e} forms, such as *iacio* and *pendo*, are actually attested in a regular transitive pattern and constitute the counterpart of corresponding \bar{e} -forms, which are kept distinct from them thanks to the sole $-\bar{e}$ - morpheme. Therefore, this is deemed to clearly mark intransitivity. Notice that this distinction can be clearly observed only in Early Latin, since, in the Classical Age, the verbs in $-\bar{e}$ - tend to become preponderant, with a consequent decrease of the non- \bar{e} forms: forms in $-\bar{e}$ - are largely prominent in the Classical prose and the verbs belonging to the third conjugation are generally maintained only in poetry (*fulgeo/fulgo* “to be bright”; *ferveo/fervo* “to be hot, boil”, and so on). Thus, in some cases the alternation can be observed only in the pre-Classical Period when both forms are viable and normally attested. Notice that, in Late Period some stative verbs which belong to the first, the third and the fourth conjugation are also attested in an \bar{e} -form (*fidēre* “to have faith”) (Ernout, 1953: 147).

The intransitive nature of stative \bar{e} -verbs is strictly related to the fact that they do not select for an Agent. This is maybe their plainest peculiarity, which enables to group them in a sole homogeneous class. Recall that agentivity is one of the largely acknowledged features of transitivity across languages (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), a fact which is meant to be crucial for the analysis I will propose later on. Naturally, even if the original intransitive nature of the stative morpheme $-\bar{e}$ - is accepted, the main problem arises when biargumental and transitive variants of intransitive property predicates are considered. This will be one of the aspects I will deal with in the following pages. Here, I will only claim that the stative $-\bar{e}$ - morpheme actually has an intransitive basic value, and that transitivity is obtained in this class by means of a *transitivization* process, whose nature will be investigated mostly in the next chapters. Anyway, before discussing transitivization, it is necessary to focus on the fact that the passage from a monoargumental predicate like *horreo* “to be stiff” to a derived verb with the meaning “to fear something” involves first of all a kind of template augmentation. Thus, transitivity is only possible when the verb has acquired a

biargumental status. This point will be abundantly discussed in the course of the dissertation.

To sum up what I have noticed so far, it can be stated that, if we consider argumental selection, the classification of the relevant verbs of the \bar{e} -class can be reduced to two wide groups:

- (a) *Causative predicates* are regularly transitive and no problem crops up with respect to their syntactic behaviour. As stated before, these verbs are true transitives even in their deep structure, in that they select for an Agent and a Patient.
- (b) *Non-causative predicates* are generally monoargumental. What is remarkable in this group is (i) the possibility for some verbs to be attested from the pre-Classical Period onwards in a biargumental and even in a transitive structure; (ii) the possibility for some verbs to undergo a semantic shift and a transitivization process that culminates in the Classical Age and is productive in Late Latin.

I will concentrate on the second group, in order to shed some new light on the syntax of psych \bar{e} -verbs. I will first focus on the description of the semantic shift which characterizes these verbs and I will then discuss their transitive variants. The basic idea is that the consequences of transitivization can be recovered in the syntax: transitivized verbs undergo an alignment process, which entails an intermediate syntactic status that can be diagnosed by means of specific tests. If this is true, we expect to have some evidence of it especially when intrinsically intransitive verbs undergo a transitivization process. Thus, before turning to investigate the syntax of such verbs in detail, it is indispensable to define to what extent stative \bar{e} -verbs can be supposed to be “basically monoargumental and intransitive”. This can be done by considering both their morphology and their semantic classification.

3. The morphology of stative \bar{e} -verbs

The $-\bar{e}$ - morpheme with a stative value is not an exclusive prerogative of Latin verbs. In Ancient Greek it is displayed in different formations: (a) in denominative predicates, like the so-called contracts in $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (like $\alpha\lambda\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ “to feel pain” and $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ “to

love”), in which the morpheme *-ē-* appears not only within the present-stem, but also in the aorist and in the future forms in *-ησ-*; (b) in the so-called aorist passive, like in *ἔ χάρην*, “I rejoiced” and in *ἔ μάνην*, “I went crazy”, which has the meaning “enter into a certain state” (Rix, 1992: 218)⁷. Evidence for its presence in other Indo-European languages has been supplied by previous literature on the topic (Jasanoff 1978, 2003): the morpheme *-ē-* can be found in seven different branches of the IE family, among which Slavic, Baltic and Germanic. It has been discussed what the origin of this suffix is. In the following pages, I will briefly summarize the main issues and the most fortunate hypotheses put forth so far.

In sum, two major proposals have been outlined in the literature: (i) the first one has been developed before the laryngeal theory was proposed and is represented by the works of Chantraine (1927) Wagner (1950) and Watkins (1969), a.o.; more recently, it has been adapted by Hocquard in her extensive work on stative *ē*-verbs (Hocquard, 1981). These studies have a propensity to consider *η*-aorists passive of Ancient Greek as the typical form for this verbal class, which is therefore to be thought of as primarily deverbative; as I will explain in this section, this leads to consider Latin stative *ē*-verbs as a substitute of the IE perfect. (ii) A second proposal is instantiated in the works of Cowgill’s followers and of Jasanoff, and has its basis in the progressive development of the laryngeal hypothesis. As I am going to explain, even if under different perspectives, these proposals claim that *-ē-* is the outcome of a sequence *-e-* plus the laryngeal *-h₁-* and that such a sequence **eH₁* has given rise to all the *ē*-formations of IE, with a successive widening of its employment in different patterns.

In the pre-laryngeal theory, it has been hypothesized that Latin verbs of the *ē*-group can actually be ancient aorist formations, as the comparison with Ancient Greek is claimed to confirm. On the basis of Chantraine (1927) and Wagner (1950), Hocquard (1981) proposes that the *-ē-* morpheme has been introduced in Latin as a way to form a stative present, so as to substitute a “fragile perfect”, i.e. the IE perfect progressively abandoned in most languages of the family, except for Ancient Greek and Sanskrit.

Under this view, the perfect is claimed to be progressively replaced by other forms, since it has an ambiguous reading: on the one side it expresses an event which is anchored in the past; on the other, it expresses a state which can be read as the result of

⁷ This peculiar meaning links these formations with the Indo-European stative morphology. Notice that, as acknowledged in the literature on the topic, these verbs have a reduced-grade stem like some Latin formations.

a process whose consequences affect the present. Some examples of the IE perfect survive in Latin (*memini* “to remember”, *odi* “to hate”), but they are to be clearly read as presents with an unambiguous resultative value. Latin is deemed to have employed the *-ē-* morpheme as a way to maintain the resultative value of the perfect in a present tense form, which has been modelled on the η -aorist passive of Ancient Greek, namely starting from middle athematic aorist roots. As for the reasons which led to such a shift from an aorist form to a resultative present class, Hocquard (1981) recalls Chantraine (1953), who notices that the η -aorist passive has on its own a stative and a resultative value: Hocquard cites, for instance, the case of ἔ δάη, which in Homer means “he has been taught”, provided that the teaching process has still consequences and benefits in the present. According to this view, the *-η-* morpheme of aorist passive has both a stative and a durative value and is therefore capable to express both the past-tense reading and the resultative (durative) value of the IE perfect; this is supposed to lead to the progressive replacement of the latter by means of the former. Thus, the sum of this proposal is that Latin conflates the resultative perfect of IE into a specific class of presents and maintains a genuine dualism of tenses thanks to the alternation of *infectum* and *perfectum*. In order to strengthen this hypothesis, Hocquard recalls Chantraine (1927), who underlines that the Latin verbs of the *-ē-* class systematically correspond to perfect forms of Ancient Greek that have a resultative value: some examples of this are *dolēre/ἄ νόχημαι* (“to feel pain”) *olēre/ὄ δωδα* (“to have an odor”) *florēre/τέθηλα* (“to be in flower”). As a conclusion, while Latin tends to reanalyse such forms in a dedicated class, Ancient Greek is more conservative as far as the perfect is concerned, since it is attested in time in a wide number of fixed forms, also when its value is opacified and the formation is no more productive (mostly from the IV c. B.C. onwards).

After the laryngeal hypothesis has been introduced, scholars have developed a more complex theory for the origin of the *-ē-* morpheme. A first proposal has been defended in the works of the “Cowgill’s school” (Cowgill, 1963; Hock, 1973; Ringe, 1990), whose assumptions have recently been revived by Harðarson (1998). According to this proposal, stative *-ē-* formations all derive from a PIE **-eh₁*, with a zero grade **-h₁*, whose most evident traces are visible in the η -aorist of Ancient Greek. Stative *-ē-* verbs of the IE family are derived in two parallel manners: (i) in a later type the suffix **-ye/ó-* is added to the full grade of the aorist suffix; this is the case of Latin statives and is displayed, among others, also in Balto-Slavic denominatives; (ii) in more recent

formations the suffix **-ye/ó-* is added to the zero grade; this happens, for instance, in Slavic deverbative presents.

In his recent overview of the topic, Jasanoff (2003) proposes to trace back all \bar{e} -formations to a sole laryngeal morpheme *-eh₁-*, and then suggests to recognize a progressive diachronic spreading of its employment. He claims that Cowgill's and Harðarson's theory is actually incorrect, as there is no evidence for the presence of a distinction between *-eh₁-* and *-h₁-*. His proposal analyses different \bar{e} -formations in a diachronic perspective. Stative \bar{e} -verbs are deemed to derive from an instrumental nominal form (on the basis of Nussbaum, 1999) provided with an adjectival function, following the pattern exemplified in (3):

- (3) Predicate instrumental **X-éh₁* “with/characterized by X-ness” → present **X-eh₁-ye/ó-* “be(come) characterized by X-ness, be(come) X” (Jasanoff 2003: 147)

Under this view, stative \bar{e} -verbs are all denominative formations, and this is deemed to account for the possible attestation of a complete paradigm of the type in (2), which is better explicable if one supposes that it is formed on the basis of nominal roots. Jasanoff underlines that, given this hypothesis, there is no need to distinguish between denominative and deverbative formations, as all stative \bar{e} -verbs stem from nominal instrumentals, even if no synchronic corresponding nominal forms can be associated with them. As for the relationship between Ancient Greek η -aorists and stative \bar{e} -verbs, Jasanoff states that these formations are made on the basis of the same morpheme *-eh₁-* of the instrumental; anyway Greek aorist is alleged to result from a separated derivation and cannot constitute the paradigm for the stative verbs in $-\bar{e}$ -. The aorist passive in $-\eta$ - is supposed to come from the replacement of middle root aorists, starting from their participial forms. This could explain the intransitive value of the η -aorist in its primary meaning, so that its passive reading can only be thought of as a successive development, which is associated with the introduction of the passive form in $-\theta\eta$ -. Coherently with what has been supposed for other analogous formations, before being interpreted as a true passive, the η -aorist had a basic stative meaning.

Regardless of how the problem can be solved on the basis of diachronic morphology, I would like to underline some points that are interesting for my analysis. First of all, under both points of view, Latin verbs of the \bar{e} -class are agentless

predicates. Namely, under the pre-laryngeal view they denote a state of an entity, which is supposed to have undergone some change of state. On the other hand, the laryngeal hypothesis separates true stative verbs from other \bar{e} -verbs, which are to be considered as the outcome of different morphological processes. The fact that stative \bar{e} -verbs could stem from a nominal instrumental entails a depictive or property basic nature for them; moreover, the affinity to a typical middle form, such as the aorist passive of Ancient Greek, leads to the consequence that \bar{e} -verbs of Latin select for an argument whose features are to be traced back to some extent with to a “middle reading”. According to Watkins (1969), the perfect and the athematic middle voice originally shared the same endings in PIE. On this basis, it has been supposed that the \bar{e} -class could be a group of verbs with a middle value, i.e. with a kind of “passive” subject (Hocquard, 1981). Even though this hypothesis is fascinating – as it proposes to recognize a stable reading for the verbs of a homogenous morphological class – the question is not trivial. First of all, the notion of “middle” has weak boundaries, as it shows a non-homogeneous semantic range, also in Latin. Moreover, under this view, it should be clarified what the relationship between middle deponents and \bar{e} -verbs is, since in Latin both forms are productive in time. Finally, there exists a group of deponents \bar{e} -verbs whose presence is unexpected in this respect, as they would have to be considered “hyper-specified” (as Hocquard, 1981 does), giving rise to a non-desirable exception.

Under a more general point of view, it is clear enough that in Latin the middle voice is only one possible way to render the middle value: the comparison with other languages reveals that some Latin verbs with a non agentive reading, such as *fido* “to trust” or *pereo* “to pass away”, display middle morphology in Greek and in Sanskrit, so that they can be considered as having an underlying middle meaning. Hocquard (1981) proposes that the non-active meaning of stative \bar{e} -verbs is to be traced back to an original passive meaning which is strictly related to an archaic sacral mentality⁸. Regardless of how these conjectures fare, it is evident that the sole morphological classification cannot account for the complex problem that arises when this class of verbs is considered.

All these remarks induce to further consider what the semantics of these verbs is. In the next paragraph, I will proceed by analysing some previous proposals about their semantic classification, so as to come to a more refined and formal analysis.

⁸ See footnote 10 for some clarifying examples of this.

4. Remarks on the semantics of stative \bar{e} -verbs: towards a formal analysis

Hocquard (1981) largely discusses the semantics of stative \bar{e} -verbs. She argues that they always have a “passive subject”, i.e. a syntactic subject which is somehow affected by the predicate. This assumption first arises from the idea that they have inherited the resultative value of the “fragile perfect” of IE (see §3.). Moreover, in order to support this hypothesis, Hocquard quotes some earlier analyses which have dealt with different aspects of this issue.

Hocquard (1981) distinguishes between:

- a. Verbs with an abstract meaning whose subject “is at disposal” (as *pateo* “to be open”, *pareo* “to obey”, *liceo* “to be licit”), “lacks something” (*careo* “to be deprived of/to miss” and *egeo* “to be deprived of”), “is non-active” (*sileo* and *taceo* “to be silent”, *maneo* “to remain, stay”).
- b. Verbs of location whose subject “is in a certain position or place” (as *emineo* “to be prominent” and *immineo* “to be imminent”, *teneo* “to hold, keep”, *promineo* “to jut out”, *iaceo* “to lie”), is hiding (*lateo* “to lie hidden”) or is motionless (*pendeo* “to hang down”, *haereo* “to adhere”).
- c. Verbs with a “middle reading” (i.e. whose meaning implies that the subject is strongly affected by the predicate). Different predicates belong to this category, which is quite inhomogeneous: some of them are morphologically deponents or semi-deponents, like *fateor* “to admit, confess”, *medeor* “to heal, cure”, *audeo* “to dare” and *gaudeo* “to be joyful”; some others are claimed to have a middle reading solely on the basis of two parameters, i.e. their meaning and the comparison with other IE languages, in which they correspond to morphological middle forms. *Caveo* “to beware”, *rideo* “to laugh”, *voveo* “to vow, dedicate” and *doleo* “to ache, suffer” are, for instance, grouped in this sub-category.
- d. Impersonal verbs, which are grouped separately, as they are claimed to derive from nominal stems⁹. Also these verbs are deemed to have a sort of passive subject.

⁹ Impersonal verbs are dealt with in ch. 2.

In some cases – as happens with the verbs in (c) – the subject can show a high degree of affectedness (see for instance *doleo*); in others cases, the predicate is described as being in a certain state, as being in a certain place or as having some permanent or transitory characteristics. In this picture, Hocquard admits that some \bar{e} -verbs pose a major problem, as their subject has a non-well-defined passive semantics. In order to outline a possible homogeneous classification, she recalls some previous research (Meillet, 1924; Vendryes, 1940; Benveniste, 1950, 1960) that has examined these verbs in order to demonstrate that even predicates like *video* “to see” and *tueor* “to protect, watch” can actually be considered as selecting a passive-like subject. Some intuitions are quite clear and mostly based on diachronic semantic facts. For instance, *habeo* “to have” is deemed to be a non-agentive verb with an original absolute and intransitive meaning “to occupy a place in space” (from which the frequentative *habitare* “to live in a place” has arisen). The non-agentive nature of *habeo* is supported by the corresponding “Dative of possession”, which is widespread in Latin and more ancient than the transitive structure. Some other verbs, like *teneo*, are interpreted as originally intransitive: *teneo* has a primary meaning “to persist, to hold a position”, which is attested also in the Classical Age:

- (4) tenent Danai qua deficit ignis (Verg. Aen. 2, 505)
 occupy_{3rdPlur} Grecians_{NomMasc} where failed_{3rdSing} fire_{NomMasc}
 “The Grecians stood victor, where the flame had failed”

This residual use is alleged to show that the biargumental variant of the verb is the result of an ancient transitivization process, since already from Plautus *teneo* displays a current transitive structure. In some other cases, Vendryes (1940) puts forth an anthropologic analysis, by adopting a less formal procedure: he states that verbs like *iubeo* “to command”, *censeo* “to count, decree”, *fateor* “to confess” have an original sacral meaning, according to which the human entity is perceived as inspired by the gods or compelled to do something by a divine power¹⁰.

¹⁰ This mechanism is instantiated by *faveo* “to be favourable”, which Hocquard (1981: 393) connects to a basic meaning “the god has been fortified by means of a sacrifice”. From this passive meaning, she proposes that a more generic reading “to be favourable” has arisen; this meaning has then been applied to human as well as to divine entities. As for *medeor* “to cure, mend”, she cites Vendryes (1940) in order to state that the widespread meaning “to cure/medicate” has a basic passive value, in that it derives from the idea that the healer was inspired by a divine force (Hocquard, 1981: 391).

Quellet (1969), who deals with abstract nouns in *-or*, provides some more reasons to maintain that the stative verbs of the \bar{e} -class select for agentless subjects. According to Quellet, nouns in *-or* all have an abstract meaning which denotes a phenomenon or a process with no animate Agent: even if they denote processes, they always exclude a starting point and a culmination (although both can be somehow supposed to exist as a world-knowledge presupposition). Moreover, *-or* nouns signify a process which cannot be controlled by the affected entity, regardless of the Case it is assigned by the corresponding verbal form. According to this view – which is then supported by Hocquard by means of several examples – a noun like *nitor* indicates the “phenomenon of brightness”, in which the sole possible argument is highly affected by the predicate and has no Agent features, since it cannot control the process which takes place. This also happens with Leumann’s denominatives, coherently with their nature of property predicates:

- (5) a. *albor*: “the property of being white”
 b. *calor*: “the property of being warm”
 c. *candor*: “the property of being pure”

Notice that in Quellet (1969) *-or* nouns are supposed to denote a transitory state, but this does not call into doubt their basic abstractness and their agentless nature. In their primary meaning, these nouns can only select for a single Genitive-marked argument with no Agent features, since their corresponding verbs are monoargumental.

One more interesting remark about stative \bar{e} -verbs comes from Meillet (1928), who underlines their primary physic reference. A closer look at the basic meaning of some psych verbs of this group allows for such a proposal. *Rubeo*, for instance, is a basic property predicate, which means “to be red”, with an atelic meaning; it acquires the meaning “to be ashamed” because of a shift from the physic to the psych value. The same holds for other verbs, like *stupeo* (“to be numb/to be in a daze”) and *squaleo* (“to be terribly sad”). These verbs are therefore monoargumental in nature, since they primarily denote a physic state. Under this meaning, the only possible way to make them select for a complement other than the syntactic subject would be to provide their structure with an “Accusative-marked complement of relation”, which is the part of the body involved in the state denoted by the predicate. As I have already recalled, some of these verbs can select for an Accusative-marked Stimulus when they have a psych

value, but this cannot be fully compared with the Accusative of relation of the physic reading, as the semantic relationship which is instantiated in these two types is quite different in nature: in the case of an Accusative of relation, the Accusative marks a complement which denotes a part of the body, with the aim to better specify the status of the affected entity; in the cases of transitivization which I will treat in the next chapters a psych relation is instantiated:

(6) Exp_{Nom} psych verb Stim_{Acc}

In (6) the relation between the arguments involves causation and is based on a biargumental structure, thus requiring an underlying configuration capable to provide a correct formalization for that.

The proposals I have summarized so far are merely based on semantics and do not take into account syntactic facts. In some cases, they consider the anthropologic background of the language as crucial to define how the meaning of the verbs taken into account has evolved in time. The main aim of all these tentative analyses is to defend the coherent stative nature of a single class of verbs, as a way to maintain their morphological analysis unified. However, although these proposals do not have a formal approach, I believe that some of the conclusions they reach are correct and can be easily reconsidered in formal terms. Before discussing the characteristics of psych \bar{e} -verbs in detail, I will now turn to compare the non-formal assumptions I have outlined with the results of some more sophisticated analyses. Some of the remarks I have presented so far are strictly related to the notion of *thematic role*, which will be treated in greater detail in §6.. I will now turn to some important questions: (i) what “stative verbs” are and (ii) how they can be identified on the basis of *Aktionsart*.

5. Defining stative verbs

In this section I will discuss the notion of *stativity*, as this is an unavoidable starting point for the analysis I will propose later on. Since the morpheme \bar{e} - basically has a stative meaning, we have to wonder in what sense all the verbs included in this sub-class can be considered as “statives”. This definition is highly problematic especially when psych-verbs are considered. Since these verbs shows interesting

peculiarities with respect to the semantics-syntax interface, I will consider the problem of their semantic nature in detail, so as to provide a more refined syntactic analysis in formal terms.

A first and critical issue is even defining “stative verbs/states”. As an instance Bach (1986), on the basis of Carlson (1981) and Dowty (1979) includes both states and non-states in the group of “eventualities”. He then proposes to distinguish between *dynamic* and *static* states: the first category includes predicates like *to sit* and *to lie*, while the second includes predicates like *to love x* or *to be in New York*.

This tentative classification reveals that states cannot be considered as indistinctly belonging to a sole indiscrete category. Indeed, from Vendler’s definition of states on, much has been said about the nature of this class of predicates. Let us reconsider the traditional categorization in detail so as to come back to Bach’s proposal later on in this paragraph.

5.1. Vendler’s model

The core definition of “states” follows from *Aktionsart*¹¹ facts. According to the well-known categorization of Vendler (1957, 1967) and Dowty (1979), states are neither achievements nor accomplishments, since they have no possible telic reading and cannot be interpreted as punctual; moreover they do not signify a change and cannot be considered as activities, since they have a [-process] feature.

The whole classification of predicates is generally summarized in the literature as follows (Travis, 2010:129, a.o.):

(7)

	-Process	+Process
-Definite	Stat(iv)e	Activity
+Definite	Achievement	Accomplishment

¹¹ Here I will distinguish between Actionality (*Aktionsart*) and Aspect in the conventional sense (Bertinetto, 2001, a.o.): while Actionality concerns the lexical properties of a predicate, Aspect arises from morphology, as happens with the pair perfectivity/imperfectivity. As has been recognized in the previous literature, Actionality and *Aktionsart* are strictly related in languages; nevertheless, I claim that it is possible to keep them separate, especially at a syntactic level (Travis, 2010).

Different tests have been applied to identify actional verbal classes: as for the [-definite] feature, one of the most well-known properties is that states and activities cannot be combined with a phrase “in x time”, as can be seen both in English and Italian:

- (8) a. *The coat is wet in three hours
 b. *Mary resembles Peter in two minutes
 c. *Anna è simpatica in tre minuti
 Anna_{Nom} is nice_{Nom} in three minutes
 d. *Anna poltrisce in tre ore
 Anna_{Nom} idles in three hours
 e. *Luigi cerca il libro in tre ore
 Luigi_{Nom} looks-for the book in three hours

The phrase “in x time” implies that a result has been attained, so that the predicate is obligatorily telic: telicity is therefore a crucial parameter to identify different classes of predicates, in that it distinguishes states and activities from accomplishments and achievements. On the other side, the most frequently applied test to identify achievements (i.e. the sole type of predicates which does not involve duration) is the addition of the phrase “for x time”, as it entails a certain duration, which is impossible in achievements:

- (9) *Ann broke the pen for an hour

States and activities tolerate the phrase “for x time”, as they are durative, while accomplishments do not. When accomplishments are combined with “for x time”, they are automatically interpreted as atelic, i.e. they are interpreted as activities. In (10), for instance, the sentence can only mean “Mary sharpened the pencil for a limited span of time”, but nothing is asserted on the resulting state of the pencil:

- (10) Mary sharpened the pencil for an hour

The interpretation of Actionality rests on different factors, which go beyond the intrinsic meaning of the verbal head. The actional information is basically inherent to

the lexicon, as happens in Latin with *albeo* (“to be white”), which has an unquestionable atelic meaning, regardless of the complements it can be combined with: some predicates, therefore, obligatorily belong to a given actional class. Nevertheless, a shift from an activity to an accomplishment is often driven by the combination with certain XPs, as happens with the Italian *temperare* “to sharpen”:

- (11) a. Luigi temperò la matita per un po’
 Luigi_{MascSing} sharpened_{3rdSing} the pencil for a while
 “Luigi sharpened the pencil for a while”
- b. Luigi temperò le matite
 Luigi_{MascSing} sharpened_{3rdSing} the pencils
 “Luigi sharpened the pencils”
- c. Luigi temperò matite
 Luigi_{MascSing} sharpened_{3rdSing} pencils
 “Luigi sharpened pencils”

Here we can see that, while (11a) and (11c) are preferably interpretable as activities, (11b) can be both an activity and an accomplishment, depending on the context of utterance. As for the difference between (11b) and (11c), it is clearly due to the definiteness of the NP selected by the verbal head: in (11b) definiteness gives rise to a possible telic reading, while in (11c) the presence of a bare noun prevents the predicate from being read as an accomplishment. As for (11a), the PP “per un po’” favours an atelic reading, since it entails that the pencil was not completely sharpened (this may have happened, but such evidence is not provided by the predicate). As often noticed in the previous literature (recently by Ramchand, 2008 and Travis, 2010, a.o.), also verbal morphology can affect the actional interpretation of the predicate¹²:

- (12) a. Ann wrote a book in two months/*for two months
 b. Ann was writing a book *in two months/for two months

As can be seen, the progressive form is not compatible with the phrase “in two months” in that this entails that the predicate is interpreted as telic; on the other side, the simple

¹² Notice that also the Italian examples in (11), if expressed in the present, undergo possible shifts in the meaning. I will not discuss this issue here, as it is not crucial for what follows.

past in (12a) cannot be combined with “for two months”, since it entails telicity.

The kind of meaning-shift in (11)-(12) always concerns the interpretation of activities and accomplishments. Namely, predicates which are activities in their absolute use, like *to run*, can be interpreted as accomplishments under certain circumstances (with the addition of a definite NP or if a non-progressive tense is displayed). Since accomplishments are claimed to be activities plus an endpoint, in principle all activities can shift to accomplishments if an endpoint is inserted in the sentence by means of an XP¹³. On the other hand, achievements can never be interpreted as activities or accomplishments. This is true even when examples like the following are considered:

- (13) Mario ha rotto vasi per due ore
Mario_{Masc} has broken vases for two hours
“Mario broke vases for two hours”

The verb *rompere* is an achievement, since it involves no duration and has a compulsory telic reading. (13) is perfectly grammatical if the verb selects for a bare NP; anyway, even if it seems that (13) can be interpreted as an activity on the basis of the “for x time”-test, the predicate maintains its achievement value: the interpretation as an activity arises from the fact that an achievement is iterated in a given period of time¹⁴.

5.2. Actional shift

Actional shift is not random. The data presented so far lead to claim that there is

¹³ Some cases of predicates which have a compulsory atelic meaning do exist. In Italian, for instance, the verb *cercare* “to look for” can be hardly read as an accomplishment.

¹⁴ Some cases in which an achievement can be employed with a different actional nuance can be found. In Italian, for instance, the verb *partire* “to leave” is clearly an achievement in sentences like:

- (1) Gianni è partito un minuto fa
Gianni is left a minute ago


Anyway it can be employed also in sentences like (2):

- (2) Gianni stava partendo quando Anna lo chiamò
Gianni was leaving when Anna him called

This may be a case of coercion, i.e. a case in which a sentence is made grammatical by imagining an appropriate context in which it could be properly uttered. I will not consider this issue in detail, even if it is a crucial problem in a theory of Actionality. For some proposals in the Generative Grammar framework see de Swart (1998), Travis (2010) and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

a clear direction of the shift from one class to another. Consider Vendler’s traditional classification, which can be represented as follows:

Table 1



states	activities	Accomplishments	achievements
	Process		
		telicity	

In Table 1, verbal classes are categorized on the basis of Vendler’s actional features. As can be noticed, the two relevant features can felicitously combine in all the possible patterns (they can also be both absent). While achievements and activities have only one inherent feature, accomplishments are characterized by the conflation of two distinct features, which belong to different parts of the eventuality (Pustejovsky, 1991). By “inherent feature” I mean the information which is contained in the lexicon, and is not triggered by extra-factors such as the addition of an NP or the employment of dedicated verbal morphology. On the basis of what has been abundantly observed in the previous literature, I will claim that, as far as shifts from a class to another are concerned, two rules are at work: (i) predicates with an inherent lexical actional reading (i.e. activities and achievements) cannot lose their sole peculiar feature; (ii) predicates with an inherent lexical actional reading can add features to their actional meaning, following a one-way direction: no process-feature can be added to achievements, and therefore they cannot be read as accomplishments, while the definiteness/telicity feature can be added to the actional meaning of an activity, so that it can be read as an accomplishment¹⁵. (i) guarantees that an activity can never be read as an achievement, since this would imply the loss of the process feature, which characterizes activities and is their sole inherent feature. Moreover (i) and (ii) explain why accomplishments are to be as ed activities with the addition of a definiteness/telicity-feature and not achievements with the addition of a process-feature.

If this interpretation is to be maintained, we expect that states could somehow become activities if a process-feature is added to their actional reading. As I have

¹⁵ This hypothesis excludes cases of coercion, as they are related to the high flexibility of some languages, like English, and to the possibility to force certain readings by means of an appropriate interpretation of the context of utterance.

recalled, the psych-verbs of the \bar{e} -class represent a peculiar type of statives, in that they are obtained by means of a semantic shift. At this point of the discussion, one could wonder whether this phenomenon involves Actionality and how it is related to the transitive pattern in (6). Recall that NP insertions in the VP can lead to a considerable shift in the meaning as far as non-states are concerned. Latin stative \bar{e} -verbs could be one piece of evidence of this possibility. Anyway, before discussing them, I will go back to the definition of “statives” and to the difference between “static” and “dynamic” states, in that it further articulates the classification proposed by Vendler and offers a more complex view of the relationship between states and activities.

5.3. *The tests applied to identify states*

From Table 1 it clearly emerges that statives are only specified as [-x]; thus, in such a model, statives are only defined with respect to what they “are not” and no direct claim is made about their proper actional nature. What is generally said about statives is that they are “durative”, as intuitively demonstrated by the fact that every state actually holds for an (also very short) period of time (Rothmayr, 2009). While this is widely acknowledged, other possible features of stative verbs need a subtler investigation.

Let us consider once more the examples in (8a)-(8e): here we have [-definite] stative predicates, which do not involve an endpoint. The lack of telicity is a common factor, which clearly distinguishes states and activities from accomplishments and achievements. However, a major question concerns the factor which distinguishes states from activities. According to Vendler (1967), states do not involve a process; in other words, stative predicates do not “take place” but simply “are”. This is supposed to be the most relevant difference between the two classes. In this respect, stative predicates can be interpreted as “dense” predicates, i.e. as atomic entities (Bertinetto, 2001).

Recall the most common tests applied to identify states:

- a. states do not tolerate the addition of “in x time”
- b. states do not tolerate the progressive form
- c. states cannot be used in the imperative
- d. states cannot be used in pseudo-cleft sentences and cannot be referred to by the verb *do/fare*.

Typical examples of the first constraint have been shown above in (8). The other tests can be exemplified by the following sentences:

- (14) *The skirt is costing 50 pounds (b)
- (15) Learn/*Know German! (c)
- (16) *Ciò che Anna fa è essere bella (d)
 What_{Nom} that Anna does is to-be beautiful
 “What Anna does is being beautiful”
- (17) a. *Maria sa l’inglese e anche Andrea lo fa (d)
 Maria knows the-English and also Andrea it does
 “Maria knows English and also Andrea does”
- b. Maria va al lavoro ogni giorno e anche Andrea lo fa
 Maria goes to-the work every day and also Andrea it does
 “Maria goes to work every day and also Andrea does”

The constraints in (c) and (d) are related to the lack of agentivity. States do not involve any performance, since they imply no activity, and this means that there is no agent “doing” something; as a consequence, (17b) is grammatical, in that it involves a typical activity (*to go to work*) which is performed by an Agent. This will become important in the course of the thesis, namely in §6.6. and §8., where I will discuss the nature of the thematic roles assigned by statives. However, it is worth noticing that the lack of agentivity does not necessarily identify a state (as happens with a verb like *to die*). On the other hand, there are some states that pass the test in (c) and (d), like *to lie* and *to obstruct*.

The constraints in (a) and (b) are not directly related to the lack of an Agent. Consider that the same tests can be applied, with similar results, to achievements, which do involve the presence of an Agent. The constraint in (a) rather arises from the atelic nature of states (as shown by the fact that it is not more at work for accomplishments). Notice that also achievements are constrained in this respect; anyway, this depends on the fact that they do not entail a process, which is necessary for the phrase “in x time” to be employed in a sentence. The constraint in (b) is instead more problematic, as it has given rise to much discussion in the past decades.

Albeit Vendler’s statement about the [-process] nature of states, Dowty (1979) points out that some of them, like *to lie*, can be used in the progressive form, while

some others, as *to be at school*, cannot. This means that states are not all “static” in nature: as I recalled above, according to Bach (1986) they can be also “dynamic” (or can be to some extent interpreted as such). Thus, since some of them unexpectedly pass the progressive-form test, stative predicates have to be divided into at least two groups, since, even if it is true that the use of the progressive form can refer to the “temporal delimitation”¹⁶ of an event (Bertinetto, 2001), this is not always the case. Moreover, among states, copular predicates have a more restricted syntactic use, since they typically do not tolerate the progressive form:

(18) *My dog is being black

This brief discussion about the classical tests applied to identify states clearly shows that the classification of this group of predicate as a unique category must be somehow reconsidered. Thus, in the next paragraph I will recall some research which has developed a different point of view on this problem.

5.4. *A classification of stative verbs*

Whether states represent a homogeneous category or not is a problem which has been discussed in the past decades in several works about stativity, giving rise to different proposals. I will concentrate on Maienborn (2003), who analyses different classes of stative verbs in order to identify coherent types with a similar syntactic behaviour. She maintains Bach’s and Carlson’s classification, according to which eventualities can be divided into two distinct groups: states (dynamic or static) and non-states (events and predicates). Starting from the Davidsonian notion of *eventuality*, Maienborn further investigates states so as to precisely define their nature. She gets to an interesting conclusion: not all stative predicates are eventualities, and this means that Vendler’s classification is incorrect in that it indifferently includes statives in an indistinct group. On the contrary, the relevant difference is that some stative predicates are eventualities and some others are not. Namely, Maienborn argues that copula-

¹⁶ Bertinetto (2001) cites the following example:

(1) The statue is (temporarily) standing in the park

This is a clear case of temporal delimitation of a state. Obviously, the cases which I have discussed so far do not necessarily entail this interpretation. Therefore, something more has to be said about the progressive employment of statives like for instance *to obstruct*.

constructions are not eventualities and that they are to be interpreted as “properties holding for an individual” (i.e. as *property predicates*). This leads to a re-classification of stative predicates, which gives more desirable results. Maienborn applies several tests in order to defend her assumption; here I will briefly sketch her hypothesis by selecting some specific examples.

In Maienborn’s system, since eventualities are described according to Davidson (1967) as *particular spatiotemporal entities with functionally integrated participants*, there are precise tests that can be applied to identify them with clarity. If this definition is to be maintained, it first follows, for instance, that eventualities can be perceived. In linguistic terms, this means that an eventuality can serve as an infinitive complement of perception verbs in German and as an *-ing* form headed by perception verbs in English. As Maienborn shows, processes and events (i.e. all the non-states predicates) easily pass the test. Consider, for instance, the following English sentence:

(19) I saw Mary cleaning the table

which is perfectly grammatical, like its German counterpart:

(20) a. Ich sah Mary den Tisch putzen
 I saw_{1stSing} Mary the_{AccMasc} table to-clean

As for stative predicates, a non-uniform behaviour arises if this test is applied, as can be seen in (21):

(21) a. I saw Mary sitting in front of me
 b. *I saw Mary liking flowers
 c. *I saw Mary being beautiful

The fact that some states pass the test and some other fail it, leads Maienborn to propose a new classification, which is quite similar to that of Bach (1986) but calls into doubt the assumption that all stative verbs are eventualities. Verbs like those in (21) are defined “statives”, since they fail the test, and this means that they are *not* eventualities. Verbs like that in (21a) are labelled “D(avidsonian) state verbs”, since they pass the test, and can therefore be considered as eventualities with an internal Davidsonian

argument¹⁷. The diversity between these two groups is alleged not to be related to a stage level/individual level difference, since both these types of stative verbs behave alike as far as infinitive licensing is concerned¹⁸. Maienborn applies classic tests to defend her hypothesis, and improves their inventory with new assessments. In sum, she gets to the conclusion that true states (“statives”):

- a. never combine with locative modifiers
- b. cannot have a time-span reading if *ein bisschen* (“a bit”) is inserted in the sentence
- c. cannot undergo nominalization in German

The fact that true states cannot be modified by locatives is coherent with the idea that they “do not happen”; the same holds for (b), while as far as (c) is concerned, the test is more language-specific. I will not call into doubt Maienborn’s proposal¹⁹, even if it is mostly based on German data and is, in some points, not easily generalizable. Anyway, the assumption that states do not constitute an undifferentiated category is a desirable conclusion for Latin \bar{e} -verbs, as they do not always correspond to copular sentences and have to be carefully categorized in order to shed light on their peculiar nature. In principle, the idea that states can be internally classified on the basis of the parameter of eventuality is interesting, in that it could be a way to appropriately deal with the problem of their syntactic structure. Moreover, if the problem is considered from this point of view, we reach a clearer idea of what dynamic states could be. I will deal with this issue in the next section.

¹⁷ Davidson (1967) assumes that processes and events (in the terms of Bach 1986) always contain a special argument which is responsible for linking manners adverbial and other modifiers which can be appropriately combined only with non-states. States do not select for such an argument. In the recent model of Travis (2010), the Davidsonian argument is supposed to be licensed by E(vent)P, which is the highest projection of the VP layer. See footnote 19 for the development of Maienborn (2003).

¹⁸The distinction between stage level and individual level stative predicates has been emphasized by Kratzer (1995) and by Higginbotham and Ramchand (1997).

¹⁹For the sake of completeness, something more has to be said about Maienborn’s proposal. Developing the model of Kim (1969, 1976) and Asher (1993, 2000), she proposes to label stative verbs as “Kimian states”, which are supposed to be different from “Davidsonian states”. Kimian states are defined as “abstracts objects for the exemplification of a property P at a holder x and a time t” and are placed between eventualities and facts in the Asher’s spectrum of world immanence. Kimian states cannot be perceived (cannot serve as the complement of a perception predicate and cannot combine with locative modifiers) cannot have a location in space and are accessible to higher cognitive operations (they are accessible to anaphoric reference); furthermore, they can be felicitously located in time (can combine with temporal modifiers). On this basis, Maienborn assumes that D-states and K-states introduce different underlying arguments: that of K-states is somehow poorer, but is responsible for the possibility to locate the predicate in time.

5.5. *The actional nature of stative verbs*

If stative verbs are not necessarily static, then their actional classification must be reconsidered.

More recent works have updated Vendler's categorization in order to classify verbal meaning starting from basic actional features which allow for the decomposition of the event-structure: the most frequently encountered concepts are *telicity*, *dynamicality*, *durativity* and *boundedness*²⁰. Notice that these categories are the basis on which Vendler's classification is built: looking at them as the primary tool to decompose the event-structure is only a way to focus on a lower semantic level. Instead of distinguishing a limited range of possible labels to classify *Aktionsart*, these proposals aim to isolate discrete features in it. Under this view, the stative verbs of the \bar{e} -class are mostly atelic and unbound; at the same time, they can be labelled as [+durative], in that they denote a state which holds for a period of time. Finally, even if they do not denote a physical process with a [+kinesis] feature, they can actually be "dynamic" predicates, in the terms of Bach (1986).

Anyway, if we compare verbs like *albeo* ("to be white"), *iaceo* ("to rest, lie") and the psych *doleo* ("to suffer"), slight differences arise. Following Bach (1986), all the three can be classified as "states". The verb *albeo* corresponds to copular predicates in other languages (see Italian "essere bianco" and German "weiss sein"). *Iaceo* is considered "dynamic" by Bach (1986) and is a D-state in the terms of Maienborn (2003); in other words, it is an eventuality, since it somehow "happens" and is not comparable to a "property predicate" like *albeo*. According to a binary classification of this type, also *doleo* belongs to the class of eventualities.

However, if we carefully consider the semantics of these verbs, we notice that things are not as trivial as it could appear at first glance. While *albeo* is a true property predicate (regardless of its stage or individual level reading), *iaceo* and *doleo* are not completely comparable, since the former cannot be intuitively considered "dynamic" as the latter. Both these verbs do not involve movement and select for no volitional Agent. Anyway, two significant differences between the two clearly arise: (i) in "resting" no gradation can be supposed, while *doleo* can be somehow perceived as [+process], since the action of "suffering" can entail different degrees; (ii) while *iaceo* is agentless and causeless, *doleo* involves an individual whose state is caused by another argument (even

²⁰For these parameters, see Grimshaw (1990), Tenny (1987) and Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, 1998) a.o.

if it is not present in the sentence). Affectedness may be related to causation. Thus, it is evident that also causation plays a role in distinguishing the classes of stative verbs. Namely, if we recall the Davidsonian definition of “eventuality”, we have to deal with the notion of *participant*, which is alleged to be crucial in defining this wide class of predicates. Predicates which entail causation also entail a complex relation between entities: thus, while in *iaceo* no relation between participants can be supposed to take place (as there is a sole participant), in *doleo* the caused Experiencer is linked with a Cause/Stimulus in a more complex relation. This is a problem that typically arises when psych predicates are considered, and I will discuss it in detail in the next paragraphs. For now, I will only underline the fact that when it comes to decompose the verbal aspect of stative \bar{e} -verbs (regardless of the classification we adopt), the conventional definition is bound to fail to embrace all of them and further distinctions are clearly required.

Even the fortunate proposal of Ramchand (2008) has some vacillations in this respect, since it treats stative verbs as an indistinct group with a simple shared syntactic structure. Ramchand (2008) has further developed the tendency to decompose verbal aspect, by focusing on more basic *primitives* of the event-structure. What is relevant for the present purpose is the fact that the proposal of Ramchand (2008) lacks a true analysis for stative verbs. She recognizes three possible primitives: the *initiator*, which is the causer of the event, regardless of its volition (in this respect the subject of *to kill* is an initiator exactly as the subject of *to stink*); the *undergoer*, which is the entity affected by a change; the *resultee*, which is the entity being in a final state, so that it has somehow undergone a change by means of a process. These three primitives are selected by appropriate functional projections in the syntactic tree, which are, therefore, proper sub-events of every non-stative verb: InitP (which corresponds to the vP of other proposals) is responsible for licensing the initiator; procP is the core sub-event of activities, and licenses the undergoer; resP is the sub-part of the event involved in telic predicates and licences the resultee. This syntactic decomposition of the event is proposed for activities, and different types of predicates are illustrated in order to show how the three sub-events can combine in the universal grammar. About stative verbs much less is said: the initiator is supposed not to be always a causer, since this label is applied also to the subject of stative predicates; thus, an initiator can be considered as a causer only if the verb contains a process projection in its syntactic structure (with the consequence that the predicate involves an undergoer). Therefore stative verbs lack a

process projection, so that the initiator is here the mere Theme of the predicate, licensed in SpecInitP: this sole sub-event forms stative predicates; further Rhematic Material can be added to it with no aspectual implications. In this respect, sentences like (22a) and (22b) have the same syntactic structure:

- (22) a. Mike loves grey dogs
b. Mike is nice

In both (22) and (23) the only present sub-event is supposed to be InitP and the only primitive is the initiator, which is the Theme of the predicate. The phrases *grey dogs* and *nice* are combined with the Theme and have the status of Rhematic Material:

- (23) [InitP [Rhematic Material]]

Ramchand's model predicts that all stative \bar{e} -verbs have to be represented as a simple structure of the type in (23). Anyway, under the assumption that not all stative predicates behave alike, such a solution is at least unsatisfactory, since it does not take into account the possible dynamic reading of stative verbs and takes for granted that they cannot involve causation, as they do not select for any undergoer.

From the discussion above, it emerges that stative verbs can instead select for an undergoer and also entail causation. This deserves to be investigated in greater detail.

5.6. *Causation in stative verbs*

I have already presented the arguments which lead to claim that statives can be classified in eventualities and non-eventualities. The crucial question here is whether stative verbs can involve causation. Dowty (1979) already points out that causation can hold between states as well as between events. Under this view, causation is not necessarily related to temporal priority or to event boundedness: a relation of cause does not strictly require that the causing and the caused event are not simultaneous. Moreover, causation does not always entail telicity: if a relation of cause holds, the causee does not necessarily correspond to a resultee, as the following example shows:

- (24) The fact that Annie loves pets makes Mary hate dogs

In (24) the causing event can be considered simultaneous with the caused state, differently from what happens in sentences like (25):

(25) Mary broke the cup

in which *the fact that Mary has broken the cup* implies that *the cup is broken*, with a compulsory temporal priority of the first sub-event with respect to the second. Furthermore, in (24) the causee is represented by an entire event with no possible telic reading, since the verb *to love* cannot have any culmination.

Starting from this main assumption, Rothmayr (2009) provides a fine-grained analysis of statives, since they do not behave as an indistinct group and display relevant semantic and syntactic differences. According to her hypothesis, statives can contain a CAUSE operator in their semantic representation and this can be easily translated into syntactic terms by thinking of an articulated structure of the VP layer. More precisely, stative verbs can contain different kinds of projections, which syntactically represent their verbal profile. As I will show in the chapters dedicated to the syntax of the \bar{e} -verbs, this is obtained by adopting the VP-flavour proposal as accounted for from Harley (1995) on. The involved labels are CAUSE, DO, and BECOME. This set of flavours implies that also states can entail causation and that they are not obligatorily agentless. This also means that, differently from what is claimed in Ramchand (2008), the presence of an undergoer does not imply that the predicate is an activity, since a Causer can also cause a state and can make it hold for a certain period of time. This is shown by typical sentences like the following:

(26) The stones obstruct the passage

In (26) there are a Causer and an undergoer (i.e. an affected entity), but the predicate is undeniably stative. What allows for a stative reading is the fact that, in spite of the presence of a Causer-Causee relation, no process is involved and no progressive change affects the Object: once the Causer is removed, the object is no more affected by the predicate.

5.7. Provisional conclusions

To sum up, there are good arguments to consider stative verbs as a complex group, which needs a careful one-by-one analysis. As for the present research, the most relevant remarks are the following:

- a. Stative verbs are not necessarily static: they can have a degree reading and can be eventualities (in the sense of Davidson and Maienborn).
- b. Among stative verbs, those which can be compared to copular sentences are more likely to be static in nature, since they typically do not have any eventuality reading.
- c. Stative verbs can involve causation.

On the basis of the data I collected about stative \bar{e} -verbs, I will adopt the following classification, which I deem to be appropriate to label the predicates belonging to this complex class:

Table 2

Stative verbs		
Property predicates	Eventualities	
	Non-causatives	Causatives

The relevant points are the following:

- (i) Latin stative \bar{e} -verbs may or may not be eventualities. Some of them are comparable to copular predicates, in that they denote the characteristic of an entity. Regardless of the difference between the stage and the individual level reading, these verbs cannot be read as eventualities, and can be rather supposed to be “property” or “depictive” predicates. This means that they do not select for true participants and that they cannot be read as “happenings”. They are marked in light blue in Table 2.
- (ii) Among stative \bar{e} -verbs of Latin there are also eventualities (in orange in Table 2). The predicates of this group are identified by the fact that they allow for the thematic selection of true participants (with Agent and Patient features) and that they can have a happening reading. This

group can be further sub-classified on the basis of causativity. Namely, some predicates are eventualities in that they denote a situation in which at least a participant is involved. Anyway, this does not imply that the predicate entails a Causer-Causee relation (this subclass is marked in green in Table 2). When this happens, it is possible to identify a further sub-class, which is marked in yellow in Table 2.

All these remarks lead to the necessity to discuss the interaction between the semantics of states (in terms of *Aktionsart* and actional features) and the thematic nature of the arguments they select. Intuitively, a pure state (a K-state in Maienborn terms) always selects for a mere Theme, since static predicates are purely depictive and do not select for participants; as a consequence, it cannot select for an Agent and a Patient. On the other side, states in which causation is involved do not select for a simple Theme, but must somehow contain a more complex thematic grid, with a clear-oriented relationship between the selected arguments. Ramchand (2008) strictly relates thematic roles to the sub-events that are part of the predicate. This explains why her model cannot be satisfactory for states, which are supposed to have a very simple actional nature. If the undergoer is always selected by procP and states do not contain such a projection, the consequence is that states cannot select for an undergoer. This is evidently in contrast with the fact that states can involve causation.

As I anticipated in the previous pages, it would be interesting to consider what actually happens when stative verbs undergo template augmentation and transitivity. In Latin, transitivity is typical for property predicates, i.e. for predicates which are considered as true statives by Maienborn and do not involve causation. As I have shown by briefly discussing the case of *doleo*, the most intriguing problem probably concerns psych predicates, which are generally considered as “stative” (in Vendler’s terms), but need a more refined analysis to be correctly categorized.

As already noticed, the presence of an object can lead to a shift in the meaning, mostly when the predicate (a property predicate) is basically intransitive. Namely, transitivity leads, in this case, to a re-arrangement of the thematic grid of the verb. Anyway, as I will explain later on, transitivity is interesting in that it is related to a semantic shift. Indeed, under a semantic point of view, the main issue is the progressive thematic change which characterizes some verbs of the \bar{e} -class. Transitivity can also

be attested as a successive step with respect to a thematic augmentation, which leads to the presence of a pair Experiencer/Stimulus. As we will see, when a transitive pattern is employed, different factors can be recognized, and they lead to complex semantics-syntax interface phenomena. Thus, the Latin psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class are to be analysed starting from the problem of their aspectual classification and *Aktionsart*. Since this problem is strictly related to thematic roles, in the next section I will give a detailed overview of this notion. This will constitute the basis of the subsequent discussion.

6. Thematic roles and thematic theories

In the last thirty years, thematic roles have been coped with in several different ways (Fillmore, 1968; Fillmore and Kay, 1993; Goldberg, 1995; Bresnan 2001; Givón, 2001; Van Valin, 2005; Croft 2012, a.o.). My purpose is to clearly define what a “thematic role” actually is, especially with respect to the class of predicates I am going to analyse. As far as thematic roles are concerned, psych-verbs are actually one of the most problematic classes, in that they cannot be correctly described if an atomic approach is adopted. In the following pages, I will explain the reason why I will choose a compositional view of the concept of “thematic role”, and to do so I will refer to some previous research on the topic.

A “thematic role” can be defined as the role played by a lexical argument in the semantic representation of a predicate. In the Generative Grammar framework, the list of possible thematic roles has been kept quite small, since they are deemed to be tendentially linked to dedicated positions in the syntactic structure. Moreover, if we aim to reduce the number of the possible rules applied in the Universal Grammar, we have to suppose, as a consequence, that thematic roles are not selected at a mere lexical level. It is syntax that allows for correct predictions about the linking of certain thematic roles to certain syntactic arguments. This hypothesis is the basis on which the well-known UTAH of Baker has been built: according to Baker (1988, 1997) “identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure”. A major consequence of this hypothesis is the necessity to identify a set of clear syntactic rules which are responsible for the attested transformational patterns. Hence, this assumption implies a transformational approach

to syntax, which has been called into doubt by the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2008).

Regardless of how the UTAH has been developed in time, it is interesting to notice that it ensures that verbal heads have a well-defined syntactic representation, and that the relationship between verbal arguments is stable at some level in the syntax. Thus, this assumption, albeit weakened by more recent research in syntax, correctly underlines the existence of a link between syntax and semantics, which cannot be thought of as completely blind to each other. This means that, as far as thematic roles are concerned, interface phenomena are probably one of the most fertile topics to be investigated.

My proposal will be based on two central assumptions: (i) thematic roles are related to event-types; (ii) thematic roles are not clear-cut and discrete entities, since they are better described as “bundles of features”. This view of the concept of “thematic role” fits the data I am going to present in this work. It is mostly borrowed from the work of Dowty (1991), which has been further developed by some scholars, even though in different frameworks (Primus, 1999; Ramchand 2008 a.o.). In the next paragraphs, I will firstly present the most frequent problems which arise when the notion of *thematic role* is considered, then I will describe Dowty’s model in detail. In the final part of this section, I will explain my own point of view about the topic.

6.1. *The number and the labels of thematic roles*

The first problem at issue is how many thematic roles can be identified. This question is clearly related to their specific nature. Moreover, the fact that several different proposals have been outlined in this respect, signals that there is no consensus about the notion of “thematic role” itself.

As a starting point, let us take into account the classical example of the *Agent* and the *Patient*.

A clear-cut definition of notions like *Agent* and *Patient* is naturally possible for predicates like *to kill* or *to erase*; anyway, these cases are quite simple as they are aligned with the *prototypical type*. According to Shibatani (2009: 323), “the prototypical transitive situation is the one in which an action originates in a volitional agent, extends beyond the agent’s personal sphere, and terminates in a distinct patient achieving an intended effect on it”. Thus, predicates like *to kill* and *to erase* pose no

problem with respect to the identification of an Agent and a Patient: these roles belong to distinct entities whose relation is clearly determined by the predicate itself.

However, things become more complicated when stative predicates and psych verbs are considered. Scholars have dealt with this problem in the past decades giving rise to different interpretations. As the question concerns both the number and the nature of thematic roles, I will take into account both aspects.

First of all, consider the two opposite possible tendencies in defining a set of thematic roles:

- a. Thematic roles can be identified by strictly referring to the meaning of every single verb selecting them.
- b. Thematic roles can be reduced to a small list which includes a set of participants which should in principle meet the semantic requirements of all possible predicates.

Both the possibilities in (a) and (b) give rise to an awkward result. In the former case, the number of thematic roles is too wide to allow for any generalization. This is what Dowty (1989) names the *individual thematic roles* tendency. According to this view, given two predicates like *to kill* and *to erase*, one has to suppose a “killer” and a “killee” and an “eraser” and an “ersee” respectively; thus, thematic roles would simply be the roles assigned by a verbal head, according to its peculiar meaning, in a clear idiosyncratic way. As anticipated above, this view is highly problematic if applied rigidly, in that it attributes a preponderant role to the lexicon and prevents any possible generalization. Indeed, under such a view, the proliferation of thematic roles renders any possible list of them useless.

The possibility in (b) is much more attractive, in that it is coherent with the economy principle on which human language is thought to be based. This tendency aims to define “types” of thematic roles, which are supposed to be universal and - as I will explain in the next pages - capable to be ordered in a well-defined hierarchy. The set of thematic roles that have been acknowledged by scholars includes at least the following labels: *Agent*, *Patient*, *Beneficiary*, *Experiencer*, *Possessor*, *Stimulus*, *Instrument*, *Locative* and *Theme* (see Blake, 1994, for a list of alternative proposals). It is generally accepted that this restricted set of roles can somehow be applied to all possible predicates, and provide an appropriate label for their arguments; however, things are much more complicated than it appears. Consider that some predicates require more specific labels for their thematic roles in order to be clearly identified; this

typically happens with psych and perception verbs. Thematic roles like the *Experiencer* and *stimulus* have been created with the purpose to satisfy the semantic requirements of these kinds of predicates. The same happens when verbs of possession are considered, in that they require a specific *Possessor* role. Roles like *Experiencer* and *Possessor* are generally kept distinct from the Agent because they display different semantic features: for instance, the Possessor is no Agent in that it does not perform any action, and the same holds for the Experiencer. Anyway, if this line of reasoning is coherently applied, the boundary between thematic roles and individual roles gets blurred, in that every predicate may require a more precise label for the roles it selects.

Therefore, a final list of thematic roles is quite difficult to establish, since a very fine-grained distinction of possible participants to an eventuality inevitably gets closer to the idea that individual thematic roles are selected by verbal heads. Consider, as an instance, some thematic roles which have been proposed in the past decades in order to better define the semantic nature of some complements: *Purpose* (“I study *for the exam*” Croft, Taoka and Wood 2001, a.o.), *Reference* (“Ann talks *about literature*”, Croft, 1991), *Substitution* (“in my *stead*”, as in Jackendoff, 1990), and so on. Even the Agent and the Patient can be considered as non-univocal thematic roles, in that they can be classified in a number of sub-types, which are supposed to be crucial in defining the kind of predicate. Thus, the question is how many specific thematic roles should be identified and what the boundary between individual thematic roles and thematic types is.

Notice that, the two hypothesis in (a) and (b) are not necessarily mutually exclusive: in principle, one can maintain the idea that thematic roles can be labelled both as “individuals” and as “types”: the external argument of *to kill* can be considered a “killer”, which is a sub-type of “Agent”. The most problematic point is, therefore, how to define a set of types²¹, since individual thematic roles are automatically labelled starting from the meaning of the verbal head selecting them.

6.2. *Linking rules and thematic hierarchies*

A core issue concerns the relationship between thematic roles and Case assignment. In principle, thematic roles are attributed to lexical complements and every single complement must receive a thematic role in order to be inserted in a sentence by

²¹ From now on, I will simply use the label “thematic roles” to refer to “thematic role types”. The core distinction I have just outlined is in fact no more relevant for the following discussion.

means of specific syntactic rules. Thus, given a well-defined set of thematic roles for a single predicate, specific mechanisms allow for the correct role-to-argument linking. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

- (27) a. $Mary_{Agent}$ peels an $apple_{Patient}$
b. $Marie_{Nom}$ schält einen $Apfel_{Acc}$

In both sentences (and in both languages) the linking rules predict that the external argument *Mary*, which receives the thematic role of *Agent*, is assigned the Nominative, while the internal argument, which receives the role of *Patient*, is assigned the Accusative. The reverse linking-pattern would be ungrammatical. Similarly, Figure and Ground²² (i.e. the roles which describe the locative relation established between two entities) require a precise linking pattern, like the following:

- (28) The $book_{Figure}$ is on the $shelf_{Ground}$

Such data have given rise to the hypothesis that there actually exists a fixed thematic hierarchy which governs the linking of the thematic roles in a sentence. A thematic hierarchy predicts that a given set of thematic roles is to be ordered in a precise scale, with some roles ranking over others. Thus, in accusative languages the highest-ranking role will be linked to the subject position, whereas roles ranking lower will be linked, according to their reciprocal order, in the residual positions: the second ranking role will be linked as the object, while the others will be linked to lower syntactic oblique²³ positions. Different hierarchies have been proposed in time. Consider the following examples:

- (29) a. Agent > Patient/Beneficiary > Theme > Location/Source/Goal
(Jakendoff, 1990)
b. Agent > Effector > Experiencer > Locative/Recipient > Theme > Patient (Van Valin, 1993)

²² *Figure* and *Ground* indicate the roles borne by the arguments of locative predicates (Talmy, 1972; Schmid, 2007, a.o.).

²³ This means that they will be assigned an Oblique Case (i.e. a non-structural Case) or will be inserted in a PP.

The comparison between these proposals highlights two main deficiencies:

- (i) The number and the labels of thematic roles may vary significantly. Notice that, Van Valin (1993) identifies an *Effector*, which is deemed to distinguish the *Causer* from the *Agent* on the basis of animacy/volition, whereas many other scholars do not provide such a distinction. In more recent works - as for instance in the aforementioned Ramchand (2008) - a single Initiator/Causer role is recognized as the highest-ranking participant in the hierarchy. The question concerning the number of thematic roles affects also hierarchies, since the identification of a wide number of roles triggers the problem of their reciprocal position. Thus, if we assume the existence of three basic primitives, as Ramchand does, it is easy to provide a clear thematic hierarchy; anyway, fine-grained analyses give rise to many different possible options.
- (ii) The reciprocal order of thematic roles may vary considerably in the different proposals. As an instance, the Patient is placed in two opposite positions in (29a) and (29b), and this predicts very different results as far as linking rules are concerned. This happens because of the high variety of patterns attested in natural languages. In several works²⁴, scholars have been discussing well-known examples like the following, which clearly show that different possibilities are at disposal to link arguments and thematic roles:

Agent/Patient

- (30) a. John washed the car
b. The car was washed by John

Experiencer/Stimulus

- (31) a. Anna apprezza gli spettacoli di magia
Anna_{Nom} appreciates the shows of magic
“Anna appreciates shows of magic”

²⁴ The literature on this topic is very rich, so that it is quite impossible to provide a detailed list of the works published so far. I will cite some works which I have taken into account in my dissertation: Larson (1988), Demonte (1995), Croft (1998), Harley (2002), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Hale and Keyser (2002), Jeong (2007), Bowers (2010), Ormazabal and Romero (2010).

- b. Ad Anna piacciono gli spettacoli di magia
 to Anna please_{3rdPlur} the show of magic
 “Anna likes shows of magic”

Beneficiary (Double object)

- (32) a. Mary gave the key to her sister
 b. Mary gave her sister the key

Instrument

- (33) a. John cuts the bread with a knife
 b. The knife cuts the bread easily

As the examples show, a single thematic role can be inserted in a sentence in different syntactic positions. This typically happens with psych and perception verbs, which display a huge cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation. Indeed, sentences like (30)-(33) give rise to major problems, if one strictly conforms to hierarchies of the type in (29). A transformational approach would simply solve the problem which arises from the Passive construction in (30b) and from the D(ouble) O(bject) C(onstruction) in (32b) by assuming that in these cases special syntactic rules are applied: anyway, under this assumption, both sentences are to be considered marked if compared to their unmarked counterparts in (30a) and (32a), and there is no total consensus about this. (33a) and (33b) are problematic in that they lead to conclude that hierarchies do not work *independently* from the thematic roles involved in the sentence: it is evident that the Instrument *the knife* can be linked to the object position only if an Agent is not present. In (33b) it ranks higher than the Patient, while in (33a) it cannot rank higher than the object because of the presence of the Agent *John*. Evidently, no universal hierarchy would account for this.

As Croft (2012) notices, one more problem with hierarchies is the fact that they tend to group together into a single list thematic roles which do not generally occur in the same sentence. Consider the hierarchy in (29b), which includes the Agent, the Experiencer and the Patient: these roles cannot be commonly inserted into a single sentence. Thus, hierarchies should be at least *relative* lists of participants to *classes* of predicates. This hypothesis – which has been proposed by Fillmore and Kay (1993) – is

anyway equally problematic, in that it does not avoid the problem of a clear-cut classification of thematic roles²⁵.

6.3. *Are thematic roles discrete entities?*

I have summarized so far the main problems which crop up when one tries to clearly identify a set of universal thematic roles. My claim is that they are evidently due to the fact that thematic roles cannot be generally considered as discrete entities. At a closer look, there are only some cases in which one can clearly distinguish, for instance, between an Agent and a Patient; however, a good number of predicates do not distribute thematic features homogeneously. For this reason, I will adopt a “compositional view” of thematic roles, i.e. I will assume that verbal arguments can be semantically described on the basis of “thematic properties” or “thematic features” rather than by referring to discrete thematic roles/types.

The main point is that a thematic role can be rarely associated with a clear-cut label. Consider for instance the case of the *Agent* and the *Patient*. Contexts in which an Agent and a Patient can be clearly identified are quite common in languages and exemplify the prototypical type of predicates:

(34) The old man murdered the poor Melanie

In (34) the Agent and the Patient are clearly distinct and are linked to the expected positions for the unmarked sentence in English. In typological analyses like that of Hopper and Thompson (1980), (34) is considered highly transitive, and this depends on the clear agentive nature of the causer *the old man*, which is combined with the clear patientive nature of the undergoer *the poor Melanie*.

The idea that even prototypical thematic roles have to be analysed in terms of “properties” is not new: it traces back to the tentative classifications of “Agent types” or “causation types”. In fact, agency is not a trivial semantic notion: in his seminal work, Cruse (1973) distinguishes, for instance, between four possible types of Agent, which have been reconsidered in subsequent works (Talmy 1972, 1976, Croft 2012, a.o.). Talmy (1972, 1976) identifies four types of causation, which are distinguished by means of a [\pm mental] feature. Lakoff (1977) describes fourteen different types of

²⁵ See Croft (1998: 30) for a detailed analysis of this proposal.

Agent. Classifications obviously depend on the point of view which is adopted. Hence, while some scholars correctly underline the main role of *animacy* in determining the thematic linking of arguments in a sentence (Van Valin and Wilkins, 1996; Ramchand, 2008; Croft, 2012), some others rather focus on the “causal chain” which identifies the relation between the complements. I will briefly discuss the problem of “agency”, in that it is related to the core issue I am going to deal with in the next pages.

A first noticeable fact is that causation is not necessarily connected with volition or animacy. This is the reason why a distinction between a *Causer* and an *Agent* is generally adopted. [-animacy] implies [-volition] as a logic consequence, so that a Causer can be defined as a non-animate entity which accidentally causes an event or a state (in the terms of Bach, 1986). On the other side, the Agent can be considered volitional, as in (34), or not, as in (35):

(35) Carol dirties the plants by running in the garden

Linguistic theory has developed a very subtle analysis of causation, in order to clearly identify its nature. As an instance, Talmy (1972, 1976) identifies four possible types of causation:

- (i) Physical causation
- (ii) Volitional causation
- (iii) Affective causation
- (iv) Inductive causation

The first two types can be distinguished on the basis of animacy: physical causation implies the presence of an inanimate causer, while volitional causation involves an animate agent. (iii) and (iv) are distinguished on the basis of the same parameter. What distinguishes this pair from the former is that in this case the Patient (the “endpoint”, in Talmy’s terms) is *mentally affected*.

The following examples correspond to Talmy’s types in (i)-(iv):

- (36) a. The ball broke the glass (-animate and -animate)
b. Annie broke the glass (+animate and –animate)
c. Ghosts scare Mary (-animate and +animate)

d. Annie scares Mary (+animate and +animate)

(36c) and (36d) involve psych verbs, which select for an *Experiencer* and a *Stimulus*. Thus, Talmy's classification is interesting in that it implies that the Experiencer is to some extent comparable with the Patient. This entails that, even if these two roles do not fully overlap, the Experiencer has anyway a "patienthood" feature. This arises from the fact that, in the causal chain, it clearly represents the endpoint of the eventuality, in that it undergoes some change of state. Anyway, if one considers examples like (31), a major problem related to the nature of the Experiencer arises: under a syntactic point of view, psych verbs are highly unstable and, even in a single language, they can be attested in different patterns. One could wonder if the contrast between (31a) and (31b) is due to a semantic difference. This possibility – which I will consider in detail in §7. – is quite intriguing, in that it implies that thematic roles involve a set of features which actually have a different weight in determining the linking of the complements in the superficial syntax.

Non clear-cut cases like these have led to the assumption that thematic roles cannot be defined as atomic entities: they rather have a compositional nature. By "compositional nature" I mean that, as happens with the Experiencer, thematic roles can "contain" different features. In some cases, it is possible to define thematic roles precisely by referring to a general category, i.e. to a type such the Agent, with no further requirements. However, several cross-linguistic examples show that clear-cut definitions are rarely possible, provided that a subtle analysis of thematic relations is applied.

6.4. Dowty (1991)'s proposal

The fact that thematic roles are not discrete entities is the basis on which Dowty's (1991) proposal is built. I claim that Dowty is right in pointing out that thematic roles are to be described as "cluster concepts". Since Dowty's proposal is an unavoidable starting point for what follows, I will briefly summarize it here.

Dowty (1991) argues that thematic roles are *sets of entailments*. According to this view, "thematic types" are the correct level of generalization to be adopted in defining the participants to an event. At this level, the only two necessary concepts are those of "Proto-Agent" (P-A) and "Proto-Patient" (P-P). In sum, given a bi-argumental

predicate, the participants are linked to their syntactic position on the basis of the following list of properties:

Proto-Agent

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- e. (exists independently of the event named by the verb)

Proto-Patient

- a. undergoes change of state
- b. incremental theme
- c. causally affected by another participant
- d. stationary relative to another participant
- e. (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

The prediction is that in a predicate, given two distinct arguments, the one displaying the greatest amount of P-A entailments is linked to the subject position, whereas the other is linked to the object position. One important implication is that if two arguments display the same number of P-A entailments, they have the same probabilities to be linked to the subject position. Moreover, in trivalent predicates, once the subject has been identified on the basis of its preponderant P-A properties, the object position will be attributed to the argument which displays the greatest amount of P-P properties, whereas the third argument will be linked as an Oblique. Some clear examples of such a view can be easily provided. Consider the following sentences:

- (37) a. John clears the table

John: P-A a, b, c, d, e; *the table*: P-P a, c, d,

- b. John washes his brother

John: P-A a, b, c, d, e; *his brother*: P-A b; P-P a, c, d.

In Dowty's system, the subject of both sentences displays more P-A properties than the object. Notice that *his brother* in (37b) does have a P-A entailment²⁶; nevertheless, the argument *John* outranks the other in that it displays a greater amount of P-A properties, therefore it is linked to the subject position. Anyway, the amount of entailments borne by every single argument is not sufficient to guarantee the expected linking hierarchy. An interesting point – which mainly arises from Dowty's discussion about the relationship between causation and movement - is that in principle some properties have priority with respect to others. For instance, movement counts as a P-A property, but causation outranks it, as the following examples show:

- (38) a. The cloud passed the tree (Dowty, 1991: 574)
b. John threw the ball (Dowty, 1991: 574)

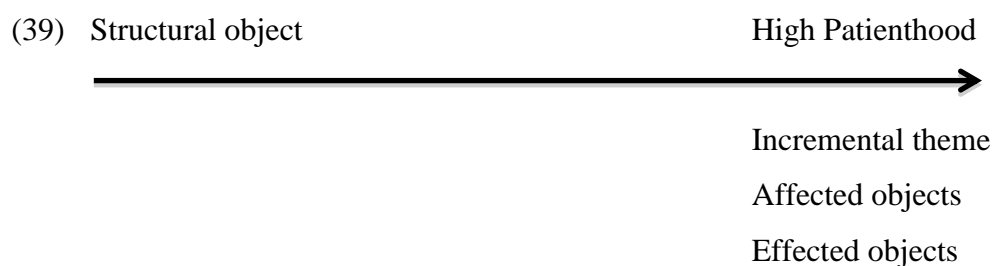
The cloud in (38a) can be linked as a subject, while *the ball* in (38b) cannot, since the argument *John* outranks it thanks to its causation entailment. This leads to conclude that Proto-Roles properties have not the same weight in determining argument-linking. Moreover, this view provides an account for the problematic examples in (33).

In Dowty's proposal a thematic role/type does not necessarily correspond to a Proto-Role: it may contain only some properties of a Proto-Role and be linked to a specific position by virtue of that amount of properties; however, it can also contain properties of both Proto-Roles. This is a desirable consequence when predicates like *to come* are considered: in this case, the animate argument displays features of both the P-A and the P-P, in that it is the *entity which causes a change* and *the entity which undergoes a change* at the same time. There is no need to think of this argument as a mere Agent or as a mere Patient: its properties can be clearly maintained even if the complement is assigned the Nominative, provided that a compositional view of its thematic nature is adopted.

²⁶ The *sentiency* entailment is highly problematic: in (37a) it is not really relevant as far as the predicate *to clean* is concerned. It is not clear enough under what point of view this entailment should be considered in Dowty's proposal. Anyway, *sentiency/animacy* can be considered as a crucial property in determining Case assignment. I will discuss this issue in detail in §6.5.

6.4.1. Objects in Dowty's proposal

The thematic status of the syntactic object is certainly a major problem in the theta theory. Interestingly, while the syntactic subject can be defined on the basis of semantic properties, the object is more likely to be considered as a mere Structural position (Levin, 1999, a.o.). According to Dowty, as far as objects are concerned, the Proto-Roles hypothesis provides a more reasonable approach to the semantics-syntax interface: "broader semantic classes" do not require that a fixed label for each thematic role is identified; hence, the syntactic object is not to be necessarily considered as a Patient. In the terms of Dowty, an *object* is simply an argument bearing a greater amount of P-P properties, and can be identified on the basis of its relation with another participant (or with more participants, in the case of trivalent verbs). In this sense, the object position is a "residual" one, and this statement is coherent with the definition of "Structural Object" which is adopted in Generative Grammar in order to identify the second ranking core-case of accusative languages. Thus, an object is not necessarily a Patient, in that it can also be identified on the basis of pure relational properties. On the other hand, typical Patient properties can be associated with the direct object of a sentence, which can be, in this case, better defined as a true undergoer. This ambiguity in the semantics of objects can be represented in a scale like the following:



On the left of the scale typical non-Patient objects are placed: they are the objects of low-transitive verbs, such as the Stimulus of psych verbs like *to regret* or *to like* or the Italian *lamentare* ("to lament"). These verbs are cross-linguistically and intra-linguistically instable in configuration. Objects with high patienthood are instead expressed in a more similar way across languages, as happens with predicates like *to kill*, *to cook*, *to erase*, *to wash*, and so on.

6.4.2. *Some consequences of the model*

Dowty's proposal has been the basis for many interesting developments of a non-atomic view of thematic roles (Croft, 1998; Primus, 1999; Ramchand, 2008; Croft, 2012). Anyway, this model also gives rise to some non-trivial questions, which have been discussed so far in the literature. I will cope with some of them in this paragraph.

A first interesting question is how to solve the linking-puzzle of Ergative languages. Dowty does not provide an in-depth analysis of this problem; anyway, he states that - at least in clear-cut cases like Dyirbal (as described by Dixon, 1972, 1994) - the linking rule which is at work in accusative languages is basically reversed. In Ergative languages the Absolutive/Nominative – which is the agreement-Case – is regularly assigned to the Patient, while the Ergative, which has as an oblique-like status, is assigned to the Agent. This entails that, given a bi-argumental verb, the argument which accumulates more P-A features receives the Ergative and does not undergo verbal-agreement, whereas the other argument receives the Absolutive and agrees with the inflected verb. This statement turns out to be useful for Latin \bar{e} -verbs in a way that I will clarify later on. (see ch. 2. §3.3.)

A second very important consequence of Dowty's view is that, if a predicate can be attested in different patterns, these patterns correspond to different meanings. This is a typical problematic point for all argument-linking theories, and has been discussed in a good number of works with many different results (Hale and Keyser, 1993; Wechsler, 1995; Baker, 1997; Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 2005; Ramchand, 2008; Bowers, 2010, a.o.). I recall this problem here, since it will be crucial for the analysis I will propose in the course of the thesis.

According to Dowty, in cases in which a predicate can be attested in different patterns, two possible accounts can be proposed:

- (i) The predicate is attested in different patterns because its arguments accumulate the same amount (and probably the same type) of thematic entailments, so that no clear causal direction can be identified; therefore, both arguments can be linked to the subject position.
- (ii) The different possible patterns are not semantically equivalent: thus, one of the arguments accumulates a greater amount of properties (or some specific

properties which rank higher than the others); therefore it is linked to the subject position.

Instances of (ii) are the so-called “reciprocal predicates”, like in the following examples from Italian:

- (40) a. *Maria abbraccia Giacomo*
 Maria_{Nom} hugs Giacomo_{Acc}
 b. *Giacomo e Maria si abbracciano*
 Giacomo_{Nom} and Maria_{Nom} each-other hug_{3rdPlur}
 “Giacomo and Maria hug each other”

The non-reciprocal configuration in (40a) displays a clear-cut direction, since the subject *Maria* is specified for both “movement” and “volition”, whereas these properties cannot be straightforwardly supposed for the object *Giacomo*, which clearly accumulates the greatest amount of P-P properties. On the opposite, (40b) involves a reciprocal relationship, in which the participants accumulate the same amount of P-A and P-P properties. Hence, they both occupy the subject position, while their patienthood feature is borne by the clitic *si*. I claim that the reflexive clitics of Italian play a central role in keeping the thematic relationships transparent when the sentence is spelled out, also when “inherent reflexives” are taken into account²⁷. As for reciprocal structures like (40), English shows different requirements, as can be seen in the following sentence:

- (41) *Mary and Annie hug (each other)*

In (41) the item *each other* is not compulsory for a reciprocal reading to be available. The mechanism at the basis of sentences like (40) directly involves the nature of thematic roles. Namely, examples like (40b) can be correctly accounted for if thematic roles are considered as “bundles of feature” which can be syntactically distributed in more than a single item. In (40b) both *Giacomo* and *Maria* accumulate P-A and P-P properties, in that they “act deliberately” and are also *affected entities*. Thus, while both

²⁷ I will give an in-depth analysis of this aspect in the section dedicated to the syntax of SE psych *ē*-verbs (see ch. 3. §4.2.2.).

arguments are assigned the Nominative by virtue of their P-A properties, the clitic *si* captures their P-P entailments.

Coming back to (ii), Dowty discusses some well-known cases (the “*spray/load* alternation”, the “*fill* alternation” and so on) in order to show that the possible alternatives actually have different meanings (mostly in terms of affectedness and telicity).

As for (i), it represents one of the weakest points in Dowty’s analysis, since it makes no prediction about the linking-pattern of “symmetric predicates” like *to resemble* or *to be similar to*. Thus, in cases in which no argument is preponderant with respect to the other(s), the model fails to predict which of them will be assigned the Nominative. Anyway, I suppose that in symmetric predicates, as in copular sentences, *topicality* plays a major role in defining linking-patterns, even if this is probably a language-specific parameter. Indeed, topicality plays a major role also when non-symmetric predicates are concerned. I will discuss this topic in the next paragraph.

6.5. *Thematic roles and topicality*

In accusative SO languages, topicality is strictly related to word order and agreement factors. Compare the following sentences of Italian:

- (42) a. Giacomo assomiglia ad Anna
Giacomo_{Nom} resembles to Anna
“Giacomo resembles Anna”
b. Anna assomiglia a Giacomo
Anna_{Nom} resembles to Giacomo
“Anna resembles Giacomo”

(42a) and (42b) are unmarked sentences, in which the CP layer is not active. Anyway, they can be distinguished on the basis of semantics: in both sentences, the syntactic subject is the actual *topic*, in that it is *the entity on which something is asserted*, and occupies the most prominent position for an argument in the unmarked order. This is the reason why, on the basis of Talmy (1972), the relationship between the DPs in (42a) and (42b) has been defined in the terms of a *Figure* and *Ground* relationship (Schmid 2007): the subject DP is the Figure, while the Accusative-marked DP is the Ground, in that it

displays “Ground-properties”. The Accusative-marked argument is clearly “of less relevance”, while, on the opposite, the subject is the prominent argument, whose greater relevance is underlined by its position in the sentence. On this basis, the subject has been defined as a *syntactic figure* (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996: 173) or as a *primary figure* (Langacker, 1991: 323) so as to indicate the fact that it is more salient with respect to other arguments.

Anyway, the point that the notions of Figure and Ground actually correspond to thematic roles has been called into doubt (Dowty 1991: 563). As can be easily noticed, Figure and Ground do not refer to clear thematic properties, in that they do not indicate the “role” which an entity plays with respect to the predicate: salience is not directly related to the thematic status of an entity. The proposal rather takes into account the possible role of topicality in determining the linking-pattern in a sentence. The same locative-like relation can, indeed, be applied to other types of verbs. In cases in which the semantic properties borne by the arguments are not sufficient to lead to the prominence of one of them, topicality constitutes a crucial factor in determining the linking-pattern of the sentence. Hence, this view guarantees that, in spite of the ambiguous thematic status of the DPs in (42a) and (42b), a difference between the two can be traced: the DP being in the first position (i.e. the unmarked agreement position in Italian and English) is the “subject” of the sentence and is therefore placed in an outranking position.

On the line of Dowty (1991), I claim that “topicality” cannot be considered as a “thematic role”, since thematic roles are assigned by a verbal head on the basis of its peculiar meaning. In other words, predicates like *to resemble* or *to be near* - and also property predicates like *to be white* or *to be poor* - do not assign a “salience role” to their argument(s). However, topicality is the sole factor which can lead to the assignment of the Nominative to some kinds of arguments. As an instance, monoargumental property predicates are deemed to assign a Theme role, which is semantically weak and is more likely to be considered as a kind of “role of salience”, since no participant can be selected by property predicates. Moreover, verbs like *to resemble* are comparable to copular sentences like *to be similar to*; if they are to be considered as conflated predicates (on the line of Hale and Keyser, 2002), then in this case thematic roles are assigned by the lower adjectival head, while the copula is not responsible for thematic relationships, since it plays a mere linking role in the superficial syntax. Thus, the assignment of the Nominative to *Giacomo* in (42a) and to

Anna in (42b) is due to topicality and is not directly related to the thematic roles borne by the syntactic subject.

Topicality is clearly expressed in the syntax of a sentence: in Italian, this happens via verbal agreement, with a strong contribution of word order. Thus, topicality is crucial in symmetric predicates, where there is no way to distinguish between arguments: one of them has to be promoted to an outranking position in order to clarify what the “direction” of the sentence is.

As for monoargumental predicates, this happens in a quite complex way. In accusative languages like English, monoargumental verbs generally agree with their sole argument, and the same happens in Italian. This is always true for copular monoargumental sentences, in which the sole DP agrees with the copula and is systematically in the first position, according to the SV order requirements:

- (43) Anna è magra
Anna is slim_{FemSing}

Italian unaccusatives are an interesting case, in that their argument is generally in a lower unmarked position:

- (44) E' tornato Luigi
is come-back_{Masc} Luigi_{Nom}
“Luigi is back”

In (44) the subject is assumed to remain in its thematic position, since moving it to SpecTP, would lead to the basic SV order. Therefore, it must be supposed that, while V moves to T, the subject DP remains in the VP layer, in the site in which it has been generated. Nevertheless it agrees with V, as expected for monoargumental predicates (Cardinaletti, 2004)²⁸. Cases like (44) show that, as far as topicality is concerned, agreement and word order are not to be considered equally relevant. In Italian, word order can signal the semantic nature of an argument also in unmarked contexts: the

²⁸ The mechanism which allows for agreement has been differently described: the DP may agree with the verb via covert movement (Chomsky, 1995) or, more probably, by long-distance agreement (Chomsky, 1999).

basic position of the sole argument of unaccusatives is generally maintained at spell out, even though the DP normally agrees with the inflected verb.

Passive is one more noteworthy case, in that it allows for the topicalization of a DP which would be in a lower position in the unmarked order. Consider the contrast between (45a) and (45b):

- (45) a. Anna studia il latino
Anna_{Nom} learns the Latin_{Acc}
“Anna learns Latin”
- b. Il latino viene studiato da Anna
The Latin_{Nom} is learned by Anna
“Latin is learned by Anna”

Passive leads to an inversion in topicality, since the *by*-phrase has an ambiguous syntactic role and it is more likely to be deleted than the Agent of (45a). Thus, also in this case topicality plays a major role in determining the linking of arguments.

Psych predicates with a Dative-Experiencer are an interesting case of how the relation between agreement and word order works in languages. Romance and German languages have a reliable number of psych verbs in which the Experiencer is assigned the Dative. As for Italian, a well-known case is the verb *piacere* (“to please/like”). Consider the following sentences:

- (46) a. A Luigi piacciono i romanzi
to Luigi please_{3rdPlur} the novels_{Nom}
- b. I romanzi piacciono a Luigi
the novels_{Nom} please_{3rdPlur} to Luigi
“Luigi likes novels”

A first crucial claim is that (46a), in which the syntactic subject is lower than the Experiencer, is the unmarked type, while (46b) has a compulsory pragmatic value: it could be normally employed, for instance, in contrastive Focus contexts:

- (47) I romanzi piacciono a Luigi, i film a Marco
 the novels_{Nom} please_{3rdPlur} to Luigi the movies_{Nom} to Marco
 “Luigi likes novels, Marco likes movies”

I will discuss the problem of how these sentences have to be formally represented later on. Here, I would like to briefly examine the interaction between thematic roles, agreement and word order. Consider (48), whose arguments can be labelled as follows:

- (48) *Luigi*: Experiencer; +animate; high topicality
I romanzi: Stimulus; -animate; low topicality

According to Croft (1998, 2012), in psych predicates with a Dative-Experiencer, a precise force-dynamic relation is encoded: since the Stimulus is assigned the Nominative, it can be considered as the starting point from which the dynamic force originates; the Experiencer is, on the opposite, the endpoint of force transmission and is therefore assigned the Dative, which is a typical Goal-Case. This is quite similar to what Dowty’ system predicts, and goes also further in that it assumes a clear direction of the predicate. In Dowty’s system, alternations like those in (46) are accounted for on the basis of the Proto-Roles hypothesis: in psych verbs, both the Experiencer and the Stimulus have a sole P-A and P-P feature, so that none of them can systematically outrank the other and be therefore constantly linked to the subject position. Croft (2012) refers to the force-dynamic relation of the predicate so as to identify a decisive feature in establishing the linking pattern of psych verbs. Anyway, on the one side, psych verbs are a sort of symmetric predicates, since they select for semantically balanced arguments, with no clear-cut predominance of one of them over the other; on the other side, they are far from being fully comparable with predicates like *to resemble* or *to be next to*, in that they select for precise thematic roles, which actually have P-A and P-P features: this means that a “direction” of the predicate can be somehow predicted on the basis of the sole thematic relation, which is supposed to lead to a clear linking-pattern. The Case selection of the Italian *piacere* is coherent with this assumption: the Nominative is assigned to the Stimulus, which is the starting point of the eventuality, since the Nominative is the prototypical Case for the Agent; the Experiencer is consequently assigned the prototypical Goal-Case, i.e. the Dative. Nevertheless, word order is in contrast with this intuitive rule, since, in spite of the supposed direction of

the predicate, the Experiencer is in the typical subject-position for Italian. This is a non-trivial problem. Evidently, a complex interface phenomenon between syntax and semantics takes place, and it gives rise to a non-aligned pattern. Under a formal point of view, this problem has given rise to the proposal of Cardinaletti (2004), in which, on the basis of data like (46), the presence of a high SubjP projection is argued for. According to Cardinaletti (2004), semantic subjects always move higher than SpecAgrP and reach SpecSubjP, which contains a “subject-of-predication” feature. Thus the Dative Experiencer of sentences like (46) does not undergo agreement, but moves higher than AgrP, determining an SV-like order.

The question is what determines the high topicality of the Experiencer in sentences like (46). Recall the relevant contrast of (46), and suppose that: (i) the Experiencer is less prominent than the Stimulus in that it accumulates the greatest amount of P-P properties; (ii) the predicate has a sufficiently clear direction, which leads to assign the Nominative to the Stimulus; (iii) the Experiencer is high in topicality if compared to the Stimulus. According to the properties in (i)-(iii) we expect that the Stimulus is placed in the prominent position. Anyway, the high topicality of the Experiencer is sufficient to link it to the subject position. The only possible way to account for such a syntactic behaviour is to suppose that Italian tends to topicalize the animate individual rather than the inanimate entity. This can be demonstrated also in other contexts.

Predicates involving an animate Agent and an inanimate Patient are attested in the unmarked order of (49a). In this case, the object can be topicalized in the passive form (49b), which gives rise to a marked-Voice type:

- (49) a. Luigi ha lavato la macchina
 Luigi_{Nom} has washed the car
 b. La macchina è stata lavata da Luigi
 the car_{Nomi} is been washed by Luigi
 “The car has been washed by Luigi”

(49a) is the natural answer to a question like: “Che cosa è successo oggi?” (“What happened today?”), while (49b) sounds at least odd in such a context:

- (50) a. Che cosa è successo oggi? – Luigi ha lavato la macchina

b. Che cosa è successo oggi? – *La macchina è stata lavata da Luigi

The contrast clearly reveals that the unmarked order is that of (49a).

Predicates which involve an animate Patient and an inanimate Agent can also be attested in both patterns:

- (51) a. Il carrello ha ferito Mario
the cart_{Nom} has wounded Mario_{Acc}
b. Mario è stato ferito dal carrello
Mario is been wounded by-the cart
“Mario has been wounded by the cart”

Sometimes predicates like these can be attested in an unaccusative counterpart, which employs the reflexive clitic *si*:

- (52) a. L'acqua ha scottato Anna
the water_{Nom} has scalded Anna
b. Anna è stata scottata dall' acqua
Anna_{Nom} is been scalded from-the water
“Anna has been scalded by the water”
c. Anna si è scottata con l' acqua
Anna_{Nom} herself is scalded with the water
“Anna has scalded herself with the water”

If we apply to (51) and (52) the same test as (50), the result is that (52c) is more likely to be selected as the correct answer, while (52b) is preferable if compared to (52a); coherently with this result, (51b) is more natural than (51a). The results can be summarized as follows:

- (53) Unmarked word order in Italian
Agent_{animate} + Patient_{inanimate} → Agent > Patient
Agent_{inanimate} + Patient_{animate} → Patient > Agent

As for (52c) I have already suggested that reflexive clitics bear the Patient-like features contained in the thematic representation of the item with which they are co-indexed. This is the case, since *scottarsi* is an unaccusative verb with an internal subject: thus the original lower position of the subject DP is signalled by the clitic, via feature stripping²⁹.

Predicates which involve two animate individuals do not show a clear preference for the active form, when the “What happened?”-test is applied:

- (54) “Che cosa è successo oggi?”
 “Mario ha picchiato Luigi”/ “Luigi è stato picchiato da Mario”
 Mario_{Nom} has beaten-up Luigi_{Acc} Luigi_{Nom} is been beaten-up by Mario
 “Mario has beaten Luigi up/ Luigi has been beaten up by Mario”

Both these alternatives are acceptable, depending on what the topic of the sentence is. The speaker can choose to focus on one of the involved individuals by placing in the first position the selected animate argument³⁰.

Thus, as far as topicality is concerned, I will conclude that animacy is the relevant feature in Italian. However, the tendency to topicalize the animate does not

²⁹ See the dedicated section in ch. 3 §4.2.2.. As for *feature-stripping*, which I will recall in the aforementioned section, the main models are Poletto (2006, 2008) and Barbiers (2008).

³⁰ There are other verbs which allow for the fronting of the animate entity. Cardinaletti (2004) lists some of them in order to prove the existence of a SubjP position in IP, even if she does not refer to animacy as the crucial parameter for this to be possible. Unaccusative verbs like *capitare* “to happens” and *manicare* “to miss” can have a pre-posed Dative argument:

- (1) A Gianni è capitata una disgrazia (Cardinaletti, 2004: 123)
 To Gianni is happened a misfortune_{Nom}
 “A misfortune happened to Gianni”

Anyway, they allow for the postposition of the animate, if the inanimate subject is maintained in its thematic position:

- (2) E’ capitata una disgrazia a Gianni

Nevertheless, the [-a > V > +a] order cannot be considered unmarked:

- (3) “Che cosa è successo oggi?”
 a. A Gianni è capitata una disgrazia
 b. E’ capitata una disgrazia a Gianni
 c. *Una disgrazia è capitata a Gianni

Under this point of view, unaccusatives are less problematic, in that they typically maintain both the arguments in post-verbal positions. As (3) shows, if one of them is topicalized, this has to be the animate argument, coherently with what is shown in (53).

erase the syntactic relationship between the arguments, since this can be maintained in different ways: it can be signalled by means of Case-marking, as in psych verbs, or, for instance, by the presence of the reflexive clitic. As I will explain later in greater detail, psych verbs are significant examples of this complex interface phenomenon.

As a conclusion, it is clear that the notions of Figure and Ground are not comparable with thematic roles: they rather belong to the domain of topicality, which actually interferes with thematic relationships, but is encoded at a different level.

Thus, coming back to Dowty's proposal, I will state that it actually captures the correct generalization about the relationship between Case assignment and thematic properties. Nevertheless, in order to account for cases in which the arguments bear an identical amount of thematic properties, different factors must be supposed to be at work. Topicality plays a major role in determining the argument-to-Case linking; anyway, some specific features, like *animacy*, can be particularly relevant in this respect, as they clearly outrank other semantic properties. As Italian shows, syntax can maintain the relevant semantic information by applying different possible mechanisms, which obviously vary in languages. Word order facts generally show that in the unmarked sentence the animate entity is considered preponderant with respect to the others; nevertheless, it can be assigned a Case other than the Nominative if its thematic configuration does not provide for a clear Agent-like semantic status.

6.6. *The thematic role of property predicates*

Some more remarks are needed about copular predicates, such as Latin \bar{e} -verbs of the fourth Leumann's class. Since they are a kind of copular predicates and namely property predicates, they can be labelled as *predicative copular verbs*. When their thematic grid is considered, an interesting problem crops up: what is the thematic role which is assigned by copular predicates to their sole argument? The syntactic subject of copular sentences is generally deemed to be a "Theme", which is the weakest label for a thematic role in a possible complete list (Blake, 1994). This notion traces back to Prague School linguistics, where it had a discourse-pragmatic value. It has been employed as a label in thematic theory from Gruber (1965) on, but its value has not been stable in time. Anyway, I deem that "Theme" is an appropriate label for the sole argument of copular verbs with a predicative value, since it primarily refers to topicality. This is not an undesirable result if one considers that the copula does not

assign a thematic role. As already recalled above, what is responsible for thematic roles assignment in copular sentences is the adjectival head of the lower SC³¹. Thus the subject of copular sentences can be labelled as “Theme”, in that this definition captures the fact that it is *the entity on which something is asserted*.

At the end of this section, I would like to summarize the main assumptions on which my analysis will be based:

- (i) Thematic roles are strictly related to the kind of predicate which selects them. Thus, on the one side, they can be considered as “individual thematic roles”, in that their meaning is determined by the meaning of the verbal head; therefore – as I have recalled above – a verb like *to kill* actually selects for a *killer* and a *killee* at some semantic level. On the other side, the nature of thematic roles is strongly affected by the actional status of the predicate. This is particularly important when the difference between dynamic and static states is considered. Recall that I have assumed that statives have to be divided into two groups: property predicates and eventualities. Obviously, while eventualities select for participants which accumulate features typical for the P-A and the P-P, true states (property predicates) do not select for participants. Moreover, eventualities can be further categorized on the basis of causation. Hence, when an eventuality does not involve causation (like in the case of *iaceo*), it does not establish a relation between two or more arguments, with the consequence that in most cases both P-A and P-P features are borne by only one argument. On the contrary, when causation is implied, at least two arguments need to be selected, so that P-A and P-P features are distributed among them in different proportions and a complex relation is established.
- (ii) Thematic roles are actually non-atomic entities and can be effectively described by supposing that they contain sets of features which can be distributed in the syntax in different ways. Anyway, along with thematic features, other factors play a major role in determining the syntax of the

³¹ Nevertheless, it is not clear what kind of roles “white” or “livid” assign. This is a very problematic point, and I will not discuss it here, since it is not crucial for my analysis. Adjectives which have a “relational” meaning, such as “plenty” or “keen”, with more than one argument, are better candidates to assign specific thematic roles, but this goes beyond the purpose of this thesis.

entire clause. This emerges when Case assignment and word order are considered. Topicality is one of the most influential factors to be taken into account in this respect. Interestingly it is strictly connected with animacy, which can be considered as a crucial factor in determining the salience of an argument in the sentence.

As I have recalled in the previous sections, psych verbs belong to the class of dynamic states, in that they can be considered as eventualities involving causation. On this basis, in the next paragraph I will consider in depth the nature of the thematic roles selected by this class of predicates, so as to finally deal with their syntax in the next chapters.

Before turning to this I would like to underline a crucial aspect of my analysis. In the course of the thesis I will refer to “thematic roles” as to non-discrete entities, since an argument can in principle contain features belonging to different Proto-Roles. Anyway, I do believe that thematic roles exist. Thus, my analysis will not ban the notion of “thematic role”; rather it will presuppose that arguments can be labelled by means of a thematic tag, which identifies their preponderant function in the sentence. Anyway, this presupposition does not entail that an argument does not bear different features, which trace back to different primitives or Proto-Roles. As will be clear from the next paragraph, this becomes particularly evident when the Experiencer is considered.

7. The Experiencer and the Stimulus

This section takes into account the thematic roles assigned by psych verbs, which are traditionally labelled as “Experiencer” and “Stimulus” (Talmy 1988). In the current thesis, I will maintain these labels because I am convinced that they correctly define the non-univocal relationship established between the arguments of this class of predicates. In this section, my purpose is to discuss some peculiarities of these roles so as to successively examine their syntax in depth.

7.1. Classifying psych verbs

I will firstly summarize the most common patterns for psych verbs which are attested cross-linguistically.

From Belletti and Rizzi (1988)' seminal work about Italian psych verbs on, the following classification has been adopted:

- (i) Nominative-marked Experiencer verbs. In this configuration, the Stimulus receives the Accusative or an Oblique Case, while the Experiencer is assigned the Nominative. See the following examples from German and Romance languages:

- (55) a. Je me repens du mal que j`avais pensé lui faire
I myself regret of bad that I have thought him to-do
"I regret the evil that I thought I would do to him"
- b. I like strawberries
- c. Detesto la matematica
hate_{1stSing} the Maths
"I hate Maths"
- d. Der alte Mann hat seinen Trennungsentschluss bereut
the_{Nom} old_{Nom} man_{Nom} has his_{Acc} decision-of-separation_{Acc} regretted
"The old man has regretted his decision to divorce"

- (ii) Accusative-marked Experiencer verbs. In this case, the Stimulus is assigned the Nominative and the Experiencer receives the Accusative. Consider the following examples:

- (56) a. Questa situazione mi preoccupa
This situation me_{Acc} worries
"This situation worries me"
- b. Novels please Annie

- (iii) Dative-marked Experiencer verbs. In this case, the Experiencer is assigned the Dative, while the Stimulus receives the Nominative:

- (57) a. Mi piace il vino
me_{Dat} likes the wine_{Nom}
"I like wine"

b. Mir gefallen die roten Rosen am besten
 me_{Dat} please_{3rdPlur} the_{Nom} red_{NomPlur} roses_{Nom} at-the best
 “I like above all red roses”

- (iv) An impersonal structure, in which no Nominative is assigned. Both the Experiencer and the Stimulus are VP-internal. See the following examples from Icelandic and Russian:

- (58) Mig ídrar þess (Icelandic)
 Me_{Acc} regret this_{Gen}
 “I regret this”
 Anna korči-l-o ot boli (Russian) (Babby, 2010: 139)
 Anna_{Acc} writhed_{Nom} from pain_{Gen}
 “Anna was writhing in pain”

Groups (i)-(iii) are generally divided into two wide classes: S(ubject) E(xperiencer) and O(bject) E(xperiencer) psych verbs. Scholars have noticed so far that while SE verbs show no syntactic peculiarities, in that they behave like regular transitive verbs, OE verbs are instead much more problematic (Arad, 1998; Rothmayr, 2009).

Arad (1998) distinguishes three types of OE psych verbs:

- (a) A type, labelled “agentive”, in which the state affecting the Experiencer is deliberately produced by an Agent (necessarily animated):

- (59) Anna ha spaventato Luigi (di proposito)
 Anna_{Nom} has scared Luigi_{Acc} (on purpose)
 “Anna scared Luigi”

- (b) A type labelled “eventive”, in which the change of state of the Experiencer takes place even if the Causer does not act deliberately (for this reason it can be both animate and inanimate):

- (60) Il tuono ha spaventato Maria
 the thunder_{Nom} has scared Maria_{Acc}
 “The thunder scared Maria”

(c) A type labelled “stative”, in which the object is not affected by any culminating change of state and the Causer acts on no purpose. Thus, the mental state of the Experiencer ends as soon as the Causer is removed:

- (61) La prospettiva di un esame su questi argomenti spaventa Lucia
 the eventuality_{Nom} of an exam on these issues worries Lucia_{Acc}
 “The eventuality of an exam concerning these issues worries Lucia”

This classification is built on the basis of two concomitant parameters, namely the presence/absence of volition and the presence/absence of telicity: if both parameters are active the verb is *agentive*, if both are inactive the verb is *stative*. Notice that, in this system, both the agentive and stative type involve causation: the difference is that, while in the agentive type the Experiencer undergoes a culminating change of state (the change is “caused”), in the stative type the change is “triggered” and has a certain duration in time; anyway, the change is reversible and no precise moment for it to arise can be clearly individuated.

As I will show when the data of Latin will be considered, the SE pattern also shows many interesting syntactic peculiarities, especially as far as transitivity is concerned, and this is generally not taken into account in the literature on the topic. Moreover, the impersonal type – which is well attested in Latin - deserves to be investigated in depth, as it poses some non-trivial problems with respect to argument-to-Case linking.

7.2. A definition for the Experiencer and the Stimulus

One of the main problems of thematic theories is how to properly define the status of the Experiencer and the Stimulus, which are very peculiar thematic roles, in that – as well as some other cases I recalled above - they are typical for a specific class

of predicates³². Namely, they are maybe the most striking proof of the non-discrete nature of thematic roles: under a pure semantic point of view, they cannot be defined as homogeneous entities, and the same holds when syntax is considered, since Case-marking shows for them a remarkable cross-linguistic variation.

Indeed, it will be useful to start from the main assumption that the Stimulus and the Experiencer are *ad hoc* thematic roles, since they are semantically restricted to a small set of predicates; notions like *Agent* and *Patient* are instead clearly adaptable to different kinds of predicates. In this respect, it should be noticed that, while the Experiencer always contains Agent or Patient features, the reverse is not true, since an Agent does not necessarily contain Experiencer features nor does the Patient. As for the Stimulus, this role can be described as a sub-type of Agent, which anyway lacks sentience and volition. These properties may be due to the fact that both the Stimulus and the Experiencer are simply clusters of features belonging to primitives like the “Causer/Agent”, the “Undergoer/Patient” and the “Recipient/Beneficiary”. On this basis, Bouchard (1995) argues that every verb can be in principle interpreted as having a psych value, thus emphasising the fact that the Experiencer and the Stimulus are to be considered as sub-types of macro-roles like the P-A and the P-P.

In the system of Dowty (1991) the Experiencer displays entailments of both the Proto-Agent and the Proto-Patient, and so does the Stimulus. This accounts for the great variation shown by psych verbs in different languages. According to this view, the Experiencer, as “sentient”, can be assigned the Nominative and be therefore aligned with the Agent of the prototypical transitive pattern, or it can be assigned the Accusative, since it displays Patient features (it “undergoes” a change or is an affected entity). This has been noticed in many works, like in Croft (1998, 2012), who explicitly refers to the unclear force-dynamic relation between the two arguments of psych verbs as the factor which is responsible for their unstable syntactic patterns. More precisely, if we consider Dowty’s entailments, the Experiencer is supposed to outrank the Stimulus in that it is “sentient”, while the Stimulus is supposed to outrank the Experiencer since it is the causer of the predicate. This is supposed to be the reason why, as far as psych verbs are concerned, a huge degree of syntactic variation can be found in languages. Anyway, while there are good reasons to recognize Proto-Agent features in the Stimulus (it can be actually considered as a “Causer Stimulus”), it is not clear to what extent it

³² In this section I will focus on the Experiencer/Stimulus relationship in psych verbs, even if these labels are currently used also for perception verbs.

can be attributed Patient properties, since there is no entailment in Dowty's system which properly suits it. The Experiencer has instead at least one P-P property, since it is causally affected by the Stimulus. In (62) I show the properties which can be attributed to both roles in Dowty's system:

- (62) a. Experiencer: sentience (P-A) - causally affected (P-P)
b. Stimulus: causer (P-A)

Given (62), the easiest way to represent the asymmetric relationship between the two roles would be to link the Experiencer to the object position, as it is the only possible candidate for that position, since the Stimulus has no P-P features. As a consequence, the Stimulus is expected to be the syntactic subject of the sentence. Thus the SE pattern - which is widely attested across languages - would be ruled out.

The unclear direction of the relationship between the Stimulus and the Experiencer is probably due to the fact that none of them can be considered as the exclusive Causer of the predicate. If we consider the basic transitive situation in which "an animate acts on an entity which is separate from him and causes in it a change of state", we notice that the Stimulus is defective with respect to some peculiar agentive features (namely volition, animacy, motion), while the Experiencer cannot be compared to the Agent, in that it contains the sole animacy feature, with a possible partial volition/control property. This turns out to be important for Latin psych \bar{e} -verbs, since Latin also employs an impersonal pattern, in which both the Experiencer and the Stimulus are VP internal: this can be thought of as the basic relation between the arguments of stative psych predicates, and I will propose that it is actually the underlying syntactic representation of psych \bar{e} -verbs in Latin, also when they are attested in the SE pattern.

As will be clear from the analysis proposed in the next chapter, the status of the Experiencer is highly problematic and scholars have generally focused on it, as it is considered as the main point to be discussed in order to properly describe the syntactic status of psych verbs (Hermon, 1985; Anagnostopoulou, 1999; Landau 2010). Here I will examine its nature mostly under a semantic point of view.

First of all, the "sentience" property implies a variable degree of control, since the Experiencer may have a part in causing the psych eventuality and acquire, in this way, one more P-A property. This possibility is considered by Croft (1998, 2012), who

assumes that the SE pattern occurs in languages when the Experiencer is supposed to be the starting-point of the predicate, so that the Stimulus is the endpoint of the feeling. Anyway, under this view, one should demonstrate that SE verbs *always* imply a higher degree of control or volition. Consider now the Italian psych verbs of (63):

- (63) a. A Luigi piacciono le more
to Luigi like_{3rdPlur} the blackberries_{Nom}
“Luigi likes blackberries”
- b. Le more allettano Luigi
the blackberries_{Nom} attract_{3rdPlur} Luigi_{Acc}
“Blackberries attract Luigi”
- c. Luigi apprezza le more
Luigi_{Nom} appreciates the blackberries_{Acc}
“Luigi appreciates blackberries”

As far as Case-marking is concerned, (63a) and (63b) are consistent with the idea that the Stimulus outranks the Experiencer: therefore, the latter is linked in both cases to a non-Nominative position. If one adopts the aforementioned point of view, (63c) and its counterparts in other languages are instead problematic. According to Croft (2012), *Luigi* in (63c) is the starting-point of the “mental action”, i.e. he controls the feeling or he is at least more aware of it than in (63a). *Apprezzare* is an interesting case in this respect, since it actually implies control or volition. Consider the following examples:

- (64) a. Mi piacciono le storie d’avventura, non ci posso fare
me_{Dat} like_{3rdPlur} the stories_{Nom} of adventure Neg clit can_{1stSing} to-do
niente
nothing
“I like adventure stories: I can’t help it!”
- b. Le storie d’avventura mi allettano: non ci posso fare
the stories_{Nom} of adventure me_{Acc} attract_{3rdPlur} Neg clit can_{1stSing} to-do
niente
nothing
Lit: “Blackberries attract me: I can’t help it”

- c. ?Apprezzo Manzoni: non ci posso fare niente
 appreciate_{1stSing} Manzoni_{Acc} Neg clit can_{1stSing} to-do nothing
 “I appreciate Manzoni: I can’t help it”

The expression *non ci posso fare niente* (“I can’t help it”) implies that the subject lacks control and it sounds odd with the verb *apprezzare* in (64c). Thus, in this case, Croft’s stipulation is correct. However, there are many cases in which the speaker cannot clearly state that the Experiencer really has control over the feeling named by the predicate. One possible example is the verb *amare*:

- (65) Amo Manzoni: non ci posso fare niente
 appreciate_{1stSing} Manzoni_{Acc} Neg clit can_{1stSing} to-do nothing
 “I love Manzoni: I can’t help it”

(65) is grammatical in Italian. Thus, the fact that the Experiencer is linked to the subject position does not necessarily imply that it is perceived as controlling the feeling or that it is responsible for it.

The possible patterns attested in Italian, as well as in other languages, rather arise from the interaction of more than one single factor. Beside the semantic relationship between the arguments, two main aspects have to be considered, i.e. the topicality-effect and the influence of the prototypical pattern. Thus, as I recalled before, in (63a) Italian signals the dual nature of the Experiencer by splitting its semantic features in the syntax: it receives the Dative and is placed in the first position at the same time. In (63b) the Stimulus outranks the Experiencer; anyway, the sentence displays a marked order (obtained by means of Voice), since it would have a more neutral value if the Passive were employed and *Luigi* were in the first position. In (63c) the animate is promoted to the subject position and the Accusative is assigned to the Stimulus. This may depend on the presence of control or volition, but in many cases, the SE pattern simply follows the unmarked order of Accusative languages, i.e. the prototypical transitive pattern. The transitive pattern tends to be highly generalized in accusative languages, with the consequence that thematic relationships get blurred by the linear order, with the Nominative assigned to the animate individual and the Accusative assigned to the other complement, regardless of its specific meaning. Thus, when the Stimulus is assigned the Accusative, this is due to the predominance of the

Experiencer, in that this is the animate entity which is typically promoted to the most prominent position, even if it is not perceived as controlling or directly determining the feeling. Thus, the Accusative which is assigned to the Stimulus has no specific semantic content, i.e. it is a true Structural Accusative. This clearly recalls what I have noticed above about the non-semantic content of the object Stimulus: this position effectively is a residual one, which is assigned to the Stimulus by virtue of its low prominence with respect to the Experiencer. Anyway, it should be noticed that, in many cases – as in (55a) – the Stimulus can be expressed in an Inherent Case (for instance, it can be headed by a P). In principle, this could guarantee that the semantics of the Stimulus is more transparently expressed. Anyway, cases in which the sentence is totally aligned with the core transitive pattern are frequent in languages. Indeed, Latin is interesting in that it shows that also the transitive SE pattern is a “derived” pattern in which the Stimulus is “transitivized”. I will discuss these issues in great detail in the course of the dissertation, since something has to be stated about the syntactic configuration of the possible patterns. This will be the core point of the next chapter, in which I will analyse impersonal psych \bar{e} -verbs, in order to understand what mechanisms are at work as far as their syntactic structure is concerned.

7.3. Experiencers and Recipients

One could wonder why the Experiencer can receive both the Dative and the Accusative in OE constructions. If we strictly refer to the notion of “patienthood”, the proper Case to be assigned to the Experiencer when the Stimulus receives the Nominative is the Accusative. However, since the Dative is the prototypical Case for the Recipient/Beneficiary role, it may be that the Experiencer actually has some related features.

In her development of Dowty’s proposal, Primus (1999) introduces one more P-role, which is labelled “P-Recipient”. In Dowty (1991) the only mention of the relationship between the Patient and the Recipient concerns the presupposition that, given a three-place predicate, the argument with more P-Patient properties is linked to the object position, while the third argument is inserted in the sentence as an Oblique. Primus does not give a list of properties or entailments for the P-Recipient, rather she assumes that this Proto-Role shares some properties of the P-A and some properties of the P-P. Namely, the P-R is Agent-dependent, in that it cannot occur in a sentence in

which a P-A is not implied: this is the main property which links the P-R to the P-P, which is supposed to be a dependent role as well. In order to understand in what sense the P-R also shares P-A properties, Primus assumes that in sentences like:

(66) I gave a book to Katy

two predicates are involved: (i) the first one signifies the action which is performed by an Agent (*I*) and takes the Beneficiary (*Katy*) as its endpoint; (ii) the second predicate is embedded with respect to the previous one and denotes a state in which an entity has become the possessor (*Katie*) of something (*the book*). In this sense, the P-R is the P-A of the embedded predicate, in that, as far as the resulting state is concerned, it has P-A properties.

Thus, the P-R can be compared to the P-A because it displays typical Agent entailments: as far as the embedded lower predicate is concerned, its status is similar to that of the P-A. This connection is semantic in nature, and correctly explains the composite nature of the animate object of causatives like *to inform*, which has indeed both Agent and Patient features. On the other side, the P-R has something in common with the P-P, since it is the affected argument of the higher predicate of a complex sentence like (66).

The conclusion is that the P-R can be placed between the P-A and the P-P in a thematic hierarchy like the following:

(67) Proto-Agent < θ Proto-Recipient < θ Proto-Patient (Primus, 1999: 55)

Primus (1999) does not explain to what extent this intuition about the P-R could be adapted to other possible thematic roles. Anyway, her proposal about the compositional nature of the Recipient is interesting, in that it allows for a more detailed analysis of the Experiencer, which is in the same intermediate position between the Agent and the Patient and, even if it can be considered as the target of the Stimulus, effectively becomes the holder of a state. This is one more piece of evidence that it has a compositional nature, whose features are responsible for its critical unstable syntactic status. In the next chapter, I will take into account this peculiarity, by referring to some formal analyses.

The discussion about the thematic roles of psych-verbs will be widened in the next chapter, where the interface between syntax and semantics is discussed in great detail. Here, so as to conclude this section, I will summarize the main assumptions I have made so far:

- (i) The Experiencer and the Stimulus are linked by means of a complex thematic relation, in which no clear-cut direction can be easily individuated: both these roles contain P-A features and this leads to a high competition for the subject position.
- (ii) The Experiencer is prominent with respect to the Stimulus in that it is an animate entity. Animacy is strictly related to salience, thus determining Nominative assignment to the Experiencer in many syntactic contexts. At the same time, the Experiencer can be somehow perceived as controlling or determining the feeling from which it is affected.
- (iii) The Experiencer is a compositional role in which P-A and P-P features are contained. Anyway, in some sense it can be also considered as a sort of P-Recipient, in that it is the holder of a state determined by the Stimulus.
- (iv) The Stimulus has a main Causer value, which can be properly identified by means of an Inherent Case. When it is assigned the Accusative, this is clearly due to the alignment with the prototypical accusative pattern. In this case, the object-position is to be considered as a mere residual position.

8. Stative \bar{e} -verbs: a tentative classification

After having discussed the core notions of “stativity” and “thematic role”, I will now come back to Latin data, in order to analyse how these problems have to be dealt with as far as \bar{e} -verbs are concerned. This will be the basis on which the discussion on psych verbs will be outlined in the next chapters.

As I recalled in the previous pages, \bar{e} -verbs can be divided into two big groups, which show different characteristics with respect to argumental and thematic selection: (i) a first one which includes true causatives, as *moneo*, whose nature is basically transitive; (ii) a second one which is quite inhomogeneous and includes all the verbs which are formed by means of the stative morpheme $-\bar{e}$.

It is quite clear that, as far as Actionality and thematic selection are concerned, the verbs in (i) are homogenous, in that they are at least activities (with a possible

accomplishment reading) which select for two arguments, whose features are generally distributed in a clear-cut way. Thus, if we consider *moneo*, we can state that this verb is actually an activity in which an Agent and a Patient are clearly involved.

In what follows I will examine the verbs in (ii), so as to define what their nature is with respect to Actionality and thematic selection. This will be extremely useful to discuss in great detail the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class, which mostly belong to this second group. My analysis will be outlined under a diachronic point of view, in that these verbs show a very interesting degree of variation in time and deserve to be carefully examined in this respect in order to reach a satisfactory classification. From now on, I will distinguish between: (i) Early Latin, which corresponds to the III-II centuries B.C. and is mostly represented by the works of Cato, Plautus and Terence; (ii) the Classical Age, namely from Cicero until the end of the I c. A.D.; and (iii) the Late Period, which starts with the II c. A.D. and includes the last centuries of the Roman Empire.

8.1. Copular and depictive verbs: an overview

This is the widest group of Latin \bar{e} -verbs. It includes the verbs of Leumann's fourth class, i.e. all the supposed denominatives (but see Jasanoff, 2003 for a different perspective). I include in this group all the verbs which can be considered as property copular predicates, since they describe the physical properties of an entity. Thus, they are not necessarily denominative formations, nor they represent a homogeneous group as far as their etymology is concerned. From now on, I will abandon classic categorizations in favour of a semantic-oriented analysis. A discussion about the morphology of some of them will be outlined in the next chapters.

These verbs are mostly intransitive, given their affinity with copular predicates: they can be defined as “depictive predicates” or “property predicates”, and can be also supposed to be Kimian states in the terms of Maienborn (2003). The most frequently attested verbs which can be considered as part of this category are: *aceo* (“to be acid”), *albeo* (“to be white”), *algeo* (“to be cold”), *areo* (“to be dry”), *caleo* (“to be warm”), *calleo* (“to be callous”), *candeo* (“to be pure white”), *flaveo* (“to be blond”), *foeteo* (“to stink”), *frigeo* (“to be frozen”), *frondeo* (“to be luxuriant”), *fulgeo* (“to be radiant”), *hebeo* (“to be weak”), *horreo* (“to be stiff”), *languedo* (“to be listless”), *liqueo* (“to be clear/liquid”), *liveo* (“to be livid”), *maceo* (“to be skinny”), *madeo* (“to be drippy/sweaty”), *marceo* (“to be rotten”), *palleo* (“to be pale”), *pateo* (“to be opened”),

rubeo (“to be red”), *seneo* (“to be old”), *sordeo* (“to be sordid”), *splendeo* (“to be brightful”) *squaleo* (“to be miserable”), *stupeo* (“to be numb/amazed”) *tabeo* (“to be infected”), *valeo* (“to be strong”), *vireo* (“to be green”).

The copular nature of these predicates is somehow revealed by their frequent adjectival use in the present participle. As the following examples show, in such cases both the stage (68b) and the individual level reading (68a) are available:

- (68) a. glandes liventis plumbi (Verg. Aen, 7, 687)
 balls_{Acc} being-livid_{GenSing} lead_{GenSing}
 “Balls of livid lead”
- b. ad caelum liventia bracchia tollens (Ov. met. 6, 279)
 to sky_{Acc} gone-blue_{AccPlur} arms_{Acc} raising_{NomSing}
 “(Niobe) raising against Heaven her arms which had gone-blue”

The translation clarifies the adjectival nature of these predicates, which are traditionally classified as denominative. As I recalled in §2., these verbs can display the whole paradigm including an adjective in *-idus* and a noun in *-or*, a fact which is predicted by their nominal root. Furthermore, most of these verbs are attested in a corresponding form in *-sco* with an inchoative/ingressive value: this is generally a later formation, which is derived from the basic stative verb. The difference between the two readings in the Classical Age can be exemplified by the following instances:

- (69) a. apparet esse commotus: sudat, pallet (Cic. Phil. 2, 84)
 looks to-be touched_{NomMascSing} is-sweaty is-pale
 “‘He is clearly touched: he is sweaty, he is pale”
- b. palluit, ut serae (...) pallescunt frondes
 got-pale_{3rdSing} like tardy_{NomFemPlur} get-pale_{3rdPlur} branches_{NomFem}
 “‘He got pale, as tardy leaves get pale” (Ov, ars, 3, 703-704)
- (70) a. solstitiis minus concalescunt, sed frigoribus hiemis
 solstices_{Abl} less get-warm_{3rdPl} but colds_{Abl} winter_{GenSing}
 intolerabiliter horrent (Colum. 1, 4, 9)
 unbearably are-stiff
 “‘During the solstices they warm less, but they get intolerably rigid
 during the winter colds”

b. horrescet faxo lena, leges cum
will-get-horrified_{3rdSing} will-make_{1stSing} bawd_{Nom} laws_{Acc} when
audiet (Plaut. Asin. 749)
will-hear_{3rdSing}
“I will make the bawd get scared, when she gets to know the laws”

In (69a) *pallet* is a stage level predicate, with a clear stative value. Some problems seem to arise when the perfect form *palluit* of (69b) is considered. Here the context forces an inchoative reading, with a consequent telic value “she got pale”. Anyway, inchoative verbs do not display a specific form for the perfect³³, which is therefore borrowed from the regular paradigm of non-inchoative verbs. This is supported by the fact that, before the late period, non-inchoative verbs usually have an atelic value in the present, even if, starting from the Late Classical Age, some cases of an inchoative reading are attested:

(71) populos et salices et fraxinos, priusquam floeant
poplars_{Acc} and willows_{Acc} and ashes_{Acc}, before bloom_{SubjPres3rdPlur}
“Poplars and willows and ashes, before they bloom” (Colum. 11, 2, 19)

The reverse case is instead more frequent, as happens with *horresco*, which is often attested without a true inchoative value; this leads to the progressive use of the periphrasis “*coepere* (“to begin”) + Infinitive”, which can be employed with a wide number of *-ē-scēre* forms:

(72) saetis horrescere coepi (Ov. met. 14, 279)
bristles_{Abl} to-get-raised began_{1stSing}
“I wext all rough with bristled heare” (transl. A. Golding)

8.2. Valency changes and psych shift

As I pointed out in the previous sections, in other languages (like Italian and German) these verbs correspond to copular sentences. Since they are synthetic copular predicates, they increase the number of intransitive verbs of the *ē*-class. This leads to

³³Ancient Grammarians, like Charisius, already noticed this peculiarity of inchoative verbs. Diomedes (p. 468, 22B) recalls that, given the lack of a dedicated form for the perfect of inchoative predicates, analytic (passive and causative) forms such as *pallefactus sum* could preferably provide the perfect reading.

the conclusion that the stative verbs of the second conjugation are generally intransitive (as Ernout, 1953 points out): in their most ancient and regular use, they do not select for any object and commonly assign the Nominative to their sole argument. Also non-denominative predicates which are formed by the stative morpheme are basically intransitive, as the minimal pairs I recalled in §2. show.

According to what I have discussed in §6.6., the sole argument of copular property predicates can be labelled as a Theme, in that it is the entity on which something is asserted. Nevertheless, as I pointed out, some of these verbs can have both a physic and an abstract psych meaning, as happens with *rubeo*, which can mean “to be red” as well as “to be ashamed”; obviously, the two meanings are always semantically related to each other: the abstract reference arises from the physic, since, in the world knowledge, a given visible property is connected with a feeling or an abstract related characteristic. In these cases, the argument can be considered as an Experiencer, in that it acquires a sentience feature, and receives a thematic role which is encoded by an eventuality. Hence, this kind of semantic shift directly leads to a change in valency. There is no doubt that the sole argument of property predicates acquires a different nature when the psych reading is present, in that it acquires different thematic features. Anyway, in such a case, also the number of the selected arguments can vary, giving rise to more complex patterns.

Namely, when a predicate undergoes a shift from a physic to a psych reading, it undergoes also a redistribution of its syntactic arguments, a fact which can be traced back to a change in the nature and the number of thematic roles as well as to the relationship between them. As I have explained in the previous section, psych verbs regularly select for an Experiencer and a Stimulus, which can be both considered as verbal arguments. Thus, a semantic shift of the kind I am discussing in these pages always leads to a template augmentation. In this case, since the verb basically assigns the Nominative to its sole argument under the physic reading, the inherited psych predicate has an SE structure. The Stimulus generally receives a Cause value and is assigned the Ablative or is headed by an appropriate P, with an Inherent-like value. Anyway, some of these verbs undergo a transitivization process in time, in which the Stimulus is assigned the Accusative. This happens with a series of predicates which I will discuss in detail in the next chapters. However, some psych predicates which derive from property predicates do not undergo such a transitivization process. As an instance, the aforementioned *rubeo* can display both a physic and a psych reading, but never

selects for an object or displays a transitive pattern. When the Stimulus is expressed, it is assigned an Inherent Case (the Ablative or a Case assigned by a P).

The process I have just outlined is coherent with what I have observed in §5.6. about the direction of the semantic shift from a type of actional class to another. Namely, the passage from a property predicate to a psych predicate can be easily explained by means of Table 2, which I repeat here:

Table 2.

Stative verbs		
Property predicates	Eventualities	
	Non-causatives	Causatives

The semantic shift which I am discussing leads to the passage from a property predicate to an eventuality (namely a caused eventuality). This entails that states can be shifted towards activities, by means of a template augmentation, regardless of the fact that the predicate is actually transitivized. At the same time, transitivization always leads to an actional shift, in that it entails that the predicate selects for at least two arguments, which are linked by means of a certain relation.

Since psych shift leads to a thematic re-classification of the sole argument of property predicates, it is necessary to better understand its actual nature. Thus, before describing the syntax of psych \bar{e} -verbs, I will improve the discussion about the semantic nature of the sole argument of intransitives.

8.3. *On the sole argument of property predicates*

In Latin, as happens in accusative languages, the sole argument of monoargumental predicates always receives the Nominative, regardless of its thematic nature. Primus (1999) refers to this constraint for German as “Nominative Requirement”: it predicts that verbal heads always trigger agreement with one of the arguments they select. This is supposed to be a strong tendency of accusative languages like German and Latin, since exceptions to this rule are extremely rare, and generally concern specific classes of predicates. In case of monoargumental predicates no competition between arguments is at work, therefore the sole argument they select is automatically linked to the subject position.

Non-accusative languages show a higher degree of variation in this respect. Typological studies have been considered the so-called active languages, i.e. non-accusative languages in which split intransitivity is attested (Merlan, 1985; Van Valin, 1990; Mithun, 1991; Creissels, 2008; Cennamo 2009; Coon, 2013, a.o.).

Active languages can be basically both accusative and ergative (Nichols, 1992). They can encode the sole argument of intransitive verbs not only in the Case which is typical for the Agent but also in the Patient-like Case. As a consequence, they have a group of intransitive predicates whose argument is marked like the Agent of transitive verbs and another group of predicates whose argument is marked like the Patient of intransitive verbs. A typical example of an active language is Lakhota (Mithun, 1991):

- (73) a. *mawáni* “I walk”
b. *masláte* “I’m slow” (Mithun, 1991: 515)

In (73), the two monoargumental predicates select for a sole pronominal argument, which is marked like the semantic Agent of transitive predicates (*wá*) in (73a) and like the semantic patient of transitive predicates (*ma*) in (73b). Notice that active languages often display synthetic forms for corresponding copular predicates of Romance and German languages, as happens in (73b) and is also typical for Latin *ē*-verbs.

Scholars have analysed different active languages in order to find out if a clear direction in Case-marking can be identified. If we adopt a compositional notion of thematic roles, in such languages the prominence of Agent-like features is supposed to lead to the assignment of the Agent-like Case, while the preponderance of Patient-like features is supposed to conversely lead to the assignment of the Patient-like Case. However, while there is general consensus on the fact that Case-marking in active languages can be semantic-oriented (Mithun, 1991; Creissels, 2008), a huge cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation has been recognized. As far as semantic-oriented Case-marking is concerned, two general tendencies can be identified:

- (i) A first according to which Case-marking in monadic (i.e. monoargumental) predicates of active languages is ruled by linking principles of the type proposed by Dowty (1991) (especially Primus, 1999).

- (ii) A second, according to which Case-marking of monadic predicates in active languages is ruled by a single prominent factor/feature, which is language-specific. This second hypothesis is mostly defended in typological studies (Mithun, 1991; Arkadiev, 2008 a.o.).

Let us provide a brief overview of both these proposals.

In Primus (1999), the way in which the sole argument of monoargumental verbs is encoded in active languages is supposed not to be blind to semantic factors, rather consistent with a non-atomic view of argument linking³⁴. In Guaranì (which is a clear-cut case of an active language), Primus (1999) identifies four classes of predicates, which are distinguished by means of specific semantic features corresponding to the Proto-Agent entailments. Interestingly, predicates which correspond to copular predicates of English and Italian show a strong tendency to assign their argument the Patient-like case. They are property predicates, which denote a quality or a transitory state of an entity: *to be sick*, *to be confused*, *to be thirsty*, and so on.

The main difference between the tendencies in (i) and (ii) concerns the weight which is attributed to semantic factors in determining Case-marking. While Primus' proposal is coherent with the Proto-Roles hypothesis, Arkadiev (2008) argues that, in spite of the possible amount of P-properties (i.e. in spite of the fact that the argument accumulates more P-A or P-P features), there is an α -factor which is prominent with respect to the others, even if it is the sole P-A property attributed to the argument. Nevertheless, α -factors which lead to Agent Case marking are always typical for the P-A.

Both tendencies lead to the conclusion that property predicates can assign their argument the Patient-like Case, since it lacks one or more significant Agent properties. Notice that all the parameters which are generally considered responsible for the assignment of an Agent-like Case are irrelevant for property predicates. Mithun (1991) and Arkadiev (2008) list a set of parameters which are supposed to be crucial – even if language-specific – in orienting Agent-like Case-marking, like telicity, volition, control, performance, and so on. As can be seen, they all fail to be positive in property predicates, which are merely depictive.

³⁴ Different versions of Dowty's proposal have been elaborated in years. See for instance the Principle of Morphosyntactic Expression of Thematic Information proposed by Primus (1999): 61. Here, I will adopt the basic version of Dowty's proposal, which is effectively the best version so far.

An interesting case of split in the Case-marking of property predicates is supposed to be Central Pomo, in which affectedness is responsible for Agent-like marking: thus, in Central Pomo only “inherent states” (in the terms of Mithun, 1991: i.e. *to be tall, to be Indian, to be alive*) assign the Agent-like Case to their sole argument, while stative predicates selecting for an affected argument (like *to be in pain, to be weak*) tend to assign it the Patient-like Case. The difference is maybe to be analysed in terms of a stage level/individual level split; anyway it primarily concerns the features borne by the argument.

Against this background, it is now possible to better understand in what sense stative \bar{e} -verbs are generally supposed to have a passive-like subject. If we consider thematic roles, \bar{e} -verbs select for an argument whose Agent properties are clearly weaker than the properties typical for the Patient. Thus, such predicates assign the Nominative to their sole argument in that they follow the tendency of accusative languages, i.e. they tend to meet the Nominative Requirement. Anyway, the fact that in active languages the sole argument of the corresponding predicates is usually assigned the Case of the Patient is a piece of evidence that it actually has a non-Agent status. Thus, the hypothesis outlined in the works cited by Hocquard (1981) – whose assumptions I have summarized in §4. – can be accounted for on the basis of a more formal analysis, which actually provides a series of good arguments, in this respect.

Recall that \bar{e} -property predicates can undergo a transitivization process, which is usually connected with a semantic shift towards a psych reading. In cases like these, the sole argument of a verb like *palleo* becomes an Experiencer and a relationship with a Stimulus is somehow established by the predicate. In some sense, the Experiencer is similar to the sole argument of property predicates in that it is affected by a visible physic state, which reveals the presence of a certain psych status. Starting from this assumption, it is necessary to understand how the psych reading can be structurally differentiated from the physic one. I will state that the two do not differ with respect to the licensing of the Experiencer: as far as their affected argument is concerned, they probably have similar underlying structures. Anyway, the presence of the Stimulus is crucial in determining the structural difference between the physic and the psych reading. This will be one of the main points discussed in chapter 3. Here I will only anticipate that, in syntactic terms, both the argument of property \bar{e} -predicates and the Experiencer of psych \bar{e} -verbs can be considered as “internal arguments”. The comparison with active languages is, in this respect, extremely illuminating, in that it

shows that the sole argument of property predicates can actually be considered as a Patient-like entity.

8.4. *Other stative verbs*

In the traditional classification of Leumann (1977), property predicates are kept separate from non-denominative stative predicates. As I recalled in §1., these verbs can be attested in minimal pairs with non-*ē* forms, which have a causative value and are supposed to indirectly confirm the intransitive nature of the morpheme *-ē* (Ernout 1953). These verbs are less frequent than property predicates and do not have a copulative value. Moreover, they are generally not attested in the whole Caland's system, which is instead displayed by verbs like *albeo* and *horreo*. Regardless of their etymology, these verbs can be grouped in a separate sub-class because, under a mere semantic point of view, they are not property predicates. Some of them have a problematic etymology, a fact which does not exclude their possible denominative derivation. Nevertheless, as I will explain in this paragraph, they are different from property predicates in their semantics.

Some remarkable verbs of this class are: *arceo* “to keep off”, *censeo*³⁵ “to rate, estimate”, *coniveo* “to close (the eyes)”, *faveo*³⁶ “to be favourable”, *habeo* “to have”, *haereo* “to hang, adhere”, *iaceo* “to lie”, *lateo* “to be hidden”, *pendeo* “to hang, be suspended”, *maneo* “to stay, to wait”, *medeor* “to heal, medicate”, *sedeo* “to sit, sit still”, *soleo* “to use, be accustomed”, *taceo* “to be silent”, *teneo* “to hold, keep”, *video* “to see”.

Most of them are monoargumental predicates. Transitive structures are also attested, but in such cases, the transitivization is supposed to be ancient and no more visible in Latin texts as a process still at work³⁷.

As far as actional properties are concerned, these verbs can be considered as stative predicates. As I recalled above (§4.), scholars have tried to trace back the meaning of each of these verbs to a clear passive value. Regardless of how these

³⁵ This is a problematic case. It is analysed both as a causative and a stative verb (García Ramón, 1993, de Vaan, 2008: 107)

³⁶ Also *faveo* is problematic, in that it has been interpreted both as a causative and a stative (see de Vaan, 2008: 206 for a detailed discussion).

³⁷ An example of this can be the verb *video*. Vendryes (1932) suggests that *video* has a primary stative meaning “it appears to me/I think”, with the Preceptor bearing a mere Recipient-like role. This would be supported by the presence in Classical Latin of the impersonal form *mihi videtur*. Also *invideo* is interpreted, along this line, as a stative verb with a non-active subject, with the meaning: “someone makes me envious”

conjectures fare, it follows from the previous discussion that their nature is quite different from that of denominative property predicates. The sole argument of these verbs – in the intransitive structure – is not merely “described” or simply asserted to “possess some properties”: these verbs are eventualities; and involve true “participants”. According to Talmy (1988), even in states a force-dynamic relation can be recognized: thus, a predicate like *to be seated* implies that the participant does not move from its position, and is therefore inactive, since also “resistance” has to be considered as a kind of force, even if it does not involve dynamicity. Naturally, as far as property predicates like *albeo* are concerned, this kind of analysis does not make sense.

In some cases, the verb has a regular transitive pattern (as happens with *arceo*, *teneo* and *video*): this fact can actually be the result of an ancient shift from a true intransitive value to a transitive one. Anyway, what is relevant here is that synchronically (starting from the first attestations in Plautus), these verbs are transitive, and display all the properties one attributes to syntactic transitivity. As I have already underlined, regular transitive predicates belong to the class of dynamic states, in that transitivity is strictly connected with eventuality, while property predicates are generally intransitive. In this respect, psych verbs are to be considered eventualities, even if they are classified as statives (Arad, 1998). As we will see, some of them (namely, *doleo*, *paveo* and *gaudeo*) pose interesting problem with respect to their etymology, in that they cannot be easily traced back to denominative formations. Anyway, as will be shown in chapter 3., their syntactic behaviour is coherent with that of the other psych verbs in *-ē-*.

To sum up, stative verbs in *-ē-* can be successfully classified on the basis of Actionality: some of them are “true states”, namely property predicates with a Theme argument; some others are eventualities and select for one or more participants. In most cases, property predicates are denominative formations, while eventualities are formed by verbal roots. Anyway, some cases in which the two classes can be fully overlapped arise: on the basis of semantics, some denominative verbs can be interpreted as eventualities, while non-denominatives can also be considered as property predicates.

9. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described Latin *ē-*verbs in order to outline a satisfactory classification for them. What emerges from the discussion so far is that this class of

verbs is both morphologically and semantically inhomogeneous, because it includes predicates tracing back to different kind of formations. The psych verbs of this class all belong to the sub-category of statives; therefore, I have focused on this wide group of predicates. In this respect, the main conclusion which have been attained in the previous pages are the following:

- (i) Stative predicates can be divided into two classes: (i) the first one includes “true states”, i.e. the so called “property predicates”, which are not eventualities and are intransitive in nature, in that they select for a sole Theme-argument which cannot be considered as a participant to a kind of event. These verbs are mainly depictive or descriptive in nature and often correspond in other languages to copular predicates; (ii) the second group includes eventualities, which select for true participants and can be both monoargumental and biargumental; the arguments of these verbs accumulate P-A and P-P features and generally correspond to stative dynamic verbs also in other languages.
- (ii) Stative eventualities can involve causation: the relation between the arguments they select can be analysed as a Causer/Causee relation, thus giving rise to a complex thematic configuration in which thematic features can be differently distributed between complements.

In the second part of this chapter I have discussed the notion of “thematic role”, by referring to the proposal of Dowty (1991) and some of its developments. The main points about this issue are the following:

- (iii) Thematic roles are not atomic-entities. They can be properly described by referring to the notion of “thematic feature”, which captures the correct generalization about their nature. Verbal complements can accumulate features from different Proto-Roles and this affects the way in which they are linked in syntax. Thus, the relationship between Case assignment and thematic roles is a crucial factor in determining the linking of the arguments in a sentence. Languages can apply different mechanisms to render the features contained in a single thematic role, for instance by employing

morphologic material (as happens with the Italian *si*) or by combining Case-marking and word order.

- (iv) Topicality and animacy play a major role in determining the linking of the arguments in a sentence. The animate entity tends to be preponderant with respect to the others and is therefore more likely to be assigned the Nominative and to be placed in the first position. This is also predicted by the prototypical pattern of accusative languages in which the pair Nom/Acc is highly preferred.
- (v) The generalization of the prototypical pattern Nom/Acc has different consequences on semantics: on the one side it tends to promote the animate entity to the first position, thus emphasizing its semantic preponderance with respect to the other complements; on the other, Accusative assignment to the internal complement blurs its thematic status, in that the object position can be considered as a residual one. This happens when the predicate does not establish an Agent/Patient relation between its arguments; hence, an Oblique-like internal complement is inserted in the object position and receives the Accusative, which assumes a mere Structural value.

What I have summarized so far constitutes the basis on which the discussion about the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class will be outlined. I have already taken into account the semantics of psych predicates in the course of this chapter. Here I will only summarize the main characteristics of these predicates with respect to Actionality and thematic selection.

First of all, the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class belong to different categories: they are SE verbs, OE verbs and also impersonal predicates with no Nominative-marked argument. Apart from the latter group (which I will discuss in detail in chapter 2.), psych \bar{e} -verbs are generally derived from predicates with a clear physic reference, mostly from property predicates. As for Actionality, they are to be considered as eventualities. Thus, property predicates which shift towards a psych meaning clearly become eventualities, even if they are basically non-dynamic states. As far as thematic roles are concerned, psych verbs select for participants: in this respect, they are different from property predicates since the latter do not select for true participants, rather for a non-active Theme. Psych verbs select instead for an Experiencer and a Stimulus, which are very complex thematic roles, in that they accumulate a set of inhomogeneous

thematic features. This leads to a high syntactic instability: on the one hand the Stimulus can be generally considered as the Causer of the eventuality named by the psych predicate, while on the other the Experiencer is an animate entity and tends to be topicalized. Hence the Nominative is not stably assigned to one of the arguments, since both of them display characteristics which can be crucial in this respect. When the prototypical pattern is applied to this class of predicates, the Nominative and the Accusative are assigned to the Experiencer and to the Stimulus respectively, thus giving rise to the semantic blurring of the thematic properties of the latter.

As I have just recalled, in the \bar{e} -class, psych verbs are attested in different patterns, which I will take into account in the next chapters. I will start by discussing some models which have been proposed to analyse the syntax of psych verbs. I will then focus on the class of impersonal psych predicates, which deserve a very detailed investigation. In the last chapter, I will deal with SE verbs so as to outline a unified analysis of psych predicates of the \bar{e} -class.

CHAPTER 2

The syntactic alignment of OE predicates: the verbs of the *piget*-class and *placeo*

1. Introduction

Stative psych verbs of Latin are attested in all the typical patterns of accusative languages I recalled in the previous chapter³⁸, i.e. in the SE pattern, in the OE pattern and in an impersonal structure with no overt syntactic subject:

- a. SE pattern: *amo* (“to love”), *timeo* (“to fear”), *fastidio* (“to dislike”), etc.
- b. Dative-OE pattern: *placeo* (“to please/like”), *doleo* (“to suffer”).
- c. Accusative-OE pattern: *excrucio* (“to afflict”), *fatigo* (“to torment”), *sollicito* (“to worry”), etc.
- d. Impersonal Structure: *pigēt* (“to regret”), *pudēt* (“to feel ashamed”), *interest* (“to be of interest”), etc.

In Latin, the Accusative-OE structure is regularly transitive. Interestingly, most of the verbs belonging to this class have an ambiguous meaning, since they can assume both a physic and a psych value. Hence, their direct object is an animate undergoer³⁹. This probably accounts for the fact these verbs show a regular behaviour with respect to transitivity. Consider the following example:

- (1) quibus nunc sollicitor rebus! (Ter. Ad. 36)
what_{AbIPlur} now am-worried things_{SAbIPlur}
“What things worry me!”

³⁸ An overview of some possible patterns attested in Old Latin is presented in Dahl and Fedriani (2012), who adopt a comparative perspective.

³⁹ In the \bar{e} -class, transitive OE verbs are very rare and trace back to causative formations (see, for instance, the aforementioned *torqueo*, from PIE *tork^w-eie- “to twist”, and *terreo*, probably from PIE *tros-eie- “to make scared”; de Vaan, 2008).

The verb *sollicitare* is used both under the psych reading in (1) and under a physic value, with the meaning “to shake”. This happens with the majority of the verbs which belong to this group. Indeed, it seems that Latin does not have a genuine class of transitive OE verbs, since they are generally derived from a core concrete reading, by means of a semantic shift. Thus, the sole class of true psych predicates is that of impersonals, since – as will be explained in the next chapter – also SE \bar{e} -verbs rarely have a core psych meaning. On the contrary, the impersonal verbs of the \bar{e} -class are actual psych verbs, in that they do not have any ambiguous reading.

The predicates grouped in the classes (a), (b) and (d) are mostly \bar{e} -verbs and show interesting syntactic peculiarities, which will be analysed in the following pages.

The difference between the classes is not clear-cut, both under a synchronic and under a diachronic perspective. Some structures can in fact be midway between (b)-(d) and (a). As I will try to explain later on in this chapter, as far as transitivization is concerned, the prominence of the prototypic Nom/Acc pattern leads to a phenomenon of progressive alignment in time: marked configurations are progressively reduced and “normalized” and are modelled on the canonical transitive pattern of agentive predicates. This is generally recognized for impersonal constructions, as is clearly shown by the assignment of the Nominative in Late Latin (Cennamo, 2012, a.o.), but also more regular transitive predicates show peculiar syntactic behaviours, which can be traced back to the passage from basic non-SE constructions to the transitive prototypical pattern.

What I will propose here is that the impersonal pattern of the *piget*-type is to be considered as the basis for a wide number of psych \bar{e} -verbs. More specifically, my purpose is to show that some SE psych \bar{e} -verbs, though attested in Classical Latin in a transitive pattern, have an underlying structure in which both the Stimulus and the Experiencer are VP-internal. This is suggested by different syntactic characteristics, especially by the peculiar behaviour of their Accusative-marked argument. Thus, I will identify a specific group of verbs which can be clearly distinguished from the type of *timeo*, which is a full transitive predicate and is totally aligned with the core transitive pattern. On the contrary, verbs such as *doleo* and *horreo* have no external argument; rather they have an underlying configuration which is similar to that of the so-called impersonals. Along these lines, my conclusion will be that this kind of psych verbs (i.e. the transitive SE personal type with no external argument) has evolved from an impersonal and probably a transimpersonal structure. This trend can be observed in

Latin in diachrony, but can be considered as the general cross-linguistic tendency of stative psych verbs.

According to the classification of Arad (1998) (see ch. 1. §7.1.), the psych verbs of the *ē*-class are all stative predicates. The SE type is generally deemed to be syntactically homogenous and no difference is claimed to exist between verbs such as *timeo* and *doleo*. Anyway, as noticed by Oniga (2007), the class of *doleo* is at least characterized by a possible constraint on passivization. If this is true, some difference between the two should be detected, and this can be done on the basis of their respective underlying structures. My proposal will be that for the predicates of the *doleo*-class a clear (de)transitivization process can be observed in diachrony and that this process can be easily compared to that of the impersonal forms of the *piget*-class. As for the *timeo*-type (which is widespread in Latin, as it reflects the core accusative pattern), it is attested in a fully transitivized structure in the early stages of the language; thus, even if one could reasonably infer that also this class of predicates was probably characterized by ancient impersonal configurations, no evidence for this is available in the attested Latin. I will come back to this issue in the next chapter, when personal forms will be taken into account.

Before turning to describe the SE group, I will deal with the syntax of the verbs in (d), as this will be a crucial starting point for my analysis. In this chapter I will firstly give an overview of the most relevant models proposed for psych verbs in the Generative Grammar framework (§1.); I will then describe the verbs of the *piget*-class (§2.) and I will analyse the syntactic characteristics of the Stimulus and the Experiencer (§3.). In §4. I will describe the syntax of *placeo*. Finally, in §5. I will outline my own proposal of analysis.

2. Syntactic models for stative psych verbs

In the Generative Grammar framework psych verbs have been discussed under several points of view⁴⁰. Since I will outline my own proposal following this specific framework, it will be of help to give an overview of the most important cross-linguistic problems which crop up when psych verbs are considered under a formal syntactic point of view.

⁴⁰ Many works have dealt with psych verbs. I will cite here only some relevant titles: Franco (1990); Cresti (1990); Bouchard (1992); Herschensohn (1992); Iwata (1995); Anagnostopoulou (1999) Barðdal (1999); Herschensohn (1999); Landau (2002); Bennis (2004). The main syntactic models which have been proposed are instead treated in the current paragraph.

A useful starting point can be the classification put forth by Arad (1998), which I have already described in ch.1. §7.1. For the sake of clearness, I will recall it here. Arad distinguishes:

- (d) A type, labelled “agentive”, in which the state affecting the Experiencer is deliberately produced by an Agent (necessarily animated).
- (e) A type labelled “eventive”, in which the change of state of the Experiencer takes place even if the Causer does not act deliberately (for this reason it can be both animate and inanimate).
- (f) A type labelled “stative”, in which the object is not affected by any culminating change of state and the Causer acts on no purpose. Thus, the mental state of the Experiencer ends as soon as the Causer is removed.

As other scholars do (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988; Landau, 2010), Arad claims that the agentive pattern requires no special syntactic configuration in order to be explained in formal terms. Agentive and eventive psych verbs are high in transitivity, given a definition of “transitivity” in the terms of Hopper and Thompson (1980): both agency and telicity are, indeed, crucial parameters that influence the encoding of transitivity cross-linguistically. On the other hand, in many languages OE stative verbs with an Accusative-marked Experiencer show syntactic peculiarities; thus, they are supposed to be better represented by means of a non-canonical transitive configuration. According to B(elletti) and R(izzi) (1988), while the SE transitive verbs can be represented by means of the structure of the regular transitive predicates (i.e. with a thematic external argument), verbs like *preoccupare* “to worry” or *annoiare* “to bore” have an unaccusative-like structure, in which both arguments (the “Experiencer” and the “Theme”, in their terms) are linked to a VP internal position. Thus, in this case, for the Italian unmarked order to be possible, the Theme undergoes movement and receives the Nominative in SpecTP, while the Experiencer remains *in situ* and receives the Accusative by the V itself. A major problem with this analysis is the fact that, by definition (Burzio, 1986) unaccusatives cannot assign Accusative Case. Anyway, B&R argue that this constraint only refers to the Structural Accusative, and that, as a consequence, the Experiencer of this kind of verbs is assigned an *Inherent Accusative*. As for the syntactic order of the arguments, B&R state that the Experiencer is merged

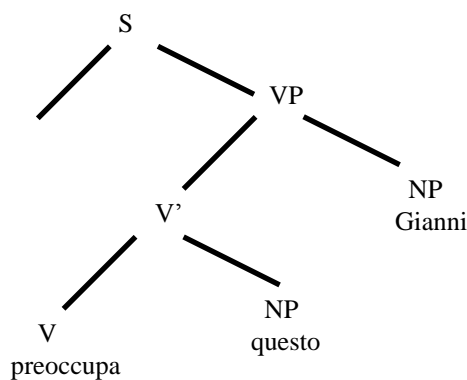
higher than the Theme, since binding facts suggest that it c-commands the Theme at some level in the syntax. Consider the following example:

- (2) Questi pettegolezzi su di sé_i preoccupano Gianni_i più di
 these_{Nom} gossips_{Nom} on of himself worry_{3rdPlur} Gianni_{Acc} more than
 ogni altra cosa (B&R, 1988: 312)
 every else thing
 “These gossips about himself worry Gianni more than anything else”.

In (1), the Stimulus has to be c-commanded by the Experiencer at some level, in that in transitive non-psych verbs of Italian the bindee cannot generally occur before the binder.

Thus, the structure proposed for the *preoccupare*-class is represented as follows:

(3)



(Belletti and Rizzi, 1988: 293)

Let me briefly summarize some tests which are applied by B&R to support the unaccusative hypothesis:

(i)

The verbs of the *preoccupare* class cannot undergo passivization, a fact which leads to the conclusion that they do not assign Structural Accusative Case. They can be attested in the passive, but only when they are adjectives. This is suggested by the fact that in the passive the auxiliary *venire* is ungrammatical:

- (4) a. Gianni è preoccupato dall' esame
 Gianni is worried from-the test
 b. *Gianni viene preoccupato dall'esame
 "Gianni is worried by the test"

In sentences like (4a) the participle is an adjective. This is supported by data concerning clitic attachment to the participle in reduced relatives:

- (5) a. La notizia che gli è stata comunicata
 the news that him_{Dat} is been notified
 "The news which has been notified to him"
 b. La notizia comunicatagli
 the news notified-him_{Dat}
 "The news notified to him"
- (6) a. La notizia che gli è ignota
 the news that him_{Dat} is unknown
 "The news which is unknown to him"
 b. *La notizia ignotagli
 the news unknown-him_{Dat}
 "The news unknown to him"
- (7) a. La persona che ne è affascinata
 the person that from-him/her is attracted
 "The person who is attracted by him/her"
 b. *La persona affascinatane
 the person attracted-from-him/her
 "The person attracted by him/her"
- (8) *La persona preoccupatane
 the person worried-by-him/her/it

As can be seen, while transitive verbs with an external argument (like in 5a) allow for clitic attachment to participles, verbs like *preoccupare* do not, exactly as happens with adjectives (7).

(ii)

As happens with unaccusatives, these verbs do not allow for an arbitrary *pro* interpretation:

- (9) a. Hanno chiamato a casa mia
have_{3rdPlur} called at house my
“They/somebody called at my home”
- b. *Sono arrivati a casa mia
are_{3rdPlur} come at house my
“Somebody arrived at my place”
- c. *Hanno preoccupato mia madre
have_{3rdPlur} worried my mother
“Somebody worried my mother”

B&R note that both unaccusative verbs like *arrivare* and verbs like *preoccupare* are ungrammatical in the sense of *chiamare* in (9a): the interpretation “somebody arrived at my place” is not available as well as “somebody worried my mother”.

This analysis has been called into doubt in some subsequent works. I will recall here some critical points which have been underlined by scholars.

Pesetsky (1995) does not accept the analysis of verbs such as *preoccupare* as unaccusatives. He tries to demonstrate that the verbs which belong to this class do not behave like unaccusatives. This is shown by the fact that they do not meet two crucial requirements canonically connected with unaccusativity in Italian:

- a. They do not form analytic tenses by means of the auxiliary *essere*.
- b. They do not allow for the syntactic subject to be in the post-verbal position

Moreover, Pesetsky calls into doubt the tests which B&R apply to strengthen their analysis, by providing some specific examples⁴¹. The most interesting point he discusses is the possible passivization of verbs like *preoccupare*. Namely, Pesetsky points out that sentences like the following are grammatical in Italian:

⁴¹ I will not discuss here the constraint about the arbitrary interpretation of *pro* and the binding facts noticed by Pesetsky, since they are not crucial for my analysis.

- (10) Gianni viene terrificato da questa prospettiva
 Gianni_{Nom} is terrified by this eventuality

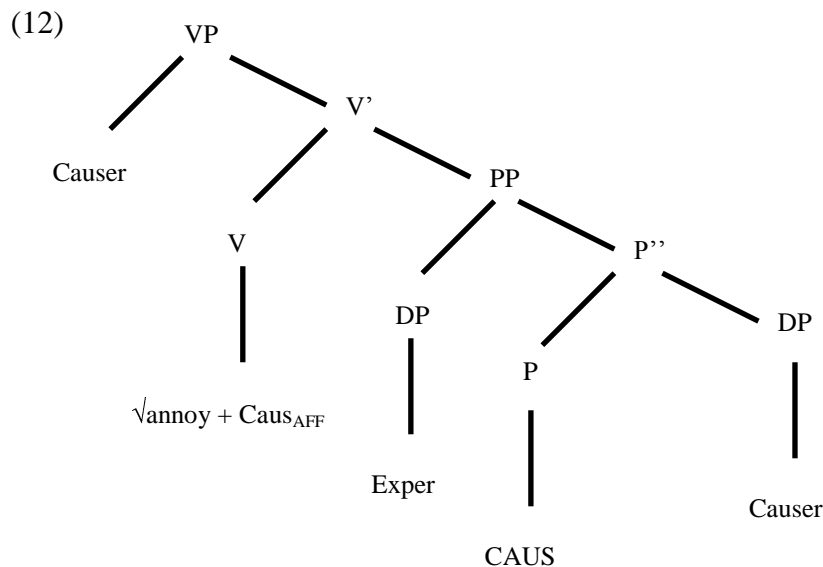
Moreover, he claims that, in general, the use of *venire* to form the passive of these verbs is not as restricted as is supposed to be in B&R.

In my judgment, sentences like (10) are ungrammatical. However, even if one can point out that *venire* can be employed to form the passive of verbs like *preoccupare*, it must be admitted that this use is at least extremely restricted.

Pesetsky proposes to analyse verbs like *piacere* “to like” differently from the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class. He recalls that, differently from the latter, the former is a true unaccusative, as demonstrated by the following canonical tests:

- (11) a. Mi è piaciuto il film (use of the auxiliary *essere*)
 me_{Dat} is liked the movie_{Nom}
 “I liked the movie”
 b. Me ne sono piaciute poche (cliticization with *ne*)
 me_{Dat} of-them are_{3rdPlur} liked few
 “I liked only few of them”

Thus, according to Pesetsky, verbs like *preoccupare* have a transitive structure, with a covert causative morpheme *CAUS* which links the Experiencer to the Causer like a null P:



In sum, Pesetsky re-proposes the linking mechanism outlined by B&R, but he supposes that the Causer of verbs like *to annoy* (which are similar to the Italian *preoccupare*) is a low complement licensed by a causative P. He then proposes that the low Causer moves to the external Causer position (i.e. the Causer licensed by the verbal head), thanks to the presence of a CAUS-affix (which can be overt or covert, depending on the language which is analysed). This mechanism accounts for binding facts and allows for a thematic interpretation of the Causer-Experiencer relationship: instead of proposing an unaccusative analysis for this class of verbs, Pesetsky consider them as true transitives with a lower Causer.

Arad (1998) further discusses B&R’s analysis, and argues for an alternative proposal, which has been recently recalled by Rothmayr (2009) and Landau (2010). Her analysis is based on the presupposition that syntax must represent event structure: this leads to the consequence that the Causer/Stimulus of psych verbs cannot be in a position lower than the Experiencer. As a consequence, Arad proposes that the subject of the agentive psych verbs is a true external argument, generated in vP, while the subject of statives is VP-internal. It is in a position higher than the Experiencer, namely in a higher module of VP. Thus, psych verbs with a stative reading lack a vP projection in their syntactic configuration, since they assign no Agent role to the external argument. Consequentially, they display a simple VP structure with an “internal external argument”, which is the syntactic subject of the sentence: Arad uses this label to capture the fact that in stative psych verbs the Stimulus is VP-internal, in that it measures the event as well as the object does, while in agentive verbs the event is measured by the sole internal argument. The vP sub-layer is active in agentive verbs since it is the canonical position in which the Agent receives its thematic role: in fact, in this case the Agent does not give any contribution to the measuring of the event and can be considered as a true “external argument”.

This is deemed to have consequences on the syntax, as shown for instance by the data of Spanish. OE psych verbs in Spanish assign the Accusative only in the agentive type, while the stative reading only allows for the selection of a PP (Arad, 1998: 197):

- (13) a. el niño la(ACC) molestó
 the boy_{Nom} her_{Acc} disturbed
 “The boy disturbed her”

b. la musica le(DAT) molestó
the music_{Nom} her_{Acc} disturbed
“The music disturbed her”

Arad claims that the psych verbs of the *preoccupare* class have no underlying unaccusative structure: they do not share the typical syntactic characteristics of unaccusatives (the constraint on passivization, the cliticization by means of *ne*, and so on); they are causative, and causation is always associated with an external position; their configuration has to be considered similar to that of their non-psych counterparts, since the Experiencer is not syntactically different from other thematic roles and its interpretation is only due to the selectional properties of the predicate. At a closer look, the Experiencer is not structurally distinct from other kinds of thematic roles, such as the Recipient, the Beneficiary and the Theme. An argument is interpreted as “Experiencer” on the basis of the properties of the VP (the complex formed by the verbs and its arguments) and not by virtue of a dedicated position in the syntactic structure.

As for the peculiarities in the behaviour of stative psych verbs, Arad assumes that they are somehow related to the presence of the Accusative in a syntactic context which lacks a true external argument.

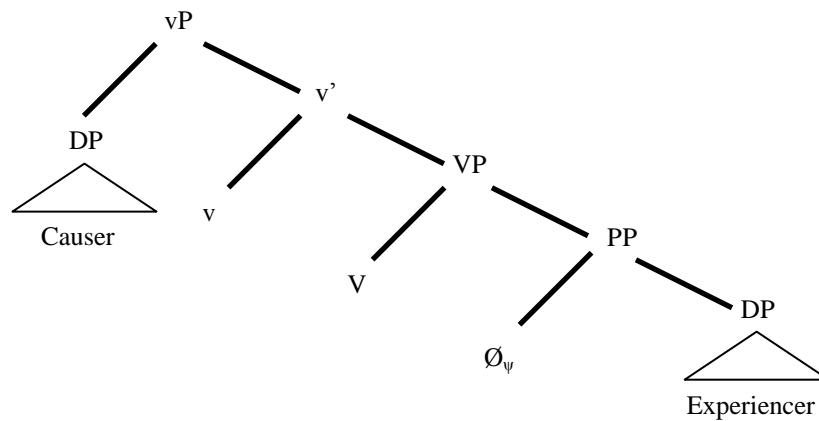
Rothmayr (2009) maintains Arad’s analysis under many points of view. Namely, she proposes a simple structure with no vP projection for both the eventive and the stative types: since these predicates cannot be read as agentive, a bare VP, in which the arguments are simply linked in a Spec/Comp relationship, has to be supposed. As for Dative-Experiencer verbs, a structure similar to that of unaccusatives is maintained, with the Dative argument occupying SpecVP and the Causer being forced to receive Nominative by moving from CompVP, exactly like it has been proposed by B&R for the *preoccupare*-class.

Landau (2010) has further discussed B&R’s hypothesis and has proposed a locative analysis for OE verbs with an Accusative-marked Experiencer. Namely, he proposes that Accusative-Experiencer verbs have the structure of a transitive predicate, with the Causer (the Stimulus) occupying the position canonical for external arguments, i.e. SpecvP. Anyway, according to Landau, the Experiencer is always headed by a P, which is not lexicalized in the unmarked order. Dative-Experiencer verbs have no vP projection and show the reverse pattern if compared to Accusative-Experiencer verbs: their Experiencer is merged in SpecVP, while the Causer (which is to be interpreted as a

Target/Stimulus, following Pesetsky, 1995) is merged in CompV. In (14a) and (14b) the structures of an Accusative-Experiencer and of a Dative-Experiencer verb are represented (Landau, 2010: ex. 12):

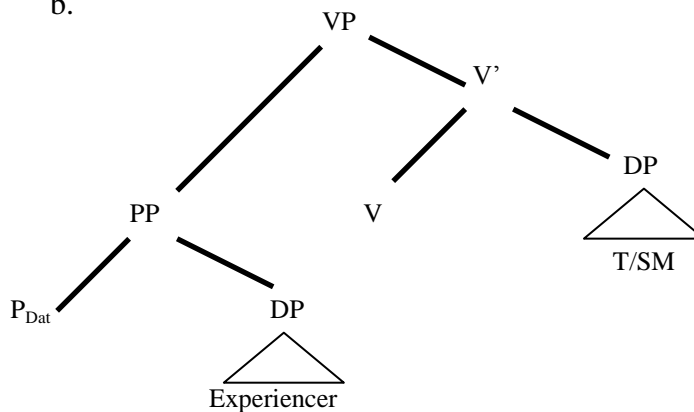
(14)

a.



(14)

b.



I will now summarize some crucial points which arise from the analyses I recalled above. As can be seen, even if different points of view have been adopted in time, some characteristics are shared by all the models I have described so far:

- According to the proposals I have just outlined, no peculiar structure is needed for agentive and eventive psych verbs, since they can be represented as transitives predicates.
- The Stimulus is an “external internal argument”, and this has to be properly represented in the structure. While in some cases (Landau, 2010; Arad, 1998)

the causative relation is deemed to entail that the DP_{stim} is an external argument, scholars have tried to formalize its external/internal nature in different ways: this can be done by supposing that no vP is present in the structure or by assuming that the Stimulus is merged in a low position and that it then moves to a higher site (B&R, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995).

These points will be crucial when the analysis of Latin psych verbs will be taken into account. As will be clear, I will outline a proposal which is mostly based on the works I have described in this section. Anyway, before turning to this, I will present the psych verbs of the *piget*-class and *placeo*; I will then discuss their typological classification and their syntactic representation.

3. The psych verbs of the *piget*-class

In this section I will present the so-called impersonal psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class. The chronological classification which will be adopted has already been illustrated in the previous chapter. Anyway, for the sake of clarity, I will recall it here: I will distinguish between (i) a first period (Early Latin), which corresponds to the III-II centuries B.C. and is mostly represented by the works of Cato, Plautus and Terence; (ii) the Classical Age, namely from the I c. B.C. till the I c. A.D.; and (iii) the Late Period, which starts with the II c. A.D. and goes through the last centuries of the Roman Empire.

3.1. The data

Among the verbs of the \bar{e} -class five impersonal predicates are attested: *miseret* “to feel pity, compassion”, *paenitet* “to repent”, *piget* “to regret”, *pudet* “to feel ashamed”, *taedet* “be disgusted, tired”. They share a syntactic structure which is stable in time. Nevertheless, a closer look at the data allows for a subtler analysis of their syntactic development. I will describe them as a coherent group, with the exception of *miseret*, since it has specific characteristics, which deserve to be separately treated.

These verbs are attested in an impersonal structure, which is preserved in Latin until the Late Period, when personal configurations are also employed. The impersonal structure can be exemplified by the following sentences:

- (15) a. non pudet vanitatis? (Plaut. Phorm. 525)
 Neg feels-ashamed vanity_{Gen}
 “Don’t you feel ashamed of your vanity?”
- b. non paenitet me famae (Ter. Haec. 775)
 Neg regrets me_{Acc} reputation_{Gen}
 “I do not regret my reputation”
- c. tui me miseret, mei piget (Enn. scaen. 60)
 you_{Gen} me_{Acc} has-pity_{3rdSing} of-me is-sorry
 “I commiserate you and I am sorry about myself”
- d. me (...) convivii sermonisque taesum est
 me_{Acc} banquet_{Gen} conversation_{Gen}-and disgusted_{Neut} is
 “The banquet and the conversation disgusted me” (Plaut. Most. 1. 4. 4)

Under this configuration, the Experiencer is rarely kept silent, while the Stimulus is more likely to be absent.

Already in Plautus, these verbs can be select for a whole CP (headed by the *Cs si, cum* and *quod*) as a Stimulus, or also for a bare infinitive. Also indirect questions are allowed in the same position:

- (16) a. ne id te pigat proloqui (Plaut. Aul. 210)
 Neg it_{Nom/Acc} you_{Acc} is-sorry_{Subj} first-to-talk
 “Don’t be sorry about that: about the fact that you have to talk first”
- b. civitates quattuordecim, ex quibus
 communities_{Nom} fourteen among which_{AbIPlur}
 Lacienses (...) nominare non pigat (Plin. nat. 3, 139)
 from-Lacinium_{AccPlur} to-mention Neg is-sorry_{Subj}
 “Fourteen communities, among which do not be sorry about mentioning those from Lacinium”
- c. (pecuniam) non dedisse istunc pudet, me
 money_{AccSing} Neg to-have-given this_{AccMascSing} is-ashamed me_{Acc}
 quia non accepi piget (Plaut. Pseud. 282)
 because Neg received_{1stSing} regrets
 “At not having paid the money, he is ashamed; I, because I have not received it, am vexed” (trans. H. T. Riley)

d. nil me paenitet iam, quanto sumptui fuerim
 nothing_{Acc} me_{Acc} regrets already how-much_{Dat} expense_{Dat} were_{1stSingSubj}
 tibi (Plaut. Mil. 740)

you_{Dat}

“I am content with the expense that I have been to you already”

(trans. H. T. Riley)

As these examples show, the CP is generally headed by Cs with a causal or a hypothetical value. These features are undoubtedly contained in the Stimulus itself. Anyway, the Stimulus, when it is a DP, is constantly assigned the Genitive until the Late Period, when it can be also expressed as a PP (17b):

(17) a. non vos pigat ad ostentationem, quae sit.
 Neg you_{AccPlur} is-sorry_{Subj} to demonstration, what_{NomFem} is_{Subj}
 caritas vestra (Euseb. Emes. serm. 29, 34)
 generosity_{FemNom} your_{FemNom}

“Do not feel sorry about showing what your generosity is”

b. in simulacris (deorum) de nominibus et fabulis
 among images_{Abl} (gods_{Gen}) about names_{Abl} and stories_{Abl}
 veterum mortuorum pudet. (Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 13, p. 307, 17)
 ancient_{GenPlur} dead_{GenPlur} feels-ashamed

“When among the images of the gods it is ashamed of itself because of the names and the stories of men long dead”

As can be seen in the examples in (17), the Stimulus can be expressed as a PP headed by different Ps, which select for specific Cases.

Personal patterns are attested in Late Latin, but a progressive alignment with the SE structure is already signalled in the Classical Age, when the present participle and the gerund are employed with the Experiencer as a logical subject:

- (18) a. ad misericordiam inducitur, ad pudendum,
 towards mercy_{Acc} is-persuaded towards feeling-ashamed_{Acc}
 ad pigendum (Cic. Brut. 188)
 towards regretting_{Acc}
 “(The crowd) is driven to mercy, to feel ashamed, to regret”
- b. optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii
 very-good_{MascSing} is harbor_{MascSing} repentant_{Dat} change_{Nom} opinion_{Gen}
 “The change of mind is a very good landing place for the repentant”
 (Cic. Phil. 12, 7)

In these examples the non-finite form entails that the Experiencer is the semantic subject: the verb *inducitur* triggers control on PRO, as happens when a bare infinitive is selected. Consider (19):

- (19) inductus_i ad te scribere_i sum_i (Cic. fam. 5, 4, 2)
 persuaded_{MascNomSing} to you_{Acc} to-write am
 “I am driven to write to you”

As can be seen in (19), the subject of the infinitive and that of the finite form *inductus sum* is the same. This entails that also in (18a) the subject of the form *pudendum* is the animate Experiencer, i.e. the subject of the verb *inducitur*. The present participle in (18b) is instead marked by means of the Dative masculine morpheme, with a compulsory personal reading.

The gerundive entails that the reverse pattern is present, since it agrees with the Stimulus:

- (20) a. poscis ab invitā verba
 ask_{2ndSing} from unwilling_{AblFemSing} words_{AccNeut}
 pigenda lyrā (Prop. 4, 1, 74)
 to-feel-sorry-about_{AccNeut} lyre_{AblFemSing}
 “You ask an unwilling lyra words about which you will regret”

b. *nulla parte pigendus erit*
 any_{AblFemSing} side_{AblFemSing} to-feel-sorry-about_{MascSing} will-be_{3rdSing}
 (error). (Ov. epist, 7, 110)
 mistake_{NomMasc}
 “The error won’t have to be regretted under any respect”

The gerundive can be considered as a verbal adjective with an original non-passive meaning (Risch, 1984). It traces back to a neuter meaning “capable of, ready for” and has been progressively analysed as a passive on the basis of certain contexts (Palmer, 1954). Anyway, it normally agrees with the syntactic object of the corresponding transitive verb. The form *pigendus* is to be compared to *mirandus* (from *miro*, “to admire”) and *amandus*, which are also used as adjectives and derive from regular transitives. Thus, the DPs *verba* and *error* in (20) are to be read as the “deep objects” of the corresponding verb *piget*.

A personal pattern is rarely attested in Early Latin; in this case, the Stimulus bears the Nominative and the Experiencer bears the Accusative:

(21) *quod nos post pigat* (Ter, Phorm, 554)
 which_{NeutSing} us_{Acc} then feels-sorry_{Subj}
 “About which we could feel sorry then”

In the Late Period the personal pattern proliferates and can be attested in the following structures:

(a) A rare configuration in which the Nominative is assigned to the Stimulus and the Experiencer receives the Accusative:

(22) *ut tali facto eam non paeniteret*
 so-that this_{AblSing} event_{AblSing} her_{Acc} Neg repented_{Subj}
 mutata religio (Cassiod. Var. 10, 26, 3)
 changed_{NomFemSing} faith_{NomFemSing}
 “So that she doesn’t repent having changed her faith because of this event”

(b) A more frequent configuration in which the Nominative is assigned to the Experiencer and the Stimulus is expressed in different ways: it can be headed by a P, can be assigned the Accusative, the Dative or also the Genitive (as in the impersonal Classical use):

- (23) a. *vitae commissa prioris* (paeniteo)
 life_{GenFem} done_{AccNeutPlur} previous_{GenFemSing} regret_{1stSing}
 “I regret about things I did in the previous part of my life”
 (Paul. Nol. carm. 6, 263)
- b. *quotiens paenituit defensionem!*
 how-many-times regretted_{3rdSing} defense_{AccSing}
 “How many times he regretted about his defense!”
 (Tert. petient.10 p. 16, 15)
- c. (non) *piget obsequii mater* (Ven. Fort. carm. 6, 5, 126)
 Neg feels-sorry worship_{Gen} mother_{Nom}
 “The mother is not unhappy with being worshipped”
- d. *si in his (vitiis suis) paeniterent, id*
 if in these_{AblNeut} vices_{AblNeut} their_{AblNeutPlur} repented_{Subj3rdPlur} this_{Neut}
est, si ab his desinerent. (Hil. in psalm. 2, 40)
 is if from these_{AblNeutPlur} withdrew_{Subj3rdPlur}
 “If they repent about their vices, that is if they withdraw them”
- e. *Coepi taedere captivitatis* (Hier. Malch. 7)
 began_{1stSing} to-annoy imprisonment_{GenSing}
 “Imprisonment began to bother me”

It should be noticed that in the Late Period the possible occurrences of personal forms do not constitute a homogeneous group: while *paenitet* is largely attested in a personal pattern (both intransitive and transitive), other verbs are more systematically attested in the impersonal form⁴². Quantitative data will not be crucial for my analysis, since my purpose is to investigate the syntactic status of these verbs in the attested stages of their diachronic development. What is interesting is the fact that the two

⁴² For a descriptive overview of quantitative data see Fedriani (2013), where a semantic-based explanation is proposed for the priority of *paenitet*.

personal patterns in (a) and (b) show a different degree of variation: namely, while the Experiencer is expressed in the Accusative (i.e. it receives the Case it is assigned in the impersonal pattern), the Stimulus can be expressed in several different ways⁴³, i.e. all the possible ways which are used to express the Cause and the Matter.

I will explain later on in this chapter what the *status* of the Stimulus is, especially in order to correctly define its semantic nature. In the next paragraph I will instead focus on the syntactic relationship holding between the Stimulus and the Experiencer.

3.2. *The syntactic relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus in the impersonal configuration*

A remarkable characteristic of stative psych verbs is that the relation between their arguments is ambiguous (see ch.1. §7.). As the variety of patterns described above clearly declares, this is also shown by Latin. Anyway, in order to clarify under a syntactic point of view what this ambiguity is, I will start from some data of Italian, which is paradigmatic in this respect.

Consider the syntactic behaviour of stative psych verbs like *preoccupare* and *intristire* “to make sad”. They can be used as superficial transitives, like in the following examples:

- (24) a. Il tuo comportamento mi preoccupa
 the your behaviour_{Nom} me_{Acc} worries
 “Your behaviour worries me”
 b. Queste parole mi intristiscono
 these words_{Nom} me_{Acc} make_{3rdPlur}-sad
 “These words make me sad”

⁴³ Notice that these different possibilities are probably mediated by Greek, especially in translations, like in the *Vetus Latina* and in other versions of the Bible or in other religious texts. See for instance the following example, in which the P *super* clearly recalls the Greek ἐπὶ. As can be seen, in the *Vulgata* the standard Genitive is employed:

- (1) a. misereor super turbam (Itala Matth. 15, 32, cod. d)
 feel-pity_{1stSing} on crowd_{Acc}
 “I feel pity for the crowd”
 b. Gr. σπλαγγί ζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον
 c. misereor huic turbae (Vulg.)

Alternatively, they can be attested in a reflexive form, in which, in all compound tenses, the auxiliary *essere* is compulsory:

- (25) a. Mi sono molto preoccupato per l' esame
myself am much worried for the test
“I worried very much about the test”
b. Mi sono intristito per le tue parole
myself am made-sad for the your words
“I was sad about your words”

These examples can be easily compared to the data of the verbs of the *piget*-class, in which, in different diachronic stages, the Experiencer and the Stimulus can both occupy the subject position. In principle, different configurations are associated with different meanings, or at least with different semantic nuances. In Italian, when the Experiencer moves to the subject position it can be considered as somehow controlling or determining the eventuality. This is strictly related to its [+human] feature, since only humans can determine their own feelings by means of mental activity. On the contrary, the configuration in (24) underlines the Patient-like feature of the Experiencer and stresses the spontaneous, non-agentive nature of the eventuality (Croft, 1998; 2012). Similar considerations can be probably extended to Latin psych verbs. Anyway, in both languages the tendency to align marked structures with the core transitive pattern, with a consequent prominence of the animate entity, must be necessarily considered, as it progressively blurs the [+control] or [+cause] feature borne by the Experiencer. Recall, as an instance, the case of the Italian *amare*, which is totally aligned with the core transitive pattern, so that no clear control or volition feature can be claimed to surely characterize the Experiencer (see ch. 1. §7.1.). Thus, animacy is actually the crucial feature in determining the promotion of the Experiencer to the first position in the sentence.

What emerges from the previous considerations is that in stative psych verbs the relation between the Stimulus and the Experiencer is quite “fluid”, since it can be expressed in the syntax in different ways, depending on the features which are meant to be made prominent. This has led to the different proposals of formalization I recalled above.

At a closer look, the most relevant issue concerns the way in which the relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus is to be represented at the syntactic level in which they are generated. Recall the analyses which have been put forth in the past years (§2.). On the one side, proposals treating this kind of verbs as true transitives have to provide an account for the SE pattern, unless it is considered as the output of a different lexical entry. On the other side, if the Experiencer is claimed to be merged in the canonical Agent (or at least Agent-like) position, equally relevant problems crop up, since the reverse OE pattern has to be somehow accounted for.

I claim that the relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus of stative psych verbs cannot be compared with that holding between the arguments of regular transitive structures. Latin data show that in a more ancient phase, when the accusative pattern requirements were not to be obligatorily met, both arguments were “internal arguments”. Thus, the actual relation holding between the Experiencer and the Stimulus is an “internal” relation; in other terms, none of the arguments occupies the position canonically designated for the external argument, as this is a typical requirement of accusative languages. Moreover, merging one of the arguments in the external position would give a fixed direction to the predicate, thus blocking other possible syntactic configurations.

In formal terms, what is needed is a configuration in which the “fluid” relation between the arguments is correctly captured. The V head alone does not manage to determine the asymmetric relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus, since this would lead to a fixed configuration, with the consequent necessity to provide transformational rules in order to derive different patterns. Thus, even if we apply a Larsonian model (Larson 1988, 1990), in which the VP module is replicated to insert all the complements selected by the verb, the relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus is preferably thought of as hosted lower than the V head. I will propose that the arguments are generated in CompV in a Small Clause configuration, which actually establishes a “relation” between the two. This relation can be variously treated in successive steps of the derivation, giving rise to different results. The theoretical model of SC that will be adopted in this work, is based on the hypothesis of Moro (1988), Bowers (1993) and Cardinaletti and Guasti (1995), according to whom the SC is the projection of a functional head which gives rise to a regular X-bar module. Indeed, this version strictly conforms to the antisymmetry hypothesis (Kayne, 1994), which I consider to be an unavoidable theoretical premise for my proposal.

The SC hypothesis directly captures the unconstrained relation holding between the Experiencer and the Stimulus and it is further clarified if movement is taken into account. In a recent work on copular SCs, Heycock (2012) has proposed a unique configuration for predicative and specificational SCs, under the assumption that the “predicate” (which is on the right of the “subject”) can move past the copula – thus crossing the subject – to give rise to a syntactic “inversion”. Free movement of the constituents from the SC is a factor which supports my hypothesis, above all when other Latin verbs like *placeo* are considered; this follows from the fact that the V head is higher than the complements, and the relation between them is ruled by the SC functional head.

Naturally, this kind of SC is different in nature from those of copular sentences, in that it is selected by a full lexical verb. My hypothesis is therefore comparable to the proposal of Kayne (1985) for trivalent verbs like *to handle*, and collects some hints also from Kayne (1993). I will develop this point later on in the dissertation, when the syntactic structure of the verbs I describe in this chapter will be illustrated in detail (§6.1.).

3.3. *On transitivity*

The diachronic development of the verbs of the *piget*-class is intriguing. It is crucial to investigate what the syntactic status of their peculiar configuration actually is and how it has evolved in time.

A first crucial question is how to define the standard impersonal pattern with respect to transitivity. Impersonal transitive structures with verbs selecting an Experiencer are attested in other IE languages and are widespread also in ergative systems (Verhoeven, 2007; Cuzzolin and Napoli, 2008; Luraghi, 2010). As for Latin, scholars have underlined the non-aligned nature of this kind of pattern, which is deemed to be based on a non-totally accusative system, whose traces have been described in previous works on the topic (Lehmann, 1985; Kortlandt, 2009; Cennamo 2009; Barðal and Eythórsson, 2009; Cennamo, 2012, a.o.). I will not discuss this problem, which is highly complicated by the fact that a non-accusative stage of Latin can only be conjectured, since no data can directly lead to clearly understand how it was parametrized. For the present purpose, I will assume that Latin actually shows traces of a non-totally accusative stage, in which non-Nom/Acc patterns were more regularly

employed. As Dixon (1994) recalls, languages can actually display rules which trace back to different core patterns, so that no totally ergative language can be supposed to exist, since accusative rules can be found in many different contexts (see also ch. 1. §6.4.2.). The Latin to which we have access maintains traces of non-accusative rules; anyway, in an accusative-like system they are typically marked constructions, which are systematically associated with non-agentive verbs.

As a starting point, I will concentrate on the syntactic encoding of the arguments in the impersonal pattern.

First of all, in order to discuss transitivity, I would like to discuss the notion of “dependent case”, which can be useful to refine the analysis of the data I have presented.

Marantz (2000) has discussed the notion of dependent case both in ergative and accusative systems as a way to update Burzio’s Generalization. According to him, the Accusative and the Ergative are to be considered as “dependent cases” in that they are assigned to a DP only when another (non-lexical) Case is assigned in the structure to another DP. The condition for this to take place is that the two DPs do not belong to the same syntactic chain. Thus, it follows that in verbs with an internal subject no Structural Accusative Case can be assigned, as the position which assigns the Nominative and the one which is responsible for Accusative assignment belong to the same chain (Rizzi, 2006); this prevents the *dependent* Accusative from being assigned. I will not consider the theoretical background of this assumption and the way in which it is connected with the unaccusativity hypothesis of Burzio (1986). Anyway, I think that Marantz’s hypothesis is right, in that it states that Accusative-assignment is not independent from Nominative assignment; namely, this generalization predicts that in an accusative system no Structural Accusative can be assigned if there is no DP bearing Nominative Case. This consequence is supported by the data of accusative languages, which regularly display dependent Accusatives and rarely allow for Accusative assignment with no corresponding Nominative. This is coherent with the conclusion that the impersonal psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class reflect a non-accusative parameter, which can be traced back to active or even ergative features of a more ancient stage of the language. Hence, there is no need to think of the Accusative assigned to the Experiencer as a lexical Case: it can actually be traced back to a non-accusative system in which the encoding of the Experiencer as a Patient was possible also with no assignment of the Nominative. Recall that in ergative systems the core syntactic Case is the Patient-like

Absolutive, and the Ergative marks the Instrumental-like role in an Agent/Patient relation (Dixon, 1979, 1994): no “Ergative Requirement” is at work in such systems, so that the Patient is the role associated with the most prominent Case (i.e. the non-dependent Case, in the terms of Marantz, 2000). Thus, according to the model of Dowty (1991), in ergative systems, the argument which accumulates the greatest amount of P-A entailments is assigned the Ergative, i.e. it does not agree with the verb (see ch. 1. §6.4.2.). Ergative Case is therefore assumed to be a non-Structural Case on the basis of classical tests (Levin, 1989; Woolford, 1997; Woolford, 2006), since it can be somehow compared with the Agent of the passive in accusative languages, which has an “adjunct” status. The kind of relation encoded by the Absolutive and the Ergative is instantiated by the following example from Avar (Blake, 1994: 122):

- (26) Inssu-cca j-as j-écc-ula
 (M)father-Erg F-child.Nom F-praise-pres
 “Father praises the girl”

The Ergative-marked argument generally occupies the first position, which is canonical for the Agent; anyway, it does not agree with the verb and has an Instrument-like nature. One could wonder whether the relation in (26) can be compared to that holding between the Stimulus and the Experiencer of the *piget*-class. An interesting property that all these verbs share is the fact that the Experiencer of impersonals is assigned the Patient-like Case (which corresponds to the Absolutive of (26)). Thus, it would be desirable to connect the Genitive with a kind of Instrument/Cause marker, in order to propose a tighter relation with the ergative systems. As we will see, there are good reasons to consider the Genitive of such structures as an Instrumental-like Case. This is supported by the fact that the impersonal pattern traces back to an ancient stage in which the case system was quite different from that of the Latin at our disposal. Thus, the relationship between this kind of ancient Genitive and the way in which it is interpreted in the attested Latin has to be carefully investigated. Let us start by discussing the reasons which allow for an Instrumental reading of the Genitive.

3.3.1. The Genitive-marked Stimulus

Serbat (1996) recalls that the Genitive of the impersonal structure is a kind of “Genitive Ablative”, a trace of an ancient fixed use, which is different from the typical adnominal employment of this Case⁴⁴. In Latin, this use of a Genitive Ablative is deemed to be preserved in some semantically homogenous contexts. As an instance, many attestations of an alternant use of the Genitive and the Instrumental Ablative are to be found with some adjectives. In the case of *plenus* “full”, the Ablative alternates with the Genitive in the Classical use:

- (27) a. *aulam auri plenam* (Plaut. Aul. 509)
 room_{AccSing} gold_{Gen} full_{AccSing}
 “A room full of gold”
- b. *non frumentum, cuius erant plenissimi,*
 Neg wheat_{NomNeut} which_{Gen} were_{3rdPlur} very-full_{NomMascPlur}
agri deficere poterat (Caes. Civ. 2, 37, 6)
 fields_{NomMascPlur} to-be-missing could_{3rdSing}
 “And wheat, which fields were full of, could not be missing”
- c. *sed abire paratum ac plenum vita*
 but to-go-away ready_{AccMascSing} and full_{AccMascSing} life_{Abl}
 “But ready to go and full of life” (Stat. Sil. 2. 2. 129)

In such contexts, the Genitive is more frequently employed in Early Latin, while the Ablative becomes preponderant starting from Cicero. The same can be observed if corresponding verbal forms are considered, namely *implēre* and *complēre* (“to fill”), which assign the Genitive in their ancient use and tend to replace it with the Ablative in the Classical Age and in poetry:

- (28) a. *qui me conplevit flagiti et formidinis* (Plaut. Men. 901)
 who_{NomMasc} me_{Acc} filled_{3rdSing} infamy_{Gen} and fear_{Gen}
 “Who filled me with infamy and fear”

⁴⁴ The term “Ablative” is used in a non-etymological sense and clearly refers to the Instrumental use of the Ablative in Classical Latin. Thus a “Genitive Ablative” is more correctly understood as a “Genitive of Cause/Instrument”.

- b. (fossam) aqua ex flumine derivata complevit
 ditch_{Acc} water_{Abl} from river_{AblNeut} taken_{AblFemSing} filled_{3rdSing}
 “And he filled the ditch with the water which had been taken from the
 river” (Caes. Gall. 7, 72, 3)

On the contrary, the forms *explēre* and *replēre* are only attested in the Ablative: this confirms that this is the preferred Case in this kind of verbs.

A second case which can be cited in order to support the existence of a Genitive Ablative is that of the verbs of “punishment” *damnare* and *condemnare* (“to damn”), which commonly assign the Genitive, even if the use of the Ablative tends to be highly extended in time. The assignment of the Genitive traces back to the legal register, in which it is mostly maintained also in the Classical Age. Examples of this use come from Cato:

- (29) furem dupli condemnari (Cato. Agr. 1)
 thief_{Acc} double_{GenSing} to-be-damned
 “A thief is sentenced to pay the double amount”

The Ablative is instead preponderantly employed in other contexts, even if also the Genitive can be normally assigned:

- (30) damnabis tu quoque votis (Verg. ecl. 5, 80)
 will-damn_{2ndSing} you_{Nom} also promises_{Abl}
 “You will also sentence them to keep their promises”

The Ablative is considered itself as a recent syncretic formation if compared to the Genitive, whose functions it is deemed to have inherited, at least as far as its non-locative value is concerned.

The Cause/Instrument value of the ancient Genitive is generally supported by the comparison with other IE languages, and scholars have proposed that the Genitive of Greek, Sanskrit, Slave and Lithuanian have a Cause-like value, with Instrumental features (Miklosich, 1868; Vaillant, 1977; Schleicher, 1958; Schwyzer, 1959; Renou, 1961, a.o.).

In Greek, the Genitive is used in SE psych-verbs as well as in impersonal forms, mostly in the ancient language of Homerus:

- (31) a. τῆ σδ' ἄ πάτης κοτέων (Hom. Il. 4, 168)
 this_{GenFem} trick being-angry_{SingMasc}
 “Being angry with this trick”
 b. ὡς ἐ κείνοις μὲ ν τότε μεταμέλει ὧν ἄ ν εὔ ποιήσωσιν
 that them_{Dat} Part then regrets which_{Gen} Part well did_{Subj3rdPlur}
 “That they do not regret what they did properly” (Plat. Phaedr. 231)

Notice that the verb μεταμέλει displays a structure which is similar to that of *piget*, with the difference that the Experiencer receives the Dative, as happens with *placeo*.

Traces of an ancient Instrumental value of the Genitive can be found in Sanskrit. In this language, the verbal forms *tarp* and *prī* (“to be happy/rejoice”) select for the Genitive, the Locative or the Instrumental. Notice that the latter is generally used to mark the Agent of the passive (Delbrück, 1888: 135, 158). This is one of the reasons why Renou (1961) supposes the existence of a Genitive Ablative in Sanskrit.

Also some psych verbs of Slavic and Lithuanian select for the Genitive in their ancient use. In Slavic, for instance, this happens with verbs like *stenati*, “moan” and *trŭpeti*, “suffer”, which select for a Genitive under the meanings “to moan/suffer because of something” (Vaillant, 1977: 57).

The data I have briefly presented in this section are coherent with the idea that the Genitive of the impersonal pattern can actually mark a Cause/Instrument. This means that, while under a semantic point of view these verbs are agentless (since no Nominative subject is present), the Causer is expressed as a “low Cause”, i.e. by means of an Inherent Case, as happens in modern Romance and German languages in the so-called “instrumental alternation”:

- (32) a. Mary slices the bread with a knife
 b. This knife slices the bread easily

As I recalled in the previous chapter (see ch.1. §6.2.), these highly discussed examples represent a problem for thematic hierarchies: namely, the possibility for the Instrumental to rank over the Patient/Theme depends on the presence of the Agent. In

(32a) the Instrumental is structurally “low”, since it is spelled out as a PP and has no argumental status, while in (32b) it ranks higher and clearly is the external argument of the verb, even with no volitionality feature. A similar status has to be supposed for the Stimulus of psych impersonals, which is, in this respect, more similar to an Ergative-marked complement (see 26)⁴⁵.

As anticipated above, this ancient value of the Genitive is no more available in the attested Latin, and it probably survives as a trace of an ancient use. In the language of Plautus and Cicero this kind of Genitive possibly preserves a generic relational value, with no transparent meaning. As for impersonals, it is maintained in the marked structure before being reanalysed as the logical object.

This discussion poses an interesting problem, which concerns the diachronic development of the syntactic configuration of these verbs. Namely, while in the more recent Latin a generic SC relationship can be reasonably supposed – mostly if we accept the reanalysis of the Genitive as a pure “relational” Case -, the ancient structure is probably based on a different configuration. Therefore, what is needed is: (i) a clearer syntactic description of the most ancient impersonal pattern; and (ii) an overview of the syntactic development of impersonals. In what follows I will tackle these points, as I will return to the nature of the Accusative and I will consider some typological facts which are useful to better understand the diachronic development of impersonal verbs.

3.3.2. *Typological comparison: the Accusative-marked Experiencer*

While the Genitive of impersonals can be supposed to have an original Cause/Instrument value, the Accusative deserves a closer investigation. As I recalled above, Accusative assignment with no corresponding Nominative is deemed to be a trace of a more ancient configuration, which hinges upon the hypothesis that non-accusative features were present in a not attested stage of Latin. A major question concerns transitivity: can be these impersonal forms supposed to be “transitive” even with no Nominative-marking?

Typological studies have drawn an intriguing difference between two main types of impersonals: *transimpersonal structures* and *patient-subject constructions* (Sapir,

⁴⁵ Recall that, in some languages (Australian, Polynesian: for instance in Warlpiri: Bavin, 2013) the Ergative is formally identical to the Instrumental. Some research has also tried to connect the Ergative of Urdu with an old Instrumental displayed in Sanskrit (Beames, 1872; Kellogg, 1893), even if this hypothesis has been weakened in recent years. Butt (2006) proposes, for instance, to recognise a link between the Ergative and the Dative in IE, a fact which is deemed to be confirmed by the Instrumental-like use of the Dative in Latin.

1917; Haas, 1941; Malchukov, 2008). These types can be found in some Papua languages, as well as in Eskimo and in Native American languages: they can be attested both in ergative and accusative-based languages, with interesting differences in the possible syntactic developments. Transimpersonal verbs are described as “transitive impersonal constructions with object experiencer” (Haas, 1941) and can be clearly distinguished from impersonal intransitive: namely, the Experiencer can be marked by object inflection in both cases, while the verb displays (i) transitive morphology in the transimpersonal construction and (ii) intransitive morphology in patient-subject construction. In other words, while in transimpersonals the argument which is encoded as the Patient is the object of the verb, in patient-subject structures the Patient is more similar to a *quirky subject*. Consider these examples from Siberian Yupik:

- (33) a. Tagnygaq awgsagtaq-q
 child_{Abs} crawl.start_{Indf3rdSingS}
 “The child starts to crawl”
- b. Tagnygaq awgsagtaq-a
 child_{Abs} crawl.start_{Indf3rdSingA3rdSingP}
 “The child starts to crawl (unintentionally)” (Malchukov, 2008: 79)

While the intransitive structure in (33a) marks the verb with an intransitive affix, the transimpersonal structure in (33b) marks the verb with A and P affixes, i.e. with the affixes which are used to encode a transitive relation. Transimpersonal structures are typical for predicates selecting for an Experiencer, but in some languages, as in West Greenlandic, they have been extended to other kinds of predicates, giving rise to minimal pairs with the intransitive structures. The difference between the two, in these cases, hinges on semantic factors. In the examples from Yupik in (33), for instance, the transimpersonal construction indicates an unintentional action, while the intransitive provides no information about this.

The relation between transimpersonal, impersonal and personal structures is alleged to undergo diachronic changes. Malchukov (2008) argues that in some active languages a common diachronic trend from transimpersonal structures to personal constructions can be recognized.

The reanalysis can lead to split intransitivity or not, depending on the characteristics of every single language, and the mechanisms are very complicated, as a

huge number of different patterns can be attested and typological differences play a major role in determining syntactic modifications. Here I will consider two interesting phenomena that can be somehow linked to the data I presented.

The first phenomenon is the possibility that patient-subject constructions originate from transitive structures. In Yurakaré (Bolivia), for instance, around one or two generations a shift like that in (34) takes place (van Gijn, 2005: 163-165):

- (34) a. nish ta-jusu-m
 Neg 1stPlurP-want-2ndSingA
 “We don’t want you”
 b. ti-jusu-∅
 1SingP – want – 3rdSingA
 “I want it” (lit. it wants/attracts me)

In the older structure in (34a) a transitive-like pattern is clearly displayed, with a P-marked and an A-marked argument. (34b) is a successive development of (34a): here the A-argument is not present and the structure is transimpersonal, since the verb has a transitive form; thus, the argument *it* has a clear non-referential value, which is triggered by the presence of an impersonal form. Interestingly, in Yurakaré, the most common structure for verbs of emotion/sentience is that of (35), in which the Experiencer is analysed as an oblique complement, in that it is licensed by means of a cooperative affix (van Gijn, 2005):

- (35) tē-dyummē-∅
 1Sing.Coop-cold/freeze-3SingA
 “I am cold (it is cold with me)”

Thus, while some verbs (as happens in 34) show a transimpersonal structure, which probably derives from a transitive configuration, in most cases the Experiencer has been analysed as an Oblique. This signals a tendency to the *detransitivization* of the Experiencer.

One more case of interest is that of Tauya (a Papuan language, which is described in MacDonald, 1990). In this language, a transimpersonal structure can be

found with verbs selecting for an Experiencer. In (36) the case of “to be sick” is exemplified:

- (36) ya-sepame-a-ʔ a
1SingP-sick-3rdSingA-Ind
“I am sick” (Lit: “it sickens me”) (MacDonald, 1990: 187)

This structure can be attested in a different pattern, in which object agreement is replicated on the lexical verb. Consider the case of “to feel full”:

- (37) Ni-pa sen-foʔ u-feene-ʔ a
eat-SS 2ndPlurP-full-Tr-1st/2ndPlurA-Ind
“We ate until we were full” (MacDonald, 1990: 191)

Malchukov (2008) proposes to analyse this process as a signal of SE alignment, in that the P-argument is replicated on the verb as A, i.e. the verb is marked as transitive with the Patient being the Agent of the verb.

The reason why I recalled these phenomena is that they show that in languages which display impersonal structures with OE three facts can be observed:

- a. Impersonal structures with OE can be traced back to transitive patterns. This means that the patientive marker on the Experiencer is not by chance, rather it is related to the presence of a Patient value in the Experiencer itself.
- b. Impersonal OE structures originating from transitive patterns tend to be replaced by intransitive structures in which the object is marked with an oblique Case different from that typical for the Patient.
- c. Impersonal structures with OE tend to be reanalysed into SE structures.

The two first points can be observed by referring to the data in (34) and (35), while the third process can be observed in (36)-(37) and is actually widespread in a big variety of languages. Beside Latin, which can be clearly included in this group, I will recall here the well-known cases of English and German (See Franz-Montag, 1983; Allen, 1995; Bauer, 2000, a.o.):

- (38) *ðam cyngre licodon peran* (Old English)
 the king_{Dat} please_{3rdPlur} pears
 the king likeden peares (Middle English)
 The king liked pears
- (39) *Mich hungert*
 me_{Acc} feels-hunger
 Ich hungere
 I am-hungry

In these examples the Experiencer is promoted to the subject position, exactly as happens in Latin: impersonal structures are progressively abandoned and are replaced by personal SE patterns. As I recalled above, in accusative languages the presence of an Accusative-marked argument is expected to involve the presence of a corresponding Nominative-marked argument: a strong Nominative Requirement is at work in Latin as well as in modern German and Romance varieties (see *Introduction*). This is the reason why impersonal structures progressively shift towards personal patterns. If we suppose that the pattern of impersonal psych verbs is based on a non-accusative rule, it follows that, in the attested Latin, impersonals simply are marked structures, which are retained in the language for semantic reasons, as they encode a non-volitional relation (see also Cennamo, 2012). Data like those involving non-finite forms like the gerundive and the participle show that the Accusative-marked Experiencer is tendentially reanalysed as a syntactic subject in contexts in which the impersonal pattern cannot be maintained, i.e. when the verb is employed in the present participle (18b, here repeated as 40b) or in the gerund (18a, here repeated as 40a):

- (40) a. *ad misericordiam inducitur, ad pudendum, ad pigendum*
 “(The crowd) is driven to mercy, to feel ashamed, to regret”
 (Cic. Brut. 188)
- b. *optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii* (Cic. Phil. 12, 7)
 “The change of mind is a very good landing place for the repentant”

At the same time, the gerundive agrees with the Stimulus, which is therefore analysed as the syntactic object of the verb (see 20a, here repeated as 41):

- (41) *poscis ab invitā verba pigenda lyrā* (Prop. 4, 1, 74)
 “You ask an unwilling lyra words about which you will regret”

This allows for the analysis of the Experiencer as a quirky subject.

3.3.3. *The quirkiness of the Experiencer*

That non-Nominative Experiencers can actually be pivots is proved by data from many other languages. Here, I will cite the well-known case of Icelandic, which can be easily compared to Latin.

Icelandic is often cited as a typical language with a non-canonical subject marking. In Icelandic the A/S is usually in the Nominative and occupies the first position in the sentence. However, a remarkable variety of verbs assign to the argument in the preverbal position a Case other from the Nominative; this argument does not agree with the verb, so that it lacks two of the most prominent syntactic properties traditionally associated with the notion of “subject”. In such cases, different patterns can be found: some verbs assign the Dative or the Accusative to their sole argument, while biargumental verbs can be attested in the following patterns:

- (42) a. Acc-Acc
 b. Dat-Nom
 c. Acc-Gen
 d. Acc-Nom

According to Andrews (2001) (from whom I borrow the examples in these pages), (42b) is very common, while the other configurations are limited to some specific verbs (Andrews: 2001: 88):

- (43) a. *Strákana vantar mat*
 Lads: ACC lack food:ACC
 “The lads lack food”
 b. *Mig ídrar þess*
 Me:ACC regret this:GEN
 “I regret this”

As (43) shows, the Acc-Acc pattern is typical for verbs of lacking and can be found with some other rare verbs, while the Acc-Gen pattern is typical for the verb “to regret”, in a pattern which is supposed to be idiosyncratically employed and is evidently comparable to that of *piget*.

Evidence for considering these non-Nominative pre-posed arguments as “subjects” has been collected in several works on the topic (Andrews, 1982; Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson, 1985; Barðal, 1993; Jónsson, 1998; Sigurðsson, 2004). Here I will recall the classical test of PRO-interpretation.

In German and Romance languages the only argument that can be deleted in an embedded infinitive clause is the subject, as the following examples show:

- (44) a. I go to Florence/I hope to go to Florence in August
 b. This film pleases me/*I hope to please this film
 c. Torno a casa presto/Spero di tornare a casa presto
 go-back_{1stSing} at home soon hope_{1stSing} of to-go-back at home soon
 “I will be back home soon/I hope to be back home soon”
 d. Mi piace questa casa / *Spero di piacere questa
 me_{Dat} pleases thi_{NomFem} house_{NomFem}/ hope_{1stSing} of to-please this
 casa
 home
 “I like this house/I hope to like this house”

As can be seen in (44), PRO can only be the subject of the embedded verb, regardless of the position it occupies in the finite sentence. In Icelandic PRO can refer to the non-Nominative marked argument:

- (45) Jón_i vonast til að líka_i þessi bók (Andrews, 2001: 90)
 John: NOM hopes toward to like this book
 “John hopes to like this book”

What emerges from sentences like (45) is that the Dative argument is actually considered as the subject of the sentence, even if it receives an oblique Case. This is ruled out in Italian and in English, where PRO can only refer to the subject of the matrix clause.

Thus, in Icelandic a phenomenon comparable to that of Latin participles takes place: under certain circumstances non-Nominative Experiencers are clearly interpreted as subjects, i.e. they are pivots.

As far as the quiriness of the Experiencer is concerned, word order is one more interesting argument to be considered⁴⁶. In impersonals, the (V) < Exp < Stim < (V) order is widespread: the Experiencer can be promoted to the first position and precede the V, giving rise to a Exp < (V) < Stim < (V) order; however, cases in which the Stimulus precedes the Experiencer (and eventually the Verb) are only attested with a clear pragmatic value. Consider (15c), here repeated as (46):

(46) tui me miseret, mei piget (Enn. scaen. 60)

Here, the Stimulus *tui* is placed higher than the Experiencer, in a Contrastive Focus context. The Experiencer can be placed in the first position as a way to underline its progressive reanalysis as a subject. As I explained in the previous chapter, this commonly happens in Italian. Notice that Italian children generally tend to produce sentences like the following:

(47) Io mi piace Pinocchio (Valeria, 3 years old)

I me_{Dat} pleases Pinocchio_{Nom}

“I like Pinocchio”

In this sentence, the features of the Experiencer are distributed in the syntax. I have discussed this issue in ch. 1. §6.5.. Anyway, I have recalled it here, since it clarifies in what sense word order can be considered as a central argument as far as the re-analysis of the Experiencer is concerned.

3.4. (De)transitivization and syntactic alignment

The question is whether the impersonal Latin verbs of the *piget*-class can be compared to transimpersonal constructions: this is a crucial point, in that it implies that they are transitive verbs. As I have explained in this paragraph, in many languages in which impersonal structures with an Accusative-marked Experiencer are attested,

⁴⁶ For a discussion about word order in Latin, see Polo (2005).

transimpersonal configurations derive from true transitive pattern; moreover, the Experiencer undergoes a process of detransitivization.

Anyway, since Latin does not encode transitivity on the verb at a morphological level, there is no evidence for this. What can be clearly stated on the basis of the data is that these verbs display an impersonal pattern that evidently deviates from the expected accusative regular one. However, while there is no proof that the impersonal structure actually was a transimpersonal one, there is evidence of a trend towards a progressive detransitivization. Hence, the most attractive hypothesis is that these structures actually were *transitive* and that they have progressively developed into intransitive and then into SE structures. Consider the following schema:

(48)

Early Stage	Transition	Late Structures
Transimpersonals with Accusative-marked Experiencer	Impersonals with an Accusative-marked subject	SE structures
		OE structures with a Nominative-marked Stimulus

Suppose that in an Early (unattested) stage impersonal forms were actually transimpersonals. They have developed in two different directions in time: on the one hand they have been preserved as transitive impersonals, as the (less attested) OE pattern in Early and Late Latin shows; on the other hand, they have been analysed as intransitives with a quirky subject, with the consequence that in Late Latin they have undergone an alignment process which has led to the alignment with the SE pattern. Moreover, there are traces of a further alignment process. SE structures can be variously parametrized: some of them retain the Oblique-like status of the Stimulus and licence it by means of an Inherent Case; some others go further and tend to a full transitive structure, in which the core pair Nom/Acc is finally employed. Thus, the detransitivization process which leads from transimpersonals to SE structures leads to a new transitive pattern which is perfectly aligned with the core accusative system.

3.5. *The case of miseret*

As (48) shows, impersonals are characterized by a twofold diachronic development: on the one side, they tend to be aligned with the core transitive pattern, firstly by means of a personalization process and finally by means of a full transitivization of the object Stimulus in the Late Period; on the other side, their impersonal structure is preserved as a marked configuration. This complex syntactic nature of impersonals has interesting consequences, which can be clearly observed in diachrony. A good example of this is the case of *miseret*.

The behaviour of *miseret* is consistent with the process I have described in the previous section, even if this verb shows a partially different diachronic development.

Differently from the other impersonal verbs, from Plautus onwards it is attested in a personal deponent form in a variety of possible patterns, even in a transitive structure (like in 49d):

- (49) a. *miserebar* *mei* (Acc. trag. 355)
 felt-pity_{3rdSing} *me*_{Gen}
 “I commiserated myself”
- b. *nescio* *qui* *nostri miseritus* *tandem*
 do-not-know_{1stSing} what_{NomMascSing} *us*_{Gen} felt-pity_{PartNomMascSing} finally
 deus (Afran. Comm. 417)
 *god*_{Nom}
 “I don’t know what god finally had mercy upon us”
- c. *parentium amor* *magis in ea,* *quorum* *miseretur,*
 parents_{Gen} love_{Nom} more in those_{AccNeutPlur} which_{GenPlur} feels-pity
 inclinat. (Sen. epist. 66, 27)
 tends
 “Parents’ love is more inclined to the children it commiserates”
- d. *non sexus* *aut infantiae* *miserebitur* (Lact. Inst. 7, 17, 9)
 Neg gender_{Gen} or childhood_{Gen} feel-pity_{3rdSing}
 “Nobody will be spared thanks to their gender or thanks to childhood”

e. omnes, qui nuper (...) damnati sunt, miseremur
 all_{AccPlur} who_{NomPlur} just damned are_{3rdPlur} commiserate_{1stPlur}
 “We commiserate all those who have just been damned”

(Avell. P. 48, 18)

The impersonal structure is akin to that of *piget* and is mostly attested in Early Latin. Interestingly, it is not attested after Apuleius, i.e. after the II c. A.D.:

(50) a. me eius patris misere miseret (Plaut. Most. 985)
 me_{Acc} of-him father_{Gen} sadly feels-pity
 “I sadly commiserate that/his father”

b. miserebat (...) non poenae magis homines
 felt-pity_{3rdSing} Neg punishment_{Gen} more people_{Acc}
 quam sceleris (Liv. 2, 5, 6)
 than crime_{Gen}
 “The people were compassioned not that much for the punishment but
 for the crime”

Thus, the case of *miseret* confirms the idea that (trans)impersonal forms were bound to be progressively abandoned. Indeed, differently from what happens with other impersonals, *miseret* has further developed in the Classical Age: therefore, it is fully aligned with a SE structure in Late Latin, while the marked impersonal pattern is completely abandoned.

Notice that the verb is attested in a personal *deponent* form, while the form *misereo* is really marginal. The *piget*-class probably shows some cases of deponent impersonal forms, and I will discuss some examples of this when *placeo* will be dealt with (§5.). Anyway, these verbs are surely attested in deponent variants when the SE pattern is implied. This is typical for *paenitet* in its Christian meaning “repent of sins”, but it is also attested when other verbs are considered:

(51) a. si quid et aliud adinverimus, neque
 if something_{Acc} and other_{AccNeut} will-have-found_{1stPlur} Neg-and
 hoc lege complecti pigebimur (Novell. Iust. 72, 8)
 this_{AccNeut} law_{Abl} tied_{PartNomMascPlur} will-regret_{1stPlur}

“If we find something else and, tied to the law, we will not regret this”.

- b. paenitemini, atpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum
repent_{Imperat2ndPlur} got-close_{3rdSing} in-fact kingdom_{Nom} skyes_{Gen}
“Repent: heavenly kingdom is getting closer” (Itala Matth. 3, 2)

A simple way to explain the use of passive morphology when the SE pattern is attested is to relate it to a *feature-stripping* mechanism (Poletto, 2006, 2008; Barbiers, 2008; Cavallo and Bertollo, to appear), and I will return on this point later on in this work (ch. 3. §6.1.), when the comparison with Italian inherent reflexives will be discussed.

The case of *misereor* is anyway interesting, in that it shows crucial characteristics which allow for interpreting it as an internal-subject structure. Namely:

- a. It is attested in an impersonal internal-subject pattern.
- b. It displays passive morphology in its deponent SE variant.
- c. It is attested in the past participle with an active value (see 50b)

These peculiarities all lead to state that *misereor* is an internal-subject predicate, even if the category of “unaccusatives” has to be further explored in Latin. Namely, if the Experiencer is an internal argument, the deponent form signals that it has been moved from its basic position to SpecTP, as happens with Italian unaccusatives. Indeed, this is an interesting argument to claim that these verbs have underlying internal Experiencers.

So as to conclude this paragraph, I will summarize the main points I have underlined so far:

- (a) psych verbs of the *piget*-class are attested in several patterns in time. They basically display an impersonal structure, in which the Experiencer bears the Accusative and the Stimulus bears the Genitive. Anyway, this structure is progressively aligned with a personal pattern, in which the Experiencer bears the Nominative and the Stimulus is assigned the Genitive, another Inherent Case or the Accusative. More rarely, an OE structure in which the Stimulus bears the Nominative is also attested (even if only in the very Late Period).
- (b) Psych verbs of the *piget*-class probably have a transimpersonal structure, which traces back to a non-accusative rule of the most ancient stage of Latin.

The Experiencer bears the Case which is typical for the Patient, while the Stimulus bears the Genitive, which probably has a Cause value. This structure is progressively de-transitivized in time: the Experiencer is re-analysed as the quirky subject and is finally assigned the Nominative, while the Stimulus is considered as an internal argument with a Cause value. In a late stage of the language, the structure is aligned with the core transitive pattern, thus giving rise to an $\text{Exp}_{\text{Nom}}\text{-Stim}_{\text{Acc}}$ structure.

- (c) The verb *miseret* undergoes the same alignment process. Anyway, it is attested in a personal pattern already in Early Latin and does not display an impersonal configuration after the II c. A.D. Already in Early Latin it is mostly attested in a deponent form: this is probably due to the fact that its Exp_{Nom} is an internal subject.

4. The syntax of the Stimulus and the Experiencer in the verbs of the *piget*-class

In this section I will examine in greater detail the syntactic status of the Experiencer and the Stimulus of the verbs of the *piget*-class, as this is a crucial background to correctly outline a formal analysis for them. I have already discussed the syntactic relation which can be supposed to hold between the two roles, namely I have proposed to formalize it as a SC selected by the V head in the Comp position. As I have anticipated, the “fluid” relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus is responsible for the different possible configurations attested in Latin as well as in other languages. Along the lines I have described in the previous chapter, the Experiencer and the Stimulus can be thought of as compositional thematic roles, whose features rule Cases-to-arguments linking. In this section I will outline the relation between semantics and syntax in the verbs of the *piget*-class so as to give a detailed description of the mechanisms at work in their syntax. I will start by discussing the status of the Experiencer under a cross-linguistic point of view; in the second section of this paragraph I will examine the Stimulus.

4.1. *The syntactic status of the Experiencer*

In §2. I have recalled Landau's analysis of the Experiencer of stative OE verbs: according to him, it always bears an Inherent Case; this is translated into syntactic terms by assuming, along the lines of Edmonds (1985), that the OE is always headed by a PP.

Under a syntactic point of view, the Accusative-Experiencer of stative verbs shows interesting peculiarities, which have been abundantly noticed in the previous works on the topic. Landau (2010) collects a big variety of data from different languages, including Greek, Hebrew, English, Russian and Italian, a.o.. Unfortunately, we only have written attestations for Latin, so that the analysis of impersonals must be based on what is provided by the corpus at our disposal. In what follows, I will discuss the relevant data. Namely, I will underline a couple of interesting constraints, which I would like to examine in greater detail.

4.1.1. *Passivization*

A first remarkable issue is the fact that, in many languages, the Accusative-Experiencer of statives cannot be easily passivized. Data about passivization have been discussed in §2. for Italian, as far as the analysis of Belletti and Rizzi (1988) was concerned. As for Latin impersonals, although they assign Accusative Case, they are not attested in the passive. Even if the absence of a Nominative-marked argument can play a relevant role in inhibiting passivization, in principle, if passive morphology is displayed, nothing should prevent the Accusative marked DP from moving to SpecTP. Thus, the fact that passive sentences are not attested is probably a trace of the Inherent status of the Experiencer, at least in the most recent use of the impersonal form. If this is so, in this respect Latin can be successfully compared to Italian⁴⁷.

Impersonals are attested in a passive-like form in sentences like the following⁴⁸:

- (52) a. nec pigitum parvosque lares humilisque subire
Neg felt-sorry_{Part} small_{AccPlur} Lares_{Acc} poor_{Gen}-and to-enter
limina caelicolam tecti (Sil, 7, 173)
doorways_{Acc} god_{Acc} roof_{Gen}

⁴⁷ As I recalled at the beginning of this chapter, there exists a group of personal Accusative OE verbs in Latin, like *sollicitare* and *excruciare*. Anyway, for the reasons I outlined, they are not to be compared with impersonals or with Italian verbs of the *preoccupare*-class.

⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion about the impersonal forms of Latin see also Cennamo (2010), where the case of some psych verbs is also taken into account.

“Nor did the god disdain to enter the cottage and pass beneath its humble roof” (Transl. J.D. Duff)

b. numquam suscepti negotii eum pertaesum
 never started_{GenSing} business_{Gen} him_{Acc} annoyed_{3rdSing}
 est (Nep. 15, 2)
 is

“He never got bored because of a business he has undertaken”

c. nonne vos puditum est haec crimina tali
 Neg you_{Acc} regretted_{3rdSing} is these_{AccNeut} crimes_{AccNeut} such_{AblMascSing}
 viro audiente tam asseverate obiectare?
 man_{AblMascSing} hearing_{AblMascSing} so seriously to-ascribe
 “Didn’t you feel ashamed to ascribe to him these crimes so seriously,
 while such a great man was hearing?” (Apul. apol. 25, 1)

These sentences clearly display passive morphology on the verb. As can be seen, the Experiencer correctly receives the Accusative, while the Stimulus (for instance in 52b) is assigned the Genitive as in the impersonal active type. These forms can be interpreted in two different ways:

- (i) They can be considered as deponent forms, and in this case they are to be compared with the *hortor*-type (“to exhort”), i.e. with the group of transitive deponent verbs which assign Accusative Case to their internal object. For instance, in (52b) the verb *pertaesum est* assigns the Accusative to the Experiencer *eum*, exactly as happens when the regular active form is employed.
- (ii) They can be considered as impersonal passives. This view is supported by the fact that the widespread impersonal form of Latin is the “impersonal passive” of the *itur*-type (“to go”), which can be also employed with transitive predicates provided that the object is not inserted in the sentence. Thus, in cases like (52b)-(52c) impersonal active verbs of the *piget*-class would be aligned with the common impersonal type, which displays passive morphology.

The hypothesis in (ii) deserves a more detailed examination. If these forms are to be considered as a kind of impersonal passive, sentences like those in (52) are unexpected, as they display passive morphology with no consequent DP-raising to the subject position: in other words, the Experiencer is assigned the Accusative even in presence of passive morphology. As I have just underlined, Latin does not form the impersonal passive of transitive verbs, unless the object is kept silent; the passive of transitives is regularly formed by assigning the Nominative to the syntactic object. The consequence is that, under the account in (ii), the Experiencer clearly bears a non-Structural Case. This follows from the assumption that non-Structural Cases are always preserved under A-movement (Chomsky, 1986; Woolford, 2006; but see ch. 3. §3.) for a more detailed discussion on this aspect). This result is consistent with the fact that cross-linguistically the Experiencer of stative psych verbs does not regularly undergo passivization, as it is assigned a non-Structural Accusative. In Latin, this can probably be supposed only for the more recent use of the impersonal form, as the ancient transimpersonal structure is better considered as a full transitive configuration, with the consequent assignment of a Structural Accusative.

To conclude this brief overview of the problem, it should be noticed that even in the Late Period, when an OE structure with a Subject Stimulus is possible, cases of passive sentences on the Experiencer are not attested. Anyway, this generalization is somehow weakened by the fact that such transitive structures are very rare⁴⁹.

4.1.2. \bar{A} -movement

Another cross-linguistic remarkable peculiarity of OEs is the fact that they do not easily undergo some kinds of \bar{A} -movement (Stowell, 1986; Roberts, 1991; Johnson, 1992; Anagnostopoulou, 1999; Landau, 2010).

I will recall some data of Italian that can be useful in this respect.

As noticed in previous works (Benincà, 1986; Landau, 2002, 2010), in case of LD, the class of OE stative psych verbs shows a cross-linguistic oscillation with respect to Case assignment to the Experiencer. In Italian, for instance, in the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class, the Experiencer which receives the Accusative must be headed by the *Pa* when left-dislocated. Consider the following sentences:

⁴⁹ Beside the cases I have cited for *paenitet*, the case of *placeo* is also worth noticing. See § 5. for this.

- (53) a. Mario *(lo) preoccupano le tue parole
 Mario him_{Acc} worry_{3rdPlur} the your words_{Nom}
 b. A Mario (lo) preoccupano le tue parole
 to Mario him_{Acc} worry_{3rdPlur} the your words_{Nom}
 “As for Mario, he worries about your words”
- (54) a. Mario non *(lo) convincono le tue idee
 Mario Neg him_{Acc} convince_{3rdPlur} the your ideas_{Nom}
 b. A Mario non (lo) convincono le tue idee
 to Mario Neg him_{Acc} convince_{3rdPlur} the your ideas_{Nom}
 “As for Mario, he is not convinced of your ideas”
- (55) a. *(A) me preoccupa questa situazione
 to me worries this situation_{Nom}
 “As for me, I worry about this situation”
 b. *(A) me *(mi) aspettano in centro
 to me me_{Acc} wait_{3rdPlur} in centre
 “As for me, they are waiting for me in the city centre”
- (56) (*A) Mario lo aspettano in centro
 to Mario him_{Acc} wait_{3rdPlur} in centre
 “As for Mario, they are waiting for him in the city centre”

If interpreted as cases of LD, the sentences in (53a) and (54a) are ungrammatical when a pronominal resumption is not inserted; on the contrary, they are grammatical if the pragmatized phrase is interpreted as a (contrastive) Focus. When a lower pronominal resumption is inserted, the sentence is also grammatical, but the moved item can also be interpreted as a Hanging Topic. The sentences in (53b) and (54b) are generally produced by Italian speakers with a clear LD-reading and can optionally contain a resumptive pronoun. Transitive verbs of the type in (56) do not allow for a P to head the left-dislocated item. On the basis of Benincà (1986), it is worth noticing that in the cases in which the moved item is a pronoun it must be headed by *a* both in stative psych verbs (55a) and regular transitives (55b); anyway, the pronominal resumption can be omitted only for psych verbs, whilst in other classes this is compulsory for a LD-reading to be possible.

To summarize, data suggest that when the Accusative-marked Experiencer is moved out of its basic position, an extra “Experiencer-marker” is needed, in order to

avoid any possible ambiguity. The compulsory insertion of a P before the moved pronoun is an independent constraint, whose presence does not depend on the meaning of the verb. In this picture, it is interesting to notice that the Experiencer of OE verbs is the only complement which can be left-dislocated with no resumptive pronoun. This can be explained if we suppose that the feature which is borne by the P *a* is sufficient to disambiguate the thematic nature of the Experiencer, i.e. if we suppose that it bears a feature which is actually present in the thematic compositional nature of the Experiencer. In (56) the P *a* has no semantic correspondence in the thematic features borne by the object of *aspettare*, and therefore an Accusative resumptive pronoun is required.

Also relativization shows some peculiarities with respect to the Accusative OE. Consider the following data:

- (57) a ? Il ragazzo che Mario preoccupa col suo comportamento
 the boy_{Nom} that Mario_{Nom} worries with-the his behaviour
 è mio figlio
 is my son

Lit: “The boy whom Mario worries with his behaviour is my son”

- b. ??Il ragazzo che i miei figli preoccupano col loro
 the boy_{Nom} that the my sons_{Nom} worry_{3rdPlur} with-the their
 comportamento è mio fratello
 behaviour is my brother

Lit: “The boy whom my sons worry with their behaviour is my brother”

- c. Il ragazzo che i miei figli odiano è suo fratello
 the boy_{Nom} that the my sons_{Nom} hate_{3rdPlur} is my brother
 “The boy whom my sons hate is his brother”

- d. *Il ragazzo che la situazione preoccupa (molto) è mio figlio
 the boy_{Nom} that the situation_{Nom} worries much is my son

Lit: “The boy whom the situation worries very much is my son”

In (57) relative clauses are formed by means of the C *che*, with a null *wh*- Operator. Speakers tend to judge (57a) and (57b) as having a low degree of grammaticality, even if an adverb like *molto* is inserted in post-verbal position. In (57a) the subject of the

embedded clause is in a pre-verbal position, since, if the subject were post-verbal, the sentence could not be read as a relative clause on the object:

- (58) Il ragazzo che preoccupa Mario è mio figlio
 the boy that worries Mario_{(*Nom)/Acc} is my son

As can be seen in (58), when the subject is post-verbal the sentence is perfectly grammatical, but this depends on the fact that the C cannot be read as the object of the embedded clause. Interestingly, with verbs like *uccidere* “to kill”, which assign Structural Accusative Case, word order does not prevent the sentence from being read as a relative clause on the object. This also happens with the verb *amare*, which behaves like a regular transitive:

- (59) a. Il ragazzo che il ladro ha ucciso era suo fratello
 The boy that the thief_{Nom} has killed was his brother
 b. Il ragazzo che ha ucciso il ladro era suo fratello
 The boy that has killed the thief_{Nom} was his brother
 “The boy whom the thief killed was his brother”
 c. Il ragazzo che ama Luisa è mio figlio
 The boy that loves Luisa_{Nom} is my son
 “The boy whom Luisa loves is my son”

The fact that word order is crucial in allowing for the object-reading of the C in (57a) signals that something else is needed for this kind of interpretation to be supported, since movement clearly tends to blur the relationship between the object and the V which selects for it. In (57b) the presence of a plural subject leads to a very low grammaticality degree, so that the sentence cannot be straightforwardly computed. In (57c), where a transitive psych verb of the canonical SE type is used, the computation is not problematic at all and the sentence is therefore fully grammatical.

What emerges from Italian data on relativization is that the Experiencer cannot be easily extracted if there is nothing supporting its correct interpretation: if word order does not disambiguate the sentence, it is not spontaneously read as an object. Notice that, differently from what happens in case of LD, in case of *wh*- movement no P insertion is allowed, since it would give rise to an ungrammatical result; for this reason

the Experiencer can only be moved as a null Operator and no *wh*- pronoun can be used. On the contrary, as (59) shows, the Patient of a transitive verb can be read as a syntactic object of relative clauses even if the subject is in post-verbal position.

As for Latin, if we consider \bar{A} -movement with OE impersonals no striking result arises. This is somehow expected, as the Experiencer can be placed in a pre-verbal position bearing Accusative Case. Consider (15d), here repeated as (60):

- (60) me (...) convivii sermonisque taesum est (Plaut. Most. 1. 4. 4)
“The banquet and the conversation disgusted me”

In this sentence, the Accusative-marked Experiencer is placed in the first position (probably in the CP area). The Accusative-marking of the Experiencer is quite stable for impersonals, even in case of relativization and LD. Beside this, it should be noticed that Latin displays Case morphology while Italian does not; this is evident as far as relativization and LD of lexical items is concerned.

The Italian data I discussed in this section are only a part of the cross-linguistic evidence discussed so far by scholars to underline the non-canonical *status* of Experiencers in stative OE constructions. As a consequence of the fact that the Experiencer of such verbs does not behave like a canonical object, Belletti and Rizzi (1988) state that it receives an Inherent Accusative, according to the hypothesis that verbs like *preoccupare* actually are unaccusative predicates. Coming back to Landau’s proposal, he states that the Experiencer is always licensed in the structure by means of a P, which is not lexicalized in the unmarked sentence but has to be somehow lexicalized in contexts like those I have listed above (for instance in 54).

As for Latin impersonals, there is no strict evidence that the Accusative assigned to their Experiencer is actually an Inherent Accusative. Anyway, it should be firstly clarified what an Inherent Accusative is, as there is no consensus on this notion, and the existence of an Inherent Accusative itself has even been rejected in some works (Woolford, 2006, a.o.). Anyway, given the hypothesis that these structures were actually transitive, the progressive reanalysis of the Experiencer as a syntactic subject is a clear case of de-transitivization, whose traces I will briefly recall:

- a. Word order: the Accusative-marked Experiencer can occupy the first position in a Exp-V-Stim configuration.

- b. Agreement with non-finite verbal forms: when the participle, the gerund and the gerundive are employed, a SE configuration is clearly implied.
- c. Late SE patterns: in Late Latin the SE pattern is widespread.

By “detransitivization” I mean a process according to which the Object Experiencer is progressively re-analysed as the Subject Experiencer, along the lines of the English examples of the *like/please* type in (38). What is peculiar of Latin is the fact that a transitive OE structure is preserved up to the Late Period, giving rise to an interesting coexistence of two types. Thus, the Inherent Accusative probably pertains to an intermediate status in which the Experiencer is de-transitivized. The natural consequence for this is that it is assigned to the Experiencer of impersonals.

Cross-linguistic data about the non-canonical nature of the OE all lead to the conclusion that this thematic role is “rich in features”. This is the reason why the peculiar behaviour of the Experiencer can be correctly explained only by applying a compositional view of thematic roles. As I recalled in the previous chapter (ch. 1. §7.1.), the Experiencer is syntactically unstable, as it accumulates properties which are properly attributed both to the P-A and the P-P. In this respect, it is akin to the Proto-Recipient identified by Primus (1999), which is typically associated with the Dative. Consider the following schema, which summarizes the typical features borne by the Experiencer:

- (61) a. sentience/animacy (P-A)
- b. causally affected (P-P)

However, like the P-Recipient, the Experiencer is both the Goal and the holder of a certain state: it is “modified” by the Stimulus (even if no telic reading is available in stative psych verbs) and it is in a psych state for a given period of time. This analysis may lead to recognize a locative status of the Experiencer, a fact which is not crucial in my analysis. The main point here is that, given the decisive role of the thematic features in determining Case-assignment, the Experiencer must be considered as a good candidate for at least three different options, which are presented in the following table. Notice that the different possibilities are based both on semantics and typological factors:

Table1

Features	Cases	Conditions in an Accusative Language
Sentience/animacy	Nominative	Preferred
Causally affected	Accusative	Nominative Requirement on the Stimulus
Obliqueness (Goal)	Dative	Nominative Requirement on the Stimulus

Latin is an accusative language; therefore, it tends to assign the Accusative or the Dative to the Experiencer only if the Stimulus receives the Nominative. However, as typically happens in accusative IE languages, animacy is a strong factor in determining argument linking, so that the strongest diachronic tendency is to assign the Nominative to the Experiencer. Impersonals trace back to a non active-feature of the language, and this allows for the assignment of the Accusative even with no Nominative on the Stimulus. The possibility that the OE and the SE personal patterns are both attested is clearly due to the rich compositional nature of the arguments, which can be freely moved in the structure thanks to their high syntactic “adaptability”. This has to be accounted for in formal terms.

I assume that the Experiencer of the impersonal structure is assigned an Inherent Accusative. As I will explain, I think of this Inherent Accusative as a *transitional* Case, which is employed in case of transitivity and detransitivization. Its main peculiarity is a clear constraint on passivization. As for relativization and \bar{A} -movement, it can be stated that the Inherent Accusative is constrained also in this respect. Anyway, this point will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, when SE verbs will be dealt with (ch. 3. §3.). In that section some reasons for the free relativization of the Experiencer of impersonals will be also provided.

4.2. The “low” Stimulus

In §3.3.1. I have presented some arguments in favour of an Instrumental-like nature of the Stimulus in the transimpersonal construction, a fact which allows for a closer comparison with non-accusative systems like those characterizing ergative languages. Regardless of the non-traceable nature of the Genitive-Ablative, the Stimulus has a clear Cause value and is not necessarily an Instrument. Moreover, even if from a syntactic point of view the Genitive which is assigned to the Stimulus has been

reanalysed as a mere marker of relation, one could wonder what the thematic features of the Stimulus are, as they are crucial in determining the syntactic derivation.

In Latin, as in many other languages, two types of Cause are possible: (i) a higher Cause is merged in SpecvP or in SpecVP (depending on the point of view) in a position which is deemed to be higher than the Causee. This hypothesis captures the idea that Causers have to be inserted higher than Causees in the syntactic configuration, so that the causal-chain can be correctly interpreted in the structure; (ii) a low Cause which has an adjunct-status and is assigned an Inherent Case or is headed by a P. This latter type can be in principle inserted in every kind of sentence. The low Cause is typically non-intentional and is generally clearly differentiated from the Agent of the Passive.

The difference between the two types of Cause are instantiated by the following examples of Italian and German:

- (62) a. I ragazzi danneggiano l' auto
the boys_{Nom} damage_{3rdPlur} the car_{Acc}
"The boys damage the car"
- b. Mario si è raffreddato a causa/ per/*da il maltempo
Mario himself is got-sick because of for by the bad-weather
"Mario got sick because of the bad weather"
- c. Die Jungen schäden das Auto
the_{NomPlur} boys_{Nom} damage_{3rdPlur} the_{Acc} car_{Acc}
- d. Ich bin *durch den Regen/ wegen des Regens später
I am by the_{Acc} rain_{Acc} because the_{Gen} rain_{Gen} later
angekommen
arrived
"I came home late because of the rain"

As can be seen, in (62b) and in (62d), the low Cause cannot be governed by the Ps *da* and *von/durch*, which are typically used for the Agent in the Passive:

- (63) a. L' auto viene danneggiata dai ragazzi/*a causa dei ragazzi
the car_{Nom} is damaged from-the boys because of-the boys

“The car is damaged by the boys”

b. L’auto ora è danneggiata a causa dei ragazzi
the car_{Nom} now is damaged because of-the boys

“The car is now damaged because of the boy”

c. Das Auto wird von den Jungen/*wegen der Jungen geschädet
the car_{Nom} is by the_{Dat} boys_{Dat} because the_{Gen} boys_{Gen} damaged

In (63a) and (63c) the Agent/Causer cannot be governed by *a causa di* and *wegen* + Gen/Dat, since these Ps are only used to license a low Cause, i.e. a circumstantial complement. Instead, this is possible in (62b), since the auxiliary *essere* signals that the past participle has an adjectival value. In (63b) there is no way to interpret the sentence as: “The car was damaged by the boys”: thus, in Italian, as in other languages, different Ps are used to govern different types of Causes.

Latin shows a similar behaviour, in that it displays typical low Causes, like the complement introduced by *propter* + the Accusative:

(64) *propter frigora frumenta in agris matura non erant*
because-of colds_{Acc} wheats_{Nom} in fields_{Abl} ripe_{Nom} Neg were_{3rdPlur}
“Because of the cold, the wheat was not ripe yet”

(Caes. Gall. 1, 16, 2)

The Agent of the Passive is instead expressed as a PP headed by the P *a/ab*:

(65) *A nobis philosophia defensa est* (Cic. fin. 1, 2)
from us_{Abl} philosophy_{Nom} defended_{Nom} is
“Philosophy was defended by us”

Interestingly, the inanimate Cause is rendered in the Passive by means of the Ablative, which can be also employed for the circumstantial low Cause⁵⁰.

As I recalled above, the Genitive of impersonals can originally play the role of an Instrument, as the comparison with other IE languages shows. This means that it is

⁵⁰ I do not exclude that this use is to be compared to that of the Genitive in the impersonal pattern. Namely, the employment of an Instrumental to mark the Cause in the Passive is interestingly comparable with the unmarked pattern of some ergative systems.

marked by a non-core Case, i.e. by a typical Inherent Case, which is associated with a low Cause rather than with a high Cause. This is supported by the fact that the structure of impersonals probably reflects a non-totally accusative stage of the language in which the predication is focused on a sole core-Case, as the Absolutive in ergative systems.

Also word order can be useful to better understand the syntactic position of the Stimulus. I have briefly outlined word order facts in §3.3.3. The fact that in the basic order the Experiencer precedes the Stimulus is interesting in that it signals that, at least in the superficial syntax, the Stimulus is not interpreted as a high Cause. Thus the Experiencer, which primarily is the object of the verb, receives a Case which is higher in the hierarchy. Since Latin is a SOV language, the Stimulus is in the canonical position for internal complements: given that the Experiencer receives the Accusative, it tends to precede the Stimulus, which is assigned an Inherent Case. Moreover, in Late Latin the Stimulus can be headed by a variety of Ps, i.e. it is expressed as an oblique complement.

If the Stimulus is actually an internal argument, a major problem concerns its position with respect to the Experiencer. As I recalled above, the fact that both arguments are VP-internal is a desirable result, in that, under a structural point of view, this is the simplest option to derive all the possible patterns which are attested in Latin at the same time, and this is coherent with the assumption that items can only be moved leftward in the structure. Notice that, if the Stimulus were higher than the Experiencer (i.e. merged in SpecvP or in SpecVP), the impersonal type would require a specific transformational rule to be derived; alternatively, one would have to state that two different lexical entries exist. I think that this is not the case, since the diverse attested patterns are the output of an alignment process which tends to promote the animate Experiencer to a prominent position. Moreover, the fact that the impersonal and the personal patterns do coexist until the Late Period suggests that they derive from a single underlying configuration. Thus, it is necessary to think of a structure in which both arguments can be moved out of their site to reach the subject position.

I have already proposed that the Experiencer and the Stimulus are generated in a SC, in CompV. I will come back to the syntactic structure in the final part of this chapter.

To sum up, I have discussed the syntactic properties of the Experiencer and the Stimulus in the verbs of the *piget*-class. The Experiencer originally is the undergoer of

the predicate and is assigned the Accusative in a transimpersonal structure. Anyway, it can be supposed to receive an “Inherent Accusative”, which has a “transitional” status. Recall that the Experiencer is progressively re-analysed as a quirky subject; therefore, its object status is progressively weakened. This is signalled by the fact that the verbs of the *piget*-class cannot be passivized. Some possible examples of passive forms are attested, but in these cases the Experiencer is not moved to the subject position and maintains the Accusative. This is one of the classical tests applied to identify an Inherent Case.

As for the Stimulus, it can be considered as a “low Cause” and is constantly assigned an Inherent Case. Thus, it is an internal argument. On this basis, one has to wonder what the syntactic relation between the Experiencer and the Stimulus is, and this can be done by providing a detailed formal analysis of the underlying structure of the verbs of the *piget*-class.

5. The case of *placeo*

Before turning to my proposal of analysis, I will discuss the syntax of *placeo* “to like”, which is a widespread verb of the \bar{e} -class with a clear stative value. I deal with it in this section, since my proposal will be that its underlying configuration is similar to that of impersonals. *Placeo* is commonly attested in an OE pattern with a Dative-marked Experiencer, and generally selects for a Nominative-marked Stimulus, as happens in Romance and German Languages in the *piacere/please*-class. Interestingly, also *placeo* undergoes an alignment process towards the core transitive pattern, mostly in Late Latin. Thus, it is worth analysing its syntax in order to have a wider perspective on the general phenomenon I am dealing with in this chapter.

5.1. The data

The most typical pattern for *placeo* is exemplified by the following sentences:

- (66) a. quae mihi atque amicis placeat condicio
 which_{NomFemSing} me_{Dat} and friends_{Dat} likes condition_{NomFem}
 “The condition which could please me and my friends”

(Plaut. Capt. 180)

b. quam magis specto, minus placet mi haec hominis facies
 the more look-at_{1stSing} less likes me_{Dat} this_{NomFem} man_{Gen} look_{FemSing}

“The more I look at it, the less I like this human face”

(Plaut, Trin. 861)

c. ostendite (...) vobis homines impios non placere.
 show_{Imperat2ndPlur} you_{Dat} men_{Acc} bad_{Acc} Neg to-like

“Show that you do not like bad people” (Reth. Her. 4, 35, 47)

d. placent vobis hominum mores? (Cic. Verr. 3, 208)

like_{3rdPlur} you_{Dat} men_{Gen} behaviours_{Nom}

“Do the habits of these people please you?”

(67) a. non placuit Epicuro medium esse quiddam

Neg liked_{3rdSing} Epicurus_{Dat} middle_{AccNunSing} to-be something_{AccSing}

inter dolorem et voluptatem. (Cic. fin. 1. 38)

between pain_{Acc} and pleasure_{Acc}

“Epicurus does not accept that there is something between pain and pleasure”

b. placet in iudiciali genere finem esse aequitatem

likes in judiciary_{Abl} genre_{Abl} aim_{Acc} to-be justice_{Acc}

“It is established that in the law-genre the main aim is justice”

(Cic. inv. 2, 156)

In (66) the verb has a psych meaning and the animate bears the Experiencer role. As for word order, the Experiencer often precedes the Stimulus, even if the latter bears Nominative Case. The examples in (67) trace back to a non-psych meaning, whose origin is probably to be found in the ancient legal language: it refers to an opinion or a decision rather than to a feeling, with the meaning “it is good/reasonable for me” (also 66a can be ambiguous in this respect). In cases like these, the animate Dative-marked argument can be omitted and an impersonal form is commonly attested: in (67a), for instance, the verb does not agree with any DP and the complement is expressed by a CP (“Accusative + Infinitive”).

The configuration of (66) is stable in time and is attested until the very Late Period. The Stimulus generally bears Nominative Case but can be also expressed as a PP. In this case, the verb does not trigger agreement on any lexical DP, i.e. it is used as an impersonal:

- (68) a. *nonne fieri poterat, ut populo de*
 Neg to-happen could_{3rdSing} that people_{DatSing} about
Cyprio rege placeret? (Cic. dom. 53)
 From-Cyprus_{AblMascSing} king_{AblMascSing} liked_{Subj3rdSing}
 “Couldn’t it happen that people did not like the king of Cyprus?”
- b. *fecisti bona cum Israhel, et placuit in eis*
 did_{2ndSing} good_{AccNeutPlur} with Israel and liked_{3rdSing} in those_{AblNeutPlur}
deo (Vet Lat. Iudith 15, 10)
 god_{Dat}
 “You’ve done well for Israel, and God is pleased with these things”

In (68a) the verb is used as an impersonal, so that the Experiencer bears the Dative and the Stimulus is headed by *de*. As can be seen in (68b) this pattern is also attested in Late Latin, but – as happens with the verbs of the *piget*-class – the Stimulus can be expressed in several different ways (here, for instance, it is headed by the P *in*, which assigns the Ablative).

The semantic relation between the psych patterns and the type in (67) is quite interesting, in that it involves the nature of the selected thematic roles. There exist several examples in which the animate entity “expresses an opinion” and the Stimulus has to be rather considered as a Matter or a “subject” about which the opinion is expressed. What is clear is that, regardless of the specific features borne by the animate entity, it is stably assigned the Dative, while the Stimulus/Subject can be differently expressed. Notice that, under the psych reading, the impersonal use is widespread already in Plautus and gives rise to different patterns, in which the Stimulus can be a whole CP headed by *quod*, *quia* and similar Cs with a cause flavour.

As happens with the impersonals of the *piget*-class, when non-finite verbal forms are employed, realignment phenomena arise. As for *placeo*, a peculiar syntactic configuration is found in the gerundive. Consider this example from Plautus:

- (69) *Si illa tibi placet, placenda dos quoque est,*
 if she you_{Dat} likes to-be-liked_{NomFemSing} dowry_{NomFem} also is
quam dat tibi (Plaut. Trin. 1559)
 which_{AccFemSing} gives you_{Dat}
 “If you like her, you have to like also the dowry which she brings to you”

As can be seen, the gerundive agrees with the syntactic subject of *placeo*, i.e. with the Stimulus. This is unexpected, since the gerundive generally has a passive value, and does not agree with the syntactic subject of the verb, rather with its syntactic object. Here something similar to what has been noticed for impersonals happens: non-finite forms presuppose a slight different configuration, which is logically aligned with the core transitive pattern, with the animate being preponderant with respect to the other complement. As I recalled above, this is due to the fact that the verb lacks the syntactic position which is required by the non-finite form: the gerundive obligatorily agrees with the syntactic object of the corresponding verb, thus determining that one of the arguments is actually considered as the object.

In this respect, the past participle is worth discussing as well. In spite of the non-deponent nature of the predicate, the past participle of *placeo* is deemed to have an active value:

- (70) a. *ubi sunt cognitae (fabulae), placitae sunt*
 when are_{3rdPlur} known_{NomFemPlur} tales_{NomFemPlur} liked_{NomFemPlur} are_{3rdPlur}
 “When the tales were known, they were appreciated” (Ter. Hec. 21)
- b. *quae vobis placita est condicio datur*
 which_{NomFem} you_{DatPlur} liked_{NomFem} is condition_{NomFem} is-given
 “The condition you wanted is granted” (Ter. Hec, 241)
- c. *permutatio (captivorum) senatui non placita* (Gell. 6, 18, 6)
 trade_{NomFem} prisoners_{Gen} senate_{Dat} Neg liked_{NomFem}
 “The senate didn’t accept the trade of the prisoners”

Notice that two different interpretations are possible for the sentences in (70): (i) the participle can be considered as a passive form, and in this case it would be comparable with the gerundive of (69), in that it would be based on the same Object Stimulus pattern. Under this interpretation, the Dative in (70b) and (70c) marks the Agent-like role. Anyway (ii) the participle can be also interpreted as active. This use is expected with deponent verbs, which actually have an active past participle. Notice that the past participle of stative \bar{e} -verbs is generally not attested, especially for properties predicates like *albeo* and *frigeo*, which typically display the *-idus* form with an adjectival value. This follows from the fact that they are syntactically intransitive⁵¹. As I will explain in

⁵¹ See Di Gennaro (2008); Bertocci (2011; 2013).

greater detail in the next chapter, the absence of the past participle can be actually a trace of the intransitive nature of stative \bar{e} -verbs, even if they are attested in a more recent transitive pattern, as happens for instance with *doleo* and *timeo*.

In Latin the past participle of transitives has a clear passive value and it agrees with the syntactic object of the verb. The past participle of *placeo* is therefore comparable to that of the verbs of the *proficiscor*-class (“to leave”), which are intransitive deponents and have been compared to Italian unaccusatives (Penello, 2006). Italian unaccusatives are a well-known case of intransitives with an internal subject which are attested in the active past participle, as the contrast in (71) shows:

- (71) a. Anna è amata da molti
 Anna_{NomFem} is loved_{NomFem} by many
 “Anna is loved by many people”
 b. Anna è partita
 Anna_{NomFem} is left_{NomFem}
 “Anna has left”
 c. *Anna è dormita
 Anna_{NomFem} is slept_{NomFem}
 “Anna has slept”

These classical examples illustrate the active use of the past participle with Italian unaccusatives (71b).

There is no consensus on what the class of Latin unaccusatives actually is. Penello (2006) proposes that deponent intransitives are to be considered as unaccusatives on the basis of their use in the past participle: she compares the form *profectus* “gone/left” with the Italian “partito” and infers that both these verbs have an underlying internal subject, as they are attested in a past participle with an active value. As I recalled about *miseret*, there exists at least one group of deponents which are likely to be considered as internal-subject verbs. As for *placitus*, the presence of an active past participle can be accounted for if also the Stimulus is supposed to be an internal argument; in this respect, this form is comparable with the gerundive in (69), which is only interpretable on the basis of an internal-Stimulus configuration.

In Late Latin, *placeo* is also attested in a SE personal pattern under both its main meanings. In this case, the Stimulus/Subject is generally assigned the Accusative, but it can be alternatively headed by a P:

- (72) a. nonne denarium placuisti mecum? (Vet. Lat. Matth. 20, 13)
 Neg coin_{AccSing} liked_{2ndSing} me-with
 “Didn’t you agreed on a coin with me?”
- b. mercedem denarium placuit. (Aug. serm. 87, 4)
 price_{AccSing} coin_{AccSing} liked_{3rdSing}
 “He agreed on one coin as a price”
- c. sine hac charitate si fuerit anima, non
 without this_{AblFem} generosity_{AblFem} if will-be_{3rdSing} soul_{NomFem} Neg
 placebit in ea deus nec delectabitur super eam
 will-like_{3rdSing} in her_{Abl} god_{Nom} Neg-and will-rejoice_{3rdSing} on her_{Acc}
 “If this soul does not show such generosity, God will not like it nor will
 he be pleased with it” (Ephr. de die iudic. fol. 37)
- d. tu es filius meus dilectus, in quo bene placui
 you_{Nom} are son_{Nom} my_{Nom} beloved_{Nom} in whom_{Abl} well liked_{1stSing}
 “You are my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased”
 (Vet. Lat. Matth. 3, 17)
- e. si fuerat castus, incestus proficit inde et
 if had-been_{3rdSing} chaste incest arose_{3rdSing} from-there and
 placens arridet, quem tunc mala
 liking_{NomMascSing} laughs-at whom_{Acc} then bad_{NomNeutPlur}
 gaudia temptant (Comm. apol. 212)
 pleasures_{NomNeutPlur} tempt_{3rdPlur}
 “If he was chaste, the incest is a consequence of what he saw, and he
 joyfully laughs at him, whom those bad pleasures tempt”

Examples in (72a)-(72b) have the meaning “to negotiate/agree”, which is to be compared to the meaning of (67). The other examples have a psych reading and are comparable with the SE types which can be found in the same period with the *piget-* class.

The personal OE pattern is widespread also in Late Latin. As expected, it can be attested in a transitive variant, as the following example shows:

- (73) iniuria iustorum non te placeat (Vet. Lat. Sirach, 9, 17)
 injury righteous_{GenPlur} Neg you_{Acc} please_{Ssubj}
 “Do not approve injury made on the righteous”

5.2. Placeo and its relation with the verbs of the piget-class

On the basis of the data I summarized in this section, a clear comparison of *placeo* with the verbs of the *piget*-class can be outlined. Consider the following schema:

Table 2

	<i>placeo</i>	<i>piget</i> -class
Impersonal structure	Exp _{Dat} + Stim _{PP} (rare) Exp _{Dat} + CP	Exp _{Acc} + Stim _{Gen}
Personal OE structure	Exp _{Dat} /Stim _{Nom} (common) Exp _{Acc} /Stim _{Nom} (rare)	Exp _{Acc} /Stim _{Nom} (rare, in Early and Late Latin)
Object Stimulus in non-finite verbal forms	Gerundive and past participle	Gerundive
SE in non-finite verbal forms	Late with the present participle	From the Classical Age onwards with the present participle
Personal SE pattern	Stim _{PP} /Stim _{Acc} (late)	Stim _{PP} /Stim _{Acc} (late)

The table shows that *placeo* can be successfully compared to the *piget*-class, namely because both kinds of verbs undergo the same alignment process: the Experiencer is progressively promoted to the subject position, while the Stimulus, which can receive an Inherent Case, can be assigned the Accusative or can be headed by a P in Late Latin.

An interesting question is why *placeo* is attested in a personal OE pattern in which the Experiencer bears the Dative, while the *piget*-class stably displays the Acc/Gen pattern. Namely,

two questions are involved in this problem: (i) why the Experiencer of *placeo* receives the Dative; (ii) why the Stimulus of *placeo* is generally assigned the Nominative.

What is clear is that *placeo* has acquired a psych value later than the verbs of the *piget*-class, whose structure is clearly ancient, as it is ruled by a non fully accusative pattern. Recall that *placeo* is attested in a probably ancient legal meaning of the type in (67) with a non-psych reading: interestingly, in this value it does not obligatorily select for the animate argument, which can be kept silent.

Thus, the psych reading of *placeo* is modelled on a less ancient pattern in which:

- (i) The Experiencer is assigned the Dative, which signals its Proto-Recipient features
- (ii) A Nominative Requirement is at work, so that the Stimulus is moved to the subject position

Thus, the Accusative-marked Experiencer of the *piget*-class is to be considered as a peculiar case, which is actually a unique phenomenon. This is demonstrated by the fact that other psych verbs, like *doleo*, normally assign the Dative to the Experiencer (see the next chapter for a detailed analysis of this verb). As I have outlined above, there exists a group of Subject Stimulus non- \bar{e} verbs which select for an Accusative marked Experiencer (*sollicito*, *excrucio*, etc.); as I showed in §1., their meaning coexist with a physical reading, which is probably the original one. Thus, in this class the Experiencer is actually marked as the Patient of a metaphorical activity and further research could investigate if it shows peculiarities with respect to transitivity when the mental reading is displayed. *Placeo* and *doleo* assign the Dative to the Experiencer, in that they underline a P-Recipient feature contained in the thematic configuration of the animate argument; as for *placeo*, I suppose that this has been inherited from the meaning in (67). In the next chapter I will discuss the case of *doleo* in detail.

As for the Stimulus, it is assigned the Nominative in the most typical configuration, but when the participle and the gerundive are employed it is treated as an internal argument. This also happens in contexts in which the Experiencer receives the Nominative.

On the basis of this account, I will propose that *placeo* has a configuration identical to that of impersonals, since this can easily account for all the possible patterns attested in diachrony. Moreover, the Inherent status of the Experiencer of *placeo* helps

to better define the nature of this role, whose characteristics are opacified by Accusative assignment in impersonals. As already noticed, the Dative signals the P-Recipient feature of the Experiencer: if compared to the Accusative, which emphasizes the Patient nature of the Experiencer, the Recipient feature is closer to the P-Agent (see the discussion in ch. 1. §7.3. for a more detailed account). This is an interesting argument in favour of the progressive re-analysis of the Experiencer as the syntactic subject.

As for Case assignment, if we conflate the two classes, the following result arises:

- (74) a. Experiencer → Nom/Acc/Dat
b. Stimulus → Nom/Acc/Inherent Case

The Experiencer can be assigned the Nominative, the Accusative or the Dative, while the Stimulus can be expressed in several different ways. Notice that in (74) I have listed the maximum range of possibilities which are attested at the same time when a single thematic role is considered. As I will explain in the next section, these possibilities are all strictly related to the set of features of their thematic representation.

6. The syntactic representation of impersonals

6.1. The SC hypothesis

According to what I have observed above, impersonal verbs can be considered as transimpersonals selecting for an OE and an internal Stimulus. I also proposed to analyse *placeo* as structurally akin to the *piget*-class. Thus, what is needed is a structure which can account for all the patterns I have discussed in this chapter. I will propose a configuration in which both arguments are internal. Moreover, I will propose that the arguments are linked by a SC head, so as to correctly capture their syntactic relation.

As will be shown in the analysis, I will adopt a layered version of the SC. For my proposal I suppose, indeed, something similar to what has been stated by Kayne (1993).

Kayne (1993) discusses the nature of the verb *to have* under a cross-linguistic perspective; he proposes that this verb is the result of a conflation process in which a D head is incorporated in a BE head. The structure which is adopted in his work is the following:

(75) ...BE [_{DP} Spec D/P_e⁰ [_{DP}_{poss} [AGR⁰ QP/NP]]]

As can be seen, the Possessor and the Possessum are generated lower than BE in the maximal projections of AGRP, i.e. in a “SC” relation (according to Moro, 1988). Kayne proposes to derive both the following sentences from the configuration in (75):

- (76) a. There is a sister of John’s
 b. John has three sisters

Namely, on the basis of (76), both DPs can be moved out of the site in which they have been generated and reach a higher projection, thus giving rise to the possible orders in (76). If the lower constituent (the Possessum) moves to a higher site, then (76a) is produced; if the Possessor (which is inserted in SpecAGRP) moves higher in the structure, then (76b) arises.

My proposal is based on a similar configuration: exactly as happens in Kayne (1993), in the structure I am going to describe the relation between the DPs is not directly mediated by the V head, a fact which accounts for their free movement out of the SC. In other words, the SC correctly predicts that the arguments are in a relation which can be variously encoded in the syntax, as none of them is necessarily preponderant with respect to the other. Recall that the verbs I am discussing in this chapter are syntactically unstable if compared to regular transitive predicates (even more unstable than OE verbs like *sollicito* and *excrucio*). It is worth noticing that Latin encodes the Possessor/Possessum relation both by means of *esse* (“to be”) and by means of *habēre* (“to have”). Thus, the kind of structure in (75) is parametrically present in the language and probably extended to other kinds of predicates. On the basis of the data I have presented so far, it can be further clarified in what sense the SC can be considered as the appropriate way to think of the relation between the arguments of the stative psych predicates of this class. As I have shown, the most ancient impersonal configuration actually is a transimpersonal type, in which the Experiencer is encoded as a Patient and the Stimulus is encoded as a low Cause, following a pattern which recalls that of ergative systems. This structure is preserved in Latin until the Late Period and is probably re-analysed as a kind of generic “relation” between the arguments, given that the transimpersonal type is no more productive. On the other hand, in contexts in which the Stimulus is assigned the Nominative – i.e. in the case of *placeo* and of the psych

doleo – the Experiencer is assigned the Dative, and this happens because its P-Recipient feature is emphasized with respect to the P-Patient feature. This pattern is clearly comparable with the so called “Dative of possession”. Consider the following relation:

- (77) a. X is to Y – Y has X
b. X *placet* to Y – Y *placet* X

As can be seen, the kind of relation established between the arguments is similar. Anyway, in the Dative of possession something is attributed to an entity in a Possessor/Possessum relation, thus determining that the Possessor is in the state of “having something”. In the case of *placeo*, a Stimulus causes a certain feeling in the Experiencer, so that the Experiencer is affected by that feeling. While in the Dative of possession the verbal head does not provide any further semantic content, in that the relation is simply encoded as a generic Possessor/Possessum one, in the case of *placeo* the relation is semantically specified by the verbal head, so that the kind of feeling which affects the Experiencer is expressed by means of a lexical item. Interestingly, exactly as it happens with psych predicates, also the Dative of possession is progressively abandoned in time and is replaced in Late Latin by the Nom/Acc pattern with the verb *habēre*.

This also accounts for the Exp/Stim order which I will propose for the arguments of this class of verbs, in that the Experiencer is comparable to the Possessor of (78a), thus being in the subject position.

An interesting argument also comes from the analysis of Kayne (1985), who reminds that SCs cannot be easily nominalized, since the subject cannot be inserted in a PP headed by *of* in English. Consider this sentence:

- (78) a. John considers Bill honest
b. *John’s consideration of Bill honest (Kayne 1985: ex. (5) and (6))

According to Kayne, (78b) is ungrammatical because the PP subject of a SC cannot be assigned a theta role, as is instead required by its subject position. This contradiction gives rise to the ungrammaticality of (78b). I will not discuss this point, which should be reconsidered under an updated version of the Theta-Theory. Anyway, it can be noticed that the verbs I have described in this chapter are rarely attested in

corresponding nominal forms and when they are, they do not display both the Stimulus and the Experiencer. This is consistent with the idea that SCs do not allow nominalization. Consider that in Latin, when the arguments of a biargumental predicate are inserted in the structure in asymmetric positions with respect to the verbal head, the occurrence of two Genitive-marked arguments headed by a noun is possible:

- (79) pro veteribus Helvetiorum iniuriis popouli Romani
 because-of old_{AblPlur} Helveti_{Gen} injuries_{Abl} people_{Gen} Roman_{Gen}
 “Because of the old Helveti’s injuries against the Roman people”
 (Caes. Gall. 1, 30, 2)

In sum, the SC hypothesis is coherent with what I have observed in the preceding sections, since:

- (i) It predicts a “fluid” relation between the arguments, with a consequent freer possibility of extraction from the site in which they are generated.
- (ii) It correctly captures the relation which is preferably established between the arguments of such predicates and provides reasons to support the P-Recipient nature of the Experiencer.

This proposal leads to reconsider B&R and Pesetsky’s analyses, according to which no external argument is inserted in the structure of stative psych predicates. I think that this is the correct point of view and that it is supported by the data I have presented in this chapter. I will propose a syntactic structure in which the SC is generated as the complement of V, thus forming a unique syntactic complex from which both DPs can be extracted to receive Case higher than vP. I will also adopt a fine-grained analysis of v, by providing it with a set of flavours capable to attract the arguments to their Spec and determine, in this way, the superficial syntactic configuration of the predicate.

The mechanism of the possible derivations will be clearly explained in the next paragraphs.

6.2. *On Case assignment*

I will start by discussing Case assignment, as it is a major prerequisite for my analysis.

According to Cinque (2006), who recalls the analyses of Kayne (2002), Schweikert (2005) and Damonte (2004), complements are merged in the VP layer following a precise hierarchy, which can be established on the basis of syntactic tests. Thus, regardless of the fact that a bottom-up derivation is adopted, the merging of the DPs is not random, rather it is ruled by a fixed sequence which successfully explains c-command and binding facts. Cinque (2006) supposes that the Theme/Patient is merged for first and is followed by other complements. Once the VP is complete, all the complements are assigned Case in a fixed order, starting from the Structural Accusative, which is the “lowest” Case in the structure⁵².

The complements are merged in a fixed order and receive Case in a fixed order as well: this implies that there is a tight connection between the merging-sequence of the DPs and the Case hierarchy. Namely, it is assumed that dedicated projections are responsible for Case-assignment: after the DPs have been merged in the VP, they are attracted to the Spec of CaseP projections, which are then headed by appropriate Ps. The Accusative is basically associated with the direct object, which bears the Theme role, and Case-assignment follows a binary matching of thematic roles and Cases. According to Kayne (2002), the P which heads the Structural Accusative is null or at least kept silent in languages like English and French, whilst Ps heading Inherent Cases are regularly lexicalized. In languages with no morphological Case-marking, non-Structural Cases always require an overt P. As for Latin, a DP can be assigned morphological Case or it can be preceded by a P which selects for a morphological Case affix.

In principle, the matching-order of thematic roles and Cases is predictable in languages, especially as far as Inherent Cases are concerned, in that they are deemed to be systematically associated with certain thematic positions.

Coming back to the Latin impersonals of the *piget*-type, I have assumed that their arguments have different sets of thematic properties. Namely, the Experiencer has P-R (Beneficiary/Maleficiary) features and Patient features, while the Stimulus has P-A

⁵² Notice that, in a bottom-up derivation, different resulting orders can be obtained by pied-piping the complements of the V heads, but this is not crucial for my analysis and is essentially related to word order.

(Causer) features. Moreover, the Experiencer is a [+human] participant, while the animacy of the Stimulus does not influence thematic role-assignment.

The ancient impersonal type is not sensitive to animacy: here, the human-nature of the Experiencer is not a feature capable to promote it to the subject position (this is the typical behaviour of transimpersonals). Since a strict Nominative-Requirement is lacking, Case-assignment directly reflects the thematic nature of the arguments: as there is no true Agent, no Nominative is assigned, and the Experiencer receives the Patient-like Case. This is allowed in a system in which the Patient-like Case does not have a dependent nature; otherwise, we would expect some version (also updated) of Burzio's Generalization to be at work. The impersonal type is maintained until the Late Period, since it is perceived as a highly marked structure, which semantically reflects the spontaneous and non-agentive value of the verb.

Naturally, the features of every single DP are always present in its syntactic configuration, in that they allow for different patterns to be obtained. As I have underlined, in the most ancient use, the Experiencer is assigned the Accusative according to its Patient-like nature; in a successive stage, when the Nominative Requirement becomes stronger and the [+human] feature is considered as a crucial factor in determining Case assignment, the Experiencer can finally receive the Nominative. Notice that, in such a picture, the Experiencer could also be assigned Dative Case, which is the prototypical Recipient/Beneficiary Case. Albeit this is not shown by Latin impersonals, it is clearly shown by *placeo* and by other OE verbs like *doleo*; it also shown by data from other languages, like Italian and Ancient Greek (like in 31c). Along this line, the Stimulus can receive a wide range of Cases: an Ablative-like relational Genitive or an Inherent Case headed by P. This latter Case is interesting in that, especially in Late Latin, the Stimulus acquires a richer set of thematic nuances. Thus, for instance, the use of the P *ad* (and of other Goal/Path Ps) emphasizes the Target nature of the Stimulus, while in other cases it is read as a Subject/Matter, thus being introduced by Ps like *super* or *de*. The dual nature of the Cause allows for the Stimulus to be inserted in the sentence both as the Nominative subject in a personal pattern and as a low Cause (in the impersonal pattern or in the SE structure).

To sum up, I hypothesize that there is a strict correlation between the semantics of the arguments and their syntactic output. Mostly in contexts in which the thematic role borne by an argument has a compositional nature, some mechanism has to allow for multiple possibilities in Case assignment. In syntactic terms, this means that the

argument is generated with its own amount of features, which are to be read in syntax by functional projections capable to rule roles-to-Cases linking.

A similar approach to Case has been proposed in the Nanosyntax framework as a way to motivate possible alternations in Case assignment (Starke, 2004; Caha, 2009). In Nanosyntax it is assumed that DPs are always generated with the richest amount of Case-features they can display in the sentence when they are assigned Case. This assumption hinges on the presupposition that DPs are the complements of a set of hierarchically ordered projections, which are identified by means of Case-labels. When a DP is moved to a CaseP it is “peeled”, i.e. it reaches SpecCaseP with the appropriate number of features required by the Case head. If, for instance, a DP which is specified for Gen, Acc and Nom has to be assigned Accusative Case, it is moved to SpecCase_{Acc}P bearing the Acc and Nom features, while the Gen feature is left *in situ*. From this analysis it follows that the complements are always generated in the structure with the maximum possible amount of features that can be matched with certain Cases. The main problem of this analysis is that features are identified by means of Case labels, thus mirroring the CasePs sequence; but it is not clear what these features should actually be, nor if there is a possible link between the semantics of the arguments and the Case they are assigned.

As for my analysis, I will underline two main points:

- (i) There is a correlation between thematic roles (i.e. sets of thematic features) and Case-assignment. In other words, I consider Inherent Cases as actually associated with semantic features. Structural Cases have a tendency to be treated as pure syntactic positions; nevertheless, they are prototypically associated with certain features (i.e. animacy/sentience for the Nominative, patienthood for the Accusative), which can be properly stressed in the syntax.
- (ii) DPs are inserted in the structure with the maximum amount of thematic features which is necessary for all the possible options in Case-assignment.

In what follows, I will describe the possible derivations by referring to a more formal account.

6.3. *A model for VP*

I will firstly describe the version of the VP layer that will be adopted in my analysis. I have collected hints from different proposals in order to build a model which can correctly capture the characteristics of the verbs I am dealing with in this work.

The VP layer has been differently described in the past twenty years, with a wide range of proposals. According to scholars like Hale and Keyser (2002) the argumental structure is projected by the lexicon; other scholars, like Borer (2005), rather propose an event-oriented analysis of the VP, according to which the specific properties of the arguments are not strictly related to lexical entries. The vP hypothesis (as outlined by Harley, 1995; Kratzer 1996; Folli and Harley, 2005, 2007. a.o.) has provided dedicated functional projections which are deemed to be responsible for the encoding of the interface between syntax and semantics. Anyway, as Borer (2005) points out, the proliferation of v-heads with different “flavours” tends to weaken the possible generalizations about the internal structure of the vP, in favour of a more lexical-oriented analysis of the verb, thus risking to lead to the necessity of idiosyncratic configurations.

I will suppose that the VP layer can be basically divided in two sections. The VP is the actual lexical layer, in which the verb and its arguments are merged. Here thematic relations are established, since VP is the site in which thematic features are assigned by the verbal head. vP is higher than VP and has a functional nature: it maps the core relations established by the V head. This distinction is outlined in order to clearly identify the lexical and the functional field of the extended VP layer.

The VP can be split into different projections, one of them licensing the external argument, and the lower being responsible for licensing the others. Along the line of Travis (2010), I deem that arguments are all generated by lexical heads, i.e. by modules of VP⁵³; thus, the highest module of VP is not a functional projection: higher vP modules have to be considered as such. This idea recalls the Larsonian model (Larson, 1988), in which the VP module is replicated in the structure in order to provide the appropriate number of positions (namely, the appropriate number of maximal projections) to host verbal arguments: an extended VP layer is required for trivalent verbs, and represents an elegant solution to the problem of where circumstantial

⁵³ In Travis (2010), the modules of VP are labelled “V₁P”...“V₂P”...: the higher projection corresponds to the widespread vP label (as in Kratzer, 1996), which can also be supposed to be a CauserP, since it is only responsible for merging the true external argument of transitive and inergative verbs.

complements are merged in the structure. In this fined-grained structure functional projections can be supposed to provide landing sites for moved items. In the case of stative psych verbs the modules of vP have a twofold role: they attract the arguments on the basis of the thematic features they bear and they link them to Case projections, which are hosted higher than vP. In this respect, I suppose something similar to Harley (2013): the functional layer of vP is split in various heads which play different syntactic functions⁵⁴.

The heads that I will insert in my representation are labelled v_{Cause} and v_{Change} . They occupy a position higher than V and represent the causal relation which is established by stative psych verbs, similarly to what has been proposed in Rothmayr (2009). Recall that, as I discussed in the previous chapter, these verbs are “stative causatives” with an eventive reading; thus, we have to think of an articulated VP layer to correctly describe the relation they give rise to. Anyway, I will keep the lexical and the functional layer distinct as a way to account for all the patterns in which these verbs are attested: this comes from the fact that if arguments were directly generated in SpecvP, they would be strictly linked to a certain position in the structure. On the contrary, I hypothesize that they are generated in the VP with a given amount of features and that they can be moved in the structure according to the semantic relation which is established with the flavours of the v heads.

As for Case assignment, following the cartographic framework, I will suppose that it is carried out in dedicated projections, along the lines of Cinque (2006) and Caha (2009). These projections are hierarchically ordered higher than vP and assign Case in their Spec, to which DPs are progressively moved. Notice that I will order the projection starting from a higher Structural Accusative, since I will not represent the bottom-up derivation in my analysis.

6.4. The syntactic derivation

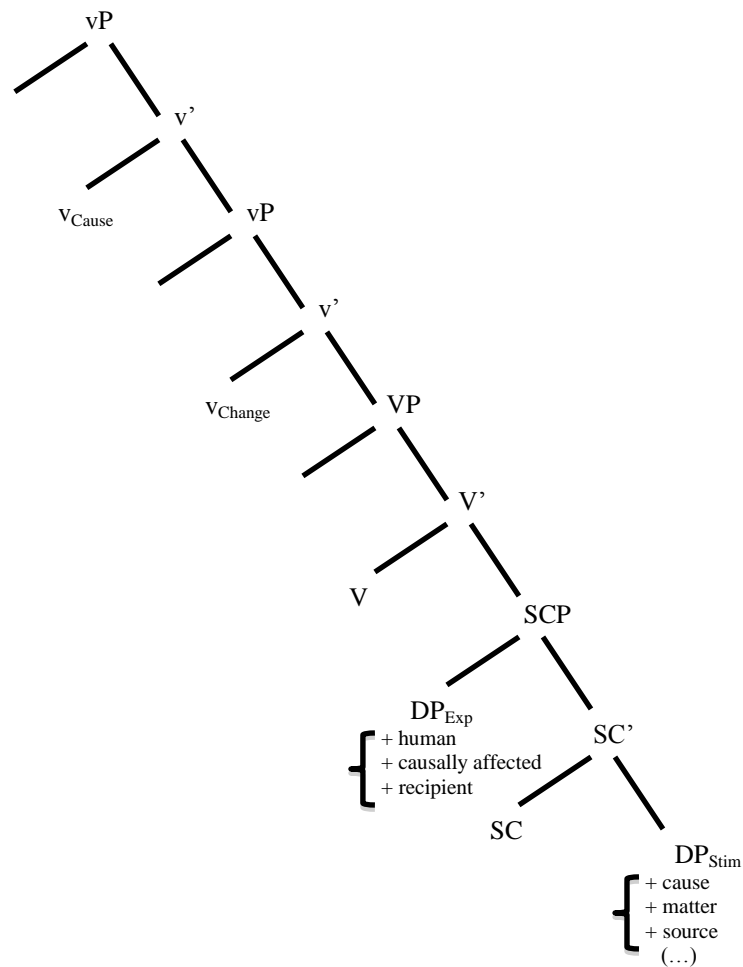
A first question concerns the status of the transimpersonal structure. It can be assumed that transimpersonals actually are transitive verbs with no lexical subject. According to Burzio’s Generalization (and its further developments), in accusative

⁵⁴I will follow a cartographic-oriented model. Beside the well known Folli and Harley (2005), and Harley (2013), an interesting analysis for my purpose has been proposed by Ramchand (2008), who accounts for the successive re-merging of the DPs in different functional projection on the base of the role they bear with respect to the actional properties of the verb. For a different perspective, see also Bowers (2010), who proposes a specular analysis of the vP, by claiming that the complements are generated in the Spec of replicated modules of vP.

languages, if an impersonal structure has to be supposed, no Structural Accusative is assigned. Anyway, given that the transimpersonal type reflects an ancient and not attested stage of the language, it could actually refer to a non-accusative system in which the presence of a Structural Accusative does not necessarily entails that of a corresponding external argument. The Accusative of transimpersonals can be considered akin to the Absolutive of ergative systems: the Absolutive is the default-Case for the Patient and can be independently assigned, as happens with the Nominative in accusative languages. Interestingly, the Stimulus, which bears Instrument/Causer features, is assigned the Genitive and has a semi-argumental status, in that it can be compared with the Instrumental-like Case of ergative languages.

Detransitivization leads to a progressive reanalysis of the Experiencer as a quirky subject. Thus, the Experiencer gradually loses its objecthood. Put this into formal terms, we have to suppose that a structure like the following is at the basis of the impersonal configuration we know:

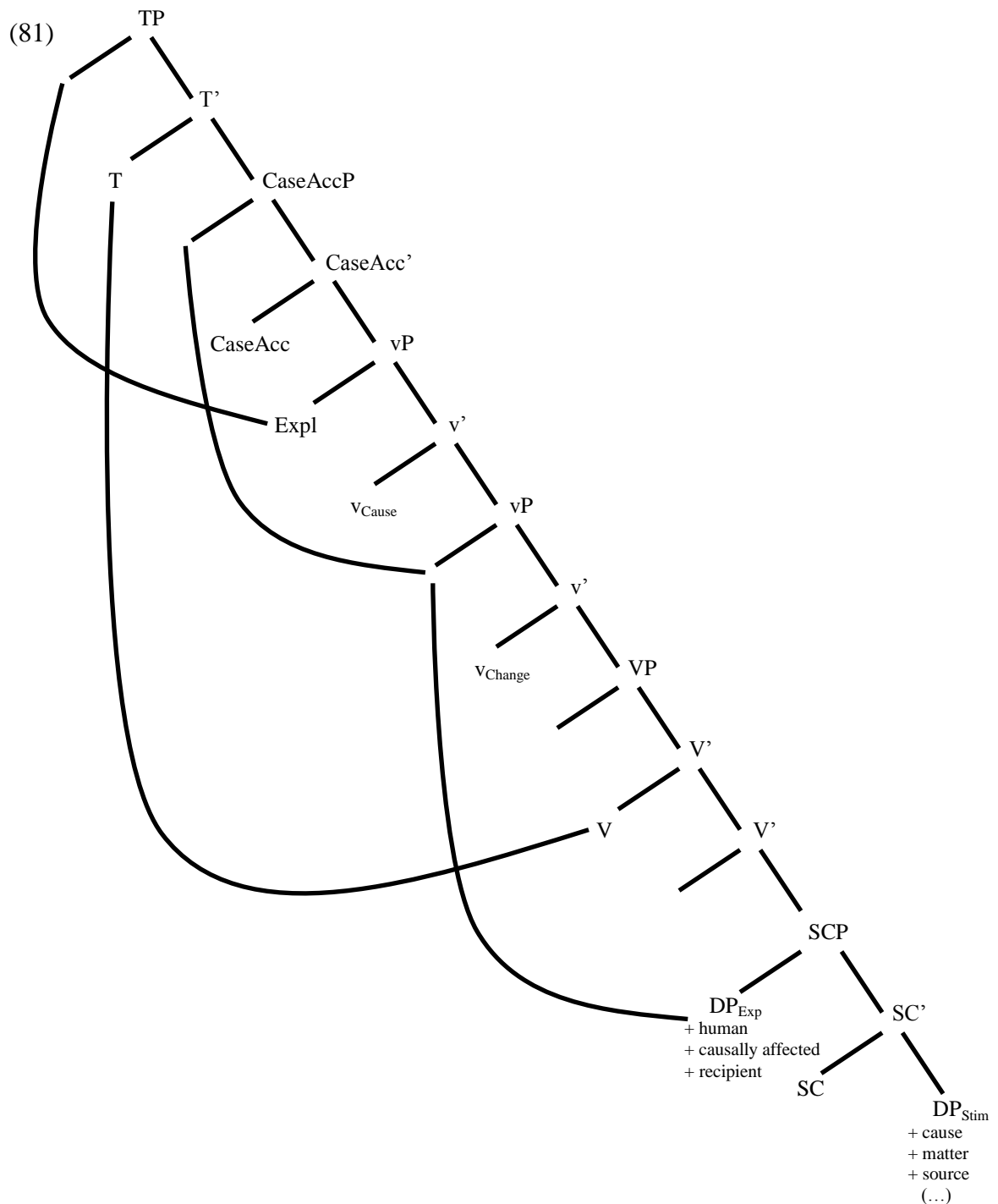
(80)



Let me explain this structure in detail. In (80) the verb selects for a SC as a complement. The Experiencer is merged in SpecSC, while the Stimulus is merged in the Comp position. As can be easily seen, both these arguments are generated with a set of features which are part of their thematic status, whose properties are selected by the V head. As for the Experiencer, I list here the three main features which are emphasized in the syntactic configurations of the verbs I am dealing with in this chapter. The Stimulus has a preponderant Cause feature; nevertheless the rich variety of Ps which can be used to express it in the Late Period suggests that it is provided with a range of possible nuances, as for instance the Matter (*super*) and the Source (*de*) feature. No external argument is merged in the structure. Anyway, for the impersonal pattern to be possible in an accusative language, a null expletive has to be supposed in SpecvP: it has no lexical content and is not generated in VP; however, its functional nature is signalled by a specific position in the structure, i.e. the Spec of the projection which initiates the highest subevent. As I recalled in the previous section, the impersonal structure is

maintained until Late Latin probably because it correctly expresses the spontaneous relation which holds between the arguments of the verbs of the *piget*-class. Thus, even if a causal relation must be inferred, no argument is moved to SpecvP, as none of them is considered as causally prominent as the Agent or the Causer of transitive verbs. As a consequence, while the Experiencer can straightforwardly reach Spec_{vChange}P and can be then assigned Case higher than v, the Stimulus is assigned an Inherent Case, which corresponds to a low Cause.

The derivation is represented as follows:



In (81) $\text{Spec}_{\text{CauseP}}$ is occupied by an expletive, which can be thought of as having a generic value “cause/reason”: it moves to Spec_{TP} and agrees with the verb, thus satisfying EPP.

The Experiencer is provided with a set of different features and these allow for movement towards different sites. Anyway, since $\text{Spec}_{\text{CauseP}}$ is blocked by the presence of the expletive, the DP_{Exp} only moves to v_{Change} thanks to its Patient-like feature, and is then assigned the Accusative in a dedicated projection higher than vP . Notice that, since a true external argument is lacking, the Experiencer probably receives a non-Structural Accusative. As I recalled above, this can be supposed on the basis of the passivization test; anyway, the assignment of a non-Structural Accusative follows from the comparison with other languages as well as from the assumption that Burzio’s Generalization is at work also for Latin. Here I have not represented the difference between the Inherent and the Structural Accusative, in that it will be provided when SE verbs will be analysed.

The Stimulus has a Cause feature which could trigger movement to $\text{Spec}_{\text{CauseP}}$; however, as happens with the Experiencer, no landing site is at disposal for the Stimulus, which is therefore inserted in the sentence as a low Cause, i.e. by means of an Inherent Genitive.

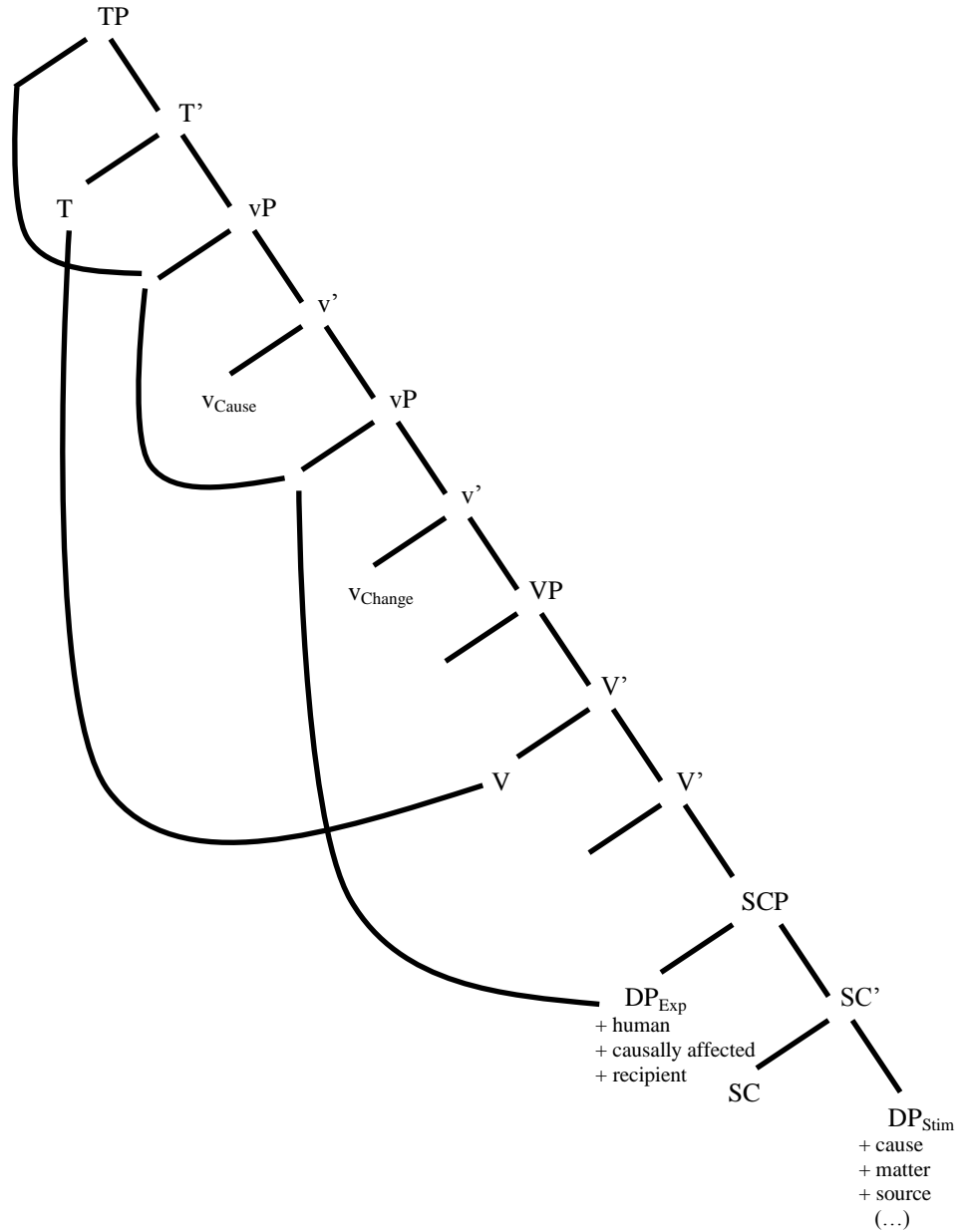
In this configuration the Experiencer and the Stimulus are on the same syntactic level, since they are both in Comp_{V} : this simply allows for movement of both to the subject position. Anyway, regardless of the configuration that is adopted, it is crucial to state that features are responsible for Case assignment, namely for one of the arguments to be promoted to the subject position.

A structure like (80) is to be inferred in languages in which the alternation between the Stim_{Nom} and the Exp_{Nom} configuration is widespread. As far as Latin impersonals are concerned, the Stim_{Nom} configuration is extremely rare. Anyway, if one aims to identify a common basic configuration at least for the psych stative verbs of the \bar{e} -class, then more options are available. Recall, as a widespread case, the Stim_{Nom} pattern of *placeo*. Moreover, when stative psych verbs are considered cross-linguistically, the $\text{Exp}_{\text{Nom}}/\text{Stim}_{\text{Nom}}$ alternation becomes quite common, as happens with the Italian *preoccupare/preoccuparsi*. I will examine in depth this problem in the next chapter, when the analysis will be widened by providing data of Latin SE verbs and also Italian will be considered. Here I would like to underline that when the Nominative Requirement is at work, the Experiencer and the Stimulus are in competition, since both

of them have a relevant feature which can be decisive in determining Nominative assignment: the Experiencer is [+human], while the Stimulus is a Causer. Interestingly, since none of the arguments is generated in the subject position, the dynamic relation established by the predicate can be freely expressed: on the one side, the Experiencer can be considered as the prominent role in that it can determine its own psych state (moreover it is an animate entity and is therefore more likely to be topicalized); on the other side, the spontaneous-like nature of the eventuality can be stressed by promoting the Stimulus to the subject position. What is crucial for the final pattern to be correctly derived is that, thanks to their compositional nature, both arguments can be assigned a Case other than the Nominative, so that no alternative strategy is required for the sentence to be grammatical: if the Experiencer is assigned the Nominative, the Stimulus can receive an Inherent Case (also with a lexicalized P); if the Stimulus moves to TP, then the Experiencer receives the Accusative, or it can be assigned the Dative, as happens with *placeo*.

Against this background, there is no need to think of a special rule to derive the attested personal patterns. As already noticed, in the Classical Age the SE pattern is employed with non-finite forms like the participle and the gerundive. The reason why these forms are the first to be attested in an SE pattern is that, as verbal adjectives, they must obligatorily agree with one of the arguments selected by the verb. Interestingly, as the examples show, the Experiencer is selected as the logical subject with participles, while the Stimulus is selected as the semantic object with gerundives: this suggests that a clear hierarchy of the two roles is already present in the Classical Age, even if impersonal forms are maintained whenever it is possible. In the Late Period the personal SE structure is normally attested, thus confirming the tendency to consider the Experiencer as the semantic subject. The SE pattern can be derived as follows:

(82)

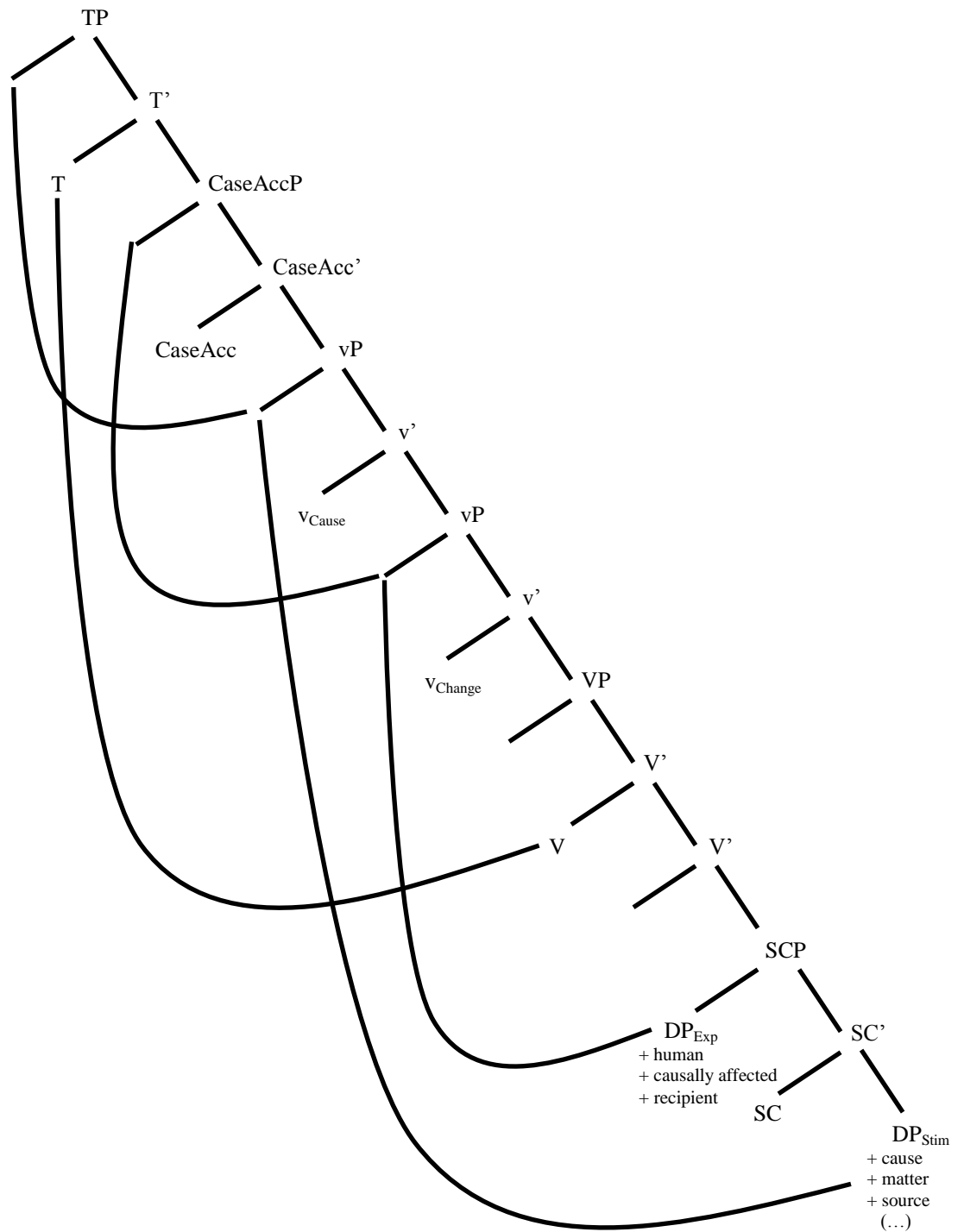


In (82) no expletive is generated in $\text{Specv}_{\text{Cause}}\text{P}$; therefore this is a possible landing site for one of the DPs. If the SE pattern is to be derived, the Experiencer undergoes movement to $\text{Specv}_{\text{Change}}\text{P}$ and further moves to $\text{Specv}_{\text{Cause}}\text{P}$: this is possible since it includes features which can be checked in both sites; at the same time, the undergoer nature of the Experiencer triggers movement to $\text{Specv}_{\text{Change}}\text{P}$. Once the Experiencer has reached $\text{Specv}_{\text{Cause}}\text{P}$ it moves to SpecTP , where it is assigned the Nominative. As

happens with the impersonal pattern, no landing site is at disposal for the Stimulus, which is therefore coherently assigned an Inherent Case.

As already noticed, the Stim_{Nom} configuration is rare with impersonals, but is normally employed with *placeo* and is also cross-linguistically well-attested. The derivation can be described as follows:

(83)



Thanks to its Causer feature, the Stimulus moves to $\text{Spec}_{\text{Cause}}\text{P}$, which is responsible for its prominence with respect to the Experiencer. The latter moves to $\text{Spec}_{\text{Change}}\text{P}$, as happens when the impersonal pattern is attested. Notice that this derivation is possible by assuming that: (i) thematic features are relevant in determining movement of the arguments to Spec_{VP} ; (ii) The Experiencer and the Stimulus are linked by a SC head, thus being not asymmetric with respect to the verbal head.

Placeo can be analysed in the same way, in that it displays the whole range of patterns which have been illustrated so far. The sole difference is that, before the Late Period, its Experiencer is generally assigned the Dative; thus, it first moves to $\text{Spec}_{\text{Change}}\text{P}$ and then reaches the site in which the Dative is assigned. Recall that the Dative can be properly assigned to the Experiencer in that it bears a Recipient-like feature; this entails that a change of state has been attained, as happens with trivalent verbs like *to give*.

6.5. Transitivity: a formal approach

Both the verbs of the *piget*-class and *placeo* are attested in personal transitive patterns. While it is quite clear what mechanism is responsible for Nominative assignment to one of the internal arguments, something more has to be said about Accusative assignment.

As I recalled in the previous section, as far as the impersonal pattern is concerned, we can suppose that no Structural Accusative is assigned to the Experiencer, at least in the more recent type of impersonal structure. This is due to the fact that the verb does not select for an external argument, so that no Structural Accusative can be assigned. Scholars have considered this special type of Accusative as an Inherent Case, whose nature is signalled by the non-canonical behaviour of the OE of verbs such as the Italian *preoccupare*. As I noticed above, in Latin passivization of the OE of impersonals is not attested, and this is noteworthy, as nothing in principle prevents the OE from being moved to Spec_{TP} when the passive is employed. In an accusative language transitivity always depends on the relation between the two core Cases. Something similar has to be stated when the personal OE pattern is considered, even if it is rarely employed for both *placeo* and the *piget*-class.

Recall that the Experiencer is always inserted in the structure bearing a remarkable amount of features which trace back to different Proto-Roles; in the terms of

Landau (2010) it is basically an Oblique; thus, unless it is promoted to the subject position, Accusative assignment blurs part of the relevant features it bears, namely those belonging to the P-Recipient. As demonstrated by *placeo*, whose structure is probably more recent, the Dative is the preferred Case in the OE in the personal pattern. It is also employed with the psych *doleo*, which can be considered as a recent psych formation as well. Thus, given that Accusative assignment to the OE is a trace of a more ancient pattern, it is desirable that its nature is middle way between the actual Structural Accusative and an Inherent Case. This is also supported by the hypothesis that this kind of verbs undergoes a detransitivization process, in which the OE is progressively reanalysed as an Oblique and finally reaches the subject position.

Partially different observations can be made about Accusative assignment to the Stimulus in the SE pattern. Data show that the Stimulus can be assigned the Genitive or other Inherent Cases and it can be optionally assigned the Accusative. This is a clear case of transitivity: the structure is totally aligned with the core transitive pattern, whose traces are already evident in non-finite forms in the Classical Age. If we assume that the rule at work in the OE pattern is applied also in this case, the conclusion is that the Stimulus receives an Inherent Accusative, i.e. a transitional Case towards a full transitive structure. Thus, impersonal forms are de-transitivized and re-transitivized in Late Latin, along the line of a progressive loss of non-accusative features towards a gradual alignment with a stable transitive pattern.

What is expected is that impersonal forms finally evolve in regular transitive patterns. This cannot be inferred on the basis of the data I presented in this section, since the transitive SE structure is quite late and its possible successive steps cannot be observed. Rather, the fact that the object Stimulus bears Inherent Accusative Case has to be accounted for.

My proposal is that this can be done by analysing the data of the other psych verbs of the \bar{e} class. These verbs are attested in a personal SE pattern in the Classical Age and go further, if compared to impersonal verbs, whose structure is preserved longer. I will deal with this kind of predicates in the next chapter.

7. Concluding remarks

In order to conclude this chapter, I would like to summarize some crucial points about the syntax of the impersonal \bar{e} -verbs and of *placeo*.

The analysis I have drawn shows that:

- (a) The verbs of the *piget*-class are attested in different patterns and show a high degree of syntactic variation in time.
- (b) The basic type - which is preserved until the very Late Period - displays an impersonal configuration in which the Experiencer is assigned the Accusative and the Stimulus is assigned the Genitive. This pattern undergoes a progressive change in time, with a clear tendency towards a personal configuration.
- (c) The progressive development of a personal pattern can lead to: (i) an SE configuration, in which the Stimulus is assigned the Genitive or an Inherent Case (only in the Late Period it can be assigned the Accusative); (ii) a very rare OE configuration, in which the Experiencer is assigned the Accusative.
- (d) The verb *placeo* also shows a similar syntactic development: on the one hand, it is stably attested in an OE pattern in which the Experiencer bears the Dative; on the other, in the Late Period it shows a tendency to be aligned with the core transitive pattern, thus being attested in an Exp_{Nom}/Stim_{Acc} configuration. Also in this case, the OE pattern with an Accusative-marked Experiencer is displayed only rarely.
- (e) The verbs of the *piget*-class share with *placeo* an interesting characteristic: even if they are attested in a personal SE structure only in the Late Period, traces of a core transitive configuration can be observed already in the Classical Age, when non-finite forms (the participle, the gerund and the gerundive) are employed. This signals that, even if before the Late Period only non-SE syntactic configurations are attested, these verbs are logically aligned with the core transitive pattern already in previous stages of the language.

As for the impersonal pattern, I have proposed that it traces back to a non-accusative rule, which is deemed to be characteristic of an ancient non-attested stage of Latin. This impersonal type is maintained in the language as a marked configuration, in that it correctly signals the non-volitional and spontaneous relation established between the arguments of this kind of verbs. Anyway, as demonstrated by the data, a tendency to the progressive alignment of this type with the core transitive pattern is clearly observable.

The comparison with ergative languages is particularly interesting in this respect, since the Stimulus of impersonals probably traces back to an Instrumental-like value of the ancient Genitive, thus being comparable to the Ergative employed in non-accusative systems. The impersonal pattern, therefore, focuses on the Experiencer, in that it receives the Patient-like Case, which is to be compared with the Absolutive of ergative languages. Namely, I have proposed to recognize in this kind of structure a transimpersonal configuration, which is progressively de-transitivized in time. This means that, while the most ancient pattern displayed by these verbs actually is a transitive impersonal type, it is then re-analysed as an impersonal pattern with a quirky Experiencer. The Experiencer is therefore re-analysed as the syntactic subject of the predicate, and this is due to the strong predominance of animacy, which is a determining factor for Case assignment in accusative languages. Once an SE pattern has been triggered, these verbs tend to be “re-transitivized”, i.e. they tend to be aligned with the core transitive pattern in a SE configuration, in which the Stimulus bears the Accusative. Anyway, the $Exp_{Nom}/Stim_{Acc}$ pattern is scarcely attested, as it arises only in the very Late Period.

In the second part of the chapter, I have outlined my own proposal of formalization. I have based my analysis on the most relevant previous research on the topic. Namely, I have argued for a structure which is characterized as follows:

- (f) Both the arguments of these verbs are VP internal; they are inserted in the structure by means of a SC projection, which correctly formalizes their “fluid” syntactic relation. If we consider the proposals which have been recalled at the beginning of this chapter, the hypothesis that is more likely to be maintained is that of B&R and Pesetsky, according to which both the arguments of stative psych verbs are generated in a position lower than V. Analyses emphasizing the affinity of the SE verbs with the core transitive predicates fail to capture the specificity of the former, which are clearly constrained with respect to transitivity.
- (g) The Experiencer of these verbs is an internal argument. This means that the impersonal structure is the most similar to the underlying configuration of this class of predicates. Thus, all the other patterns can be considered as derived from this core configuration, by means of a specific syntactic mechanism.

In order to account for the different attested patterns, I have adopted a version of the VP layer in which the lexical and the functional sub-layers are kept separate. My claim is that both the Experiencer and the Stimulus are inserted in the syntax bearing a wide range of thematic features. Both arguments contain a feature capable to promote them to the subject position; this can be obtained if the argument is attracted to $\text{Spec}_{\text{vCause}P}$, which is the highest projection of the vP sub-layer.

Also *placeo* shares this peculiar underlying configuration and, as a consequence, its different patterns are obtained by means of the same syntactic mechanism.

As I will show in the next chapter, this configuration is also shared by the SE verbs of the \bar{e} -class, which can be considered as internal-subject predicates. In the next chapter I will also consider in depth the syntax of the Accusative assigned to the Experiencer and to the Stimulus of psych \bar{e} -verbs. Here, I have argued that, in both cases of detransitivization and transitivization, an Inherent Accusative is assigned to the Experiencer and to the Stimulus respectively. This is a very crucial point for my analysis, since the presence of an Inherent Accusative accounts for some syntactic constraints which are evident when the syntax of psych \bar{e} -verbs is considered. Anyway, since this problem is particularly relevant for the SE verbs of this class, I will deal with it in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

The SE pattern and the nature of the Inherent Accusative

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have analysed the syntax of the verbs of the *piget*-class and of *placeo*. I have proposed that they undergo a process of detransitivization and that they are successively re-transitivized. This finally leads to a full alignment with the core transitive pattern.

In this chapter I will discuss the syntax of some transitive \bar{e} -verbs which assign Accusative Case to a superficial internal argument. The verbs I will treat in this section are grouped on the basis of a common factor: their transitive pattern always implies a psych reading. Moreover, as will become clear in the course of the chapter, they are all attested in a transitive structure starting from the Classical Period onwards.

If we look back to the discussion about the property predicates of the \bar{e} -class, it emerges that a semantic shift from a physic reading to a psych value is not uncommon. Nevertheless, among the verbs which undergo such a process, only those described in this section are attested in a transitive pattern⁵⁵.

The standard type I will discuss is the following:

- (1) Experiencer_{Nom} – Stimulus/Cause_{Acc}

As can be seen, the pattern in (1) is comparable to the late transitive configuration of the *piget*-class. The main difference is that the verbs I will present in this chapter are already attested in such a transitive structure in the Classical Age. As will be explained later on, this allows for a more detailed analysis of the general phenomenon of transitivization.

Before turning to illustrate the syntax of each of these predicates, there are two major facts which are worth noticing:

- (i) If we consider their basic meaning and etymology, these verbs are not totally homogeneous. As will be clarified, some of them are true

⁵⁵ Recall that some predicates, such as *rubeo*, undergo a semantic shift, but are always attested in a monoargumental structure (ch. 1. §4.)

denominative property predicates with a depictive value, while others display verbal roots or even (as happens with *doleo*) a probable causative origin.

- (ii) If we consider transitivity, they behave alike. Thus, even if these predicates are not homogeneous in nature, once they have undergone transitivity, they are aligned with a sole common pattern.

Since these structures show a high degree of variation in time, a closer look at their diachronic development is needed in order to correctly define their underlying configuration.

I will firstly list the verbs which are attested in a transitive structure, so as to successively analyse their data in detail:

Table 1

Verb	Intransitive meaning	Transitive meaning
<i>Ardeo</i>	To be on fire	To have a burning love for someone
<i>Calleo</i>	To be callous To be expert	To know something thoroughly
<i>Doleo</i>	To ache/hurt To be afflicted	To feel pain in some part of the body To be afflicted at
<i>Gaudeo</i>	To be joyful	To be joyful because of something
<i>Horreo</i>	To bristle/to stand erect To be afraid/to be horrified	To be afraid of/horrified at something
<i>Maereo</i>	To be sad	To mourn something
<i>Palleo</i>	To be/look pale To fear	To fear something
<i>Paveo</i>	To fear	To fear something
<i>Stupeo</i>	To be benumbed To be astonished	To be astonished at something

As anticipated above, some of them have a primary physic meaning, i.e. they are property predicates. Some others have a not straightforward etymology. Anyway, they all share the possibility to have a psych reading and represent in this respect a homogeneous group.

An interesting shared characteristic of these verbs is the fact that their transitive structure is attested later than the intransitive one. As will be clear in the course of the chapter, this is related to the fact that their transitive configuration is a “derived configuration”. In most cases, the transitive use is strictly connected with the psych meaning: verbs like *horreo*, *calleo* and *doleo* only have a mental reading when they are

used as transitives. On the contrary, the intransitive structure can display both the mental and the non-mental reading.

Recall that also the impersonal psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class can be attested in a SE transitive structure in the Late Period. As I have explained in detail in the previous chapter, this happens when a personalization process takes place: the Experiencer receives the Nominative, since, thanks to its [+human] feature, it is considered prominent with respect to the Stimulus; the Stimulus can receive an Inherent Case or it can be assigned the Accusative in a fully aligned prototypical structure.

My proposal will be that the verbs listed in *Table 1* undergo the same process as impersonals. Interestingly, they cannot be generally traced back to an impersonal structure of the type of *piget*. Nevertheless, if we assume that they are internal-Experiencer predicates with an internal Causer, they can be considered akin to impersonals. From this statement it follows that, as far as transitivization is concerned, they instantiate a further development with respect to the syntactic stage observed for the impersonals of the *piget*-type. In other words, since these verbs are already attested in a transitive structure in the Classical Age, they enable us to observe how the transitivization process develops after the Experiencer and the Stimulus have been syntactically encoded in the prototypical transitive relation. As I recalled in the previous chapter, this cannot be observed by examining the data of the verbs of the *piget*-class and of *placeo*, because they are only attested in a transitive structure in the Late Period.

In what follows, I will firstly present the data of the verb *doleo*, which deserves a very detailed investigation (§2.). After having discussed the nature of the Accusative assigned by this verb in its transitive use (§3.), in §4. I will outline my own proposal of analysis. In the second part of this chapter, I will present the other verbs included in *Table 1* (§5.) and I will then discuss their syntax in detail. In §6. I will finally discuss the syntax of transitivization under a formal perspective, by referring to the entire group of the verbs presented in this chapter.

2. *Doleo*

Doleo is a highly problematic verb, since, differently from the others grouped in this section, it probably has a causative underlying structure. It is supposed to derive from the PIE root *delh₁-, “to chop”, with the addition of the morpheme *-eye- (de Vaan, 2008). In this respect, it is comparable to predicates like *iubeo* (“to command”),

mordeo (“to bite”) and *tondeo* (“to shear”). Thus, *doleo* primarily means “to make something be split/somebody feel split”; the meaning “to cause pain” has been inherited from the physic reference. As the data below clearly show, the verb is not attested in an overt causative structure. It is always attested in a personal configuration in which the affected entity (or at least one of the affected entities) occupies the subject position. Thus, even if *doleo* has an underlying causative structure, its superficial configuration is that of an intransitive predicate. Interestingly, this verb also shares some characteristics with property predicates. This is firstly signalled by the fact that it displays a rich paradigm (the “Caland system”; see Watkins, 1971: ch. 1. §2.), following the model of *caleo*: it includes the noun *dolor* (“ache, pain”), the form *perdolesco* (“to feel great pain”) and the late adjective *dolidus* (“painful”, V c. A.D.). This range of possibilities is generally not attested for causative verbs. Consider, for instance, the case of *moneo*, for which all the following forms are not attested: **monesco*, **monidus*, **monor*⁵⁶. Therefore, we can suppose that *doleo* is somehow interpreted as a descriptive predicate, a fact which arises from its primary physic reference. This becomes clearer if one considers that the causative meaning of *doleo* implies that the causally affected entity is in a certain physical state for a given period of time. In order to better understand this, *moneo* and *doleo* can be compared:

- (2) a. *doleo*: “X makes Y split, Y is/feels split”
 b. *moneo*: “X makes Y think, Y thinks (of)”

Albeit the causative relation is the same, the resulting state is quite different in nature: (2a) signifies a physical property of the affected entity, while (2b) does not. Moreover, since *-idus* forms primarily refer to the physic characteristics of an entity, *doleo* is a good candidate to be analysed as a property predicate. As for its actional nature, *doleo* can be considered as a caused eventuality, in that it entails the presence of a Causer (a DP or a whole CP, which denotes an event or a fact) and can be read as “developing” in time. Notice that, while in Latin no progressive form is available, in other languages the corresponding verbs can be used in the progressive form:

⁵⁶ Forms which are related to *moneo* are generally agent-oriented, as *monitor* “counselor, instructor” (Ernout and Meillet, 1959). As for its etymology, *moneo* is supposed to stem from the *o*-grade of the root **men* (“think (of)”, see *memini*), with the addition of the causative morpheme (de Vaan, 2008).

- (3) a. I'm feeling pain again
 b. In questi giorni sto soffrendo molto per te/ il freddo/ di asma
 in these days stay_{1stSing} suffering much for you/ the cold/ of asthma
 "In these days I'm suffering a lot for you/ from cold/ from asthma"

This signals that the predicate has a non-static nature, since it has to be rather read as a stative eventuality with functional integrated participants.

The basic meaning of *doleo* is therefore physic, with an internal caused object. As I will explain later on, this object can either be the Possessor/Experiencer or the part of the body which is affected by the physical hurt. The possibility to attribute this Patient-like nature to the Experiencer of the psych *doleo* as well, is intriguing, in that it recalls the discussion about the compositional nature of this role (see ch. 1. §7.2.). Moreover, starting from this assumption, it can be easily claimed that the structure of this verb is Experiencer-internal, as happens with other psych stative verbs. Therefore, in order to propose such an interpretation, it is necessary to correctly outline the relationship between the two references of the verb. This enables to better understand how they are structurally related to each other.

With the purpose to shed some light on this problem, I will now present the relevant data, so as to describe the possible structures of *doleo* in greater detail.

2.1. *Physic reference*

Under the physic reference (PH), *doleo* is attested in a biargumental OE structure, in which the Nominative is assigned to the aching part of the body and the animate Experiencer receives the Dative. This type is widespread until the Late Period and is quite similar to the pattern displayed in modern Romance languages, as Italian (4a) and Spanish (4b). Notice that in Latin the Experiencer can be kept silent if it has a non referential or a generic value⁵⁷ (5c):

- (4) a. Mi duole un dente
 me_{Dat} aches a tooth_{Nom}
 "One of my teeth aches"

⁵⁷ The omission of the Experiencer is attested already in Plautus (like in Aul. 691, Bacch. 1173)

b. Me duele la cabeza

me_{Dat} aches the head_{Nom}

“My head aches”

(5) a. misero nunc mihi malae dolent (Plaut. Amph. 408)

poor_{DatMascSing} now me_{Dat} bad_{NomFemPlur} hurt_{3rdPlur}

“For even now, to my pain, my cheeks are tingling”

(transl. H. T. Riley)

b. cum homini pedes dolere coepissent (Varro rust. 1, 2, 27)

when man_{Dat} feet_{Nom} to-ache began_{Subj3rdPlur}

“As soon as the man’s feet began to ache”

c. tumor capitis dolet (Aug. Epist. 73, 4)

tumefaction_{Nom} head_{Gen} aches

“A bump aches”

Alternatively (but rarely⁵⁸) the Experiencer can receive the Nominative, and in this case the part of the body is generally not expressed, with the consequence that the verb signifies that an animate (and human) entity generically “feels pain in their body”:

(6) a. totus doleo atque oppido perii (Plaut. Aul. 410)

whole_{MascNomSing} ache_{1stSing} and utterly died_{1stSing}

“I’m aching all over, and am utterly done for” (transl. H.T. Riley)

b. cum varices secabantur C. Marius dolebat

when varicose-veins were-sliced C. Marius_{Nom} felt-pain_{3rdSing}

“While his varicose veins were being sliced C. Marius felt pain”

(Cic. Tusc. 2, 35)

Under this configuration, rare cases in which the part of the body is expressed are attested: in these cases it is introduced by a P with a Source value:

⁵⁸The TLL s.v. *doleo* lists less than thirty examples of this use before the Late Period.

- (7) doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis, doleo
 feel-pain_{1stSing} from soul_{Abl} feel-pain_{1stSing} from eyes_{Abl} feel-pain_{1stSing}
 ab aegritudine (Plavt. Cist. 60)
 from faintness_{Abl}
 “I am pained in spirits, I feel pain in my eyes, I am in pain from
 faintness” (transl. H. T. Riley)

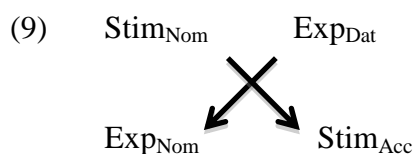
In this example the subject of *doleo* is the Experiencer/Possessor while the part of the body is expressed as a PP, which has a circumstantial value.

Several cases of a SE pattern are attested in the Late Period (see 8a), starting from Fronto (II c. A.D.) onwards. In the same age, the verb can also assign the Accusative to the part of the body, thus giving rise to a transitive clause of the type in (8b):

- (8) a. cum (...) in partu laborans doleret (Pass. Perp. 15, 5)
 as in labour_{Abl} suffering_{Nom} felt-pain_{Subj}
 “As she was suffering because of labour pains”
 b. graviter oculos dolui (Fronto p. 182, 18)
 considerably eyes_{Acc} felt-pain_{1stSing}
 “I felt terrible pain in my eyes”

As can be seen, in (8b) the structure is fully transitivized and the animate entity is in the prominent subject position.

It is interesting to notice that, if the original OE pattern and the final SE pattern are compared, a clear syntactic “inversion” can be observed:



This process is akin to that of *placeo* and traces back to a transitivization process in which the Stimulus is read as the internal object of the verb, while the Experiencer occupies the position which is typical for the subject.

The comparison between *doleo* and *placeo* is strengthened by the fact that the

- c. mihi dolebit (...), si quid ego stulte
 me_{Dat} will-suffer_{3rdSing} if something_{AccNeut} I stupidly
 fecero. (Plaut. Men. 439)
 will-have-done_{1stSing}
 “I will feel badly If I do something stupid”
- d. illud scio quam doluerit cordi meo
 that_{AccNeut} know_{1stSing} how-much suffered_{Subj3rdSing} heart_{Dat} my_{Dat}
 “I know how much that has caused pain to my heart”
 (Plaut. Amph. 922)
- e. An ioci dolent? (Verg. Catal. 13, 17)
 maybe jokes_{Nom} hurt_{3rdPlur}
 “Do jokes make you suffer?”
- f. doluit mihi casus patri (Pass. Perp. 6, 5)
 ached_{3rdSing} me_{Dat} misfortune_{Nom} father_{Gen}
 “I was sorry because of the father’s misfortune”

Between the III and II c. B.C. the SE pattern occurs more rarely than the Dative OE configuration. The SE pattern is attested in Plautus in two examples with a complement governed by the Ps *ex* or *ab* (7 is here repeated as 11b):

- (11) a. satis iam dolui ex animo (Plaut. Capt. 928)
 enough already was-afflicted_{1stSing} from soul_{Abl}
 “Enough now have I grieved from my very soul” (transl. H.T. Riley)
- b. doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis, doleo ab aegritudine (Plaut. Cist. 60)
 “I am pained in spirits, I feel pain in my eyes, I am in pain from faintness” (transl. H. T. Riley)

In both (11a) and (11b) the PPs *ex animo* and *ab animo* have an ambiguous role, which has a compositional nature. This is shown by Riley’s translation: notice that in (11b) the phrases *ab animo* and *ab oculi* are differently rendered, even if they are headed by the same P. In Latin, the P *ab* primarily signifies a Source, which is a common feature for the Stimulus of psych verbs, as exemplified by the successive *ab aegritudine*, which has a clear Cause value. In the different structures presented so far, the Stimulus of *doleo* identifies the abstract or the concrete part of the body from which the pain arises or on

which the pain has consequences; anyway, in case of “mental pain”, anything can serve as Stimulus, abstract causes and events included.

In the later periods this type is generally attested in a structure in which the Stimulus bears Ablative Case (12a), and this pattern becomes common in the Classical Age:

- (12) a. vos potius meo casu doleatis quam
 you_{Nom} rather my_{Abl} misfortune_{Abl} are-afflicted_{Subj2ndPlur} than
 ego vestro ingemescerem (Aem. Pavl. or. frg. Val. Max. 5, 10, 2)
 I your_{Abl} mourned_{1stSing}
 “You suffer because of my misfortune more than I suffer because of yours”
- b. illorum nos sollicitudine, non nostris incommodis dolere.
 those_{Gen} we worry_{Abl} Neg our_{Abl} troubles_{Abl} to-be-afflicted
 “We suffer because of their worry and not for our troubles”
 (Rhet. Her. 2, 31, 50)

Ablative Case assignment reveals that in such cases the Stimulus has a Cause-oriented value. I have already treated the nature of the Stimulus in detail (ch. 2. §3.3.1.). On the basis of the previous discussion, I will recall here that in Classical Latin the Ablative is employed as the Instrumental, i.e. as a low Cause. In examples like (12a)-(12b) it has an ambiguous status, as it can be interpreted both as an argument and as a circumstantial complement.

In Late Latin, starting from Tertullian (II c. A.D.), the Stimulus can be expressed as a PP headed by *de* or *super*, especially when it is perceived as external with respect to the Experiencer:

- (13) a. dolemus de ignorantia vestra (Tert. Scap. 1 p. 540)
 are-afflicted_{1stPlur} about ignorance_{Abl} your_{AblSing}
 “We suffer because of your ignorance”
- b. deus doluit super miseriis eorum (Vulg. Iud. 10, 16)
 god_{Nom} suffered_{3rdSing} on troubles_{Abl} they_{Gen}
 “God suffered because of their miseries”

In (13) the Ps introduce complements which have a clear Matter value, i.e. they introduce the entity “about” which the subject suffers. Notice that in the Late Period the meanings of *doleo* tend to further diversify, assuming different nuances like that of “to feel sorrow” and “to feel compassion”⁵⁹. This is also shown by the regular use of a full transitive pattern.

I will discuss this point in the next paragraph.

2.3. *The transitive pattern of doleo*

In Early Latin, *doleo* is rarely attested in a transitive pattern and never in the OE configuration, since in this case the Experiencer is always assigned Dative Case. As already noticed in the previous section, in the SE structure the Stimulus is rarely present, and when it is, this preferably happens by means of a P. However, sporadic cases of a transitive configuration are attested also in Early Latin. In such cases, a neuter pronoun bears the Accusative:

- (14) Haec ego doleo (Plaut. Trin. 288)
 these-things_{SAccNeut} I feel-pain_{1stSing}
 “Because of these things I suffer”

This is consistent with what arises from the analysis of the OE pattern, under which, before the Classical Period, the Stimulus is always expressed as a neuter pronoun. However, the two patterns do not completely overlap, since the SE construction does not select for a CP before the Classical Age.

Starting from the I c. B.C., *doleo* is often attested in a SE structure in which a full-referential DP Stimulus bears the Accusative:

- (15) Ut nemo filii mortem magis doluerit quam
 so-that nobody_{Nom} son_{Gen} death_{Acc} more felt-pain_{Subj3rdSing} than
 ille maeret patris (Cic. Phil, 9, 12)
 that_{NomMasc} mourns father_{Gen}

⁵⁹ This is also due to the fact that, starting from the II c. A.D., a massive work of translation of Greek religious texts starts. This leads to use some well-attested Latin forms to render Greek lexicon, with a consequent widening of their original meaning.

“So that nobody suffered for the death of the son more than he did for that of the father”

What is interesting is that, differently from what happens with the intransitive SE pattern, this structure is widely attested in the Classical Age, indeed being the most frequent. Instead of a full DP, the verb can also select for a CP headed by *quod* (with a causal value) (16a) or also be expressed by means of the “Accusative + Infinitive” (16b):

- (16) a. *dolebam quod consortem amiseram* (Cic. Brut. 2)
 felt-pain_{1stSing} because wife_{Acc} had-lost_{1stSing}
 “I was suffering because I had lost my wife”
- b. *ut id ipsum doleam me non habere*
 so-that it_{AccNeut} itself_{AccNeut} feel-pain_{Subj1stSing} me_{Acc} Neg to-have
 “So that I suffer because I do not have that”
- (Cic. Att. 3, 15, 2)

In the Post-Classical Period - namely starting from the I c. A.D – the fully transitive use increases (17a). The verb is attested in the meaning “to mourn”, and can assign both the Accusative (17b) and the Dative (17c), while the Genitive is less frequently attested (17d):

- (17) a. *et dolere ruinas fratrum nostrorum* (Cypr. epist. 17, 1)
 and to-mourn tragedies_{Acc} brothers_{Gen} our_{Gen}
 “And that you suffer because of the miseries of our brothers”
- b. *Nostros quasi perditos lugemus atque dolemus*
 our_{Acc} as-if dead_{AccPlur} cry_{3rdPlur} and mourn_{3rdPlur}
 “We mourn our friends as if they were dead and we suffer for that”
- (Cypr. mort. 21, p. 310, 15)
- c. *Illi magis quam sibi doluit.* (Greg. M. dial. 2,8 p148c)
 that_{Dat} more than himself_{Dat} suffered_{3rdSing}
 “He was in pain more for him than for himself”
- d. *Sed doleo vestri* (Comm. Instr. 2, 20, 2)
 but suffer_{1stSing} you_{GenPlur}

“But I suffer because of you”

The use of the Dative signals the Beneficiary nature of the complement, while the Genitive is probably employed along the lines it was used for the psych verbs of the *piget*-class.

2.4. Summing up

The following table summarizes the different syntactic structures of *doleo* in its diachronic development:

Table 2

	First Period		Second Period		Third Period		
Values	Physic	psych	physic	psych	physic	psych	“to mourn”
OE	Stim _{Nom} + Exp _{Dat}	Stim _{Nom} (Neut. Pron.) + Exp _{Dat}	Stim _{Nom} + Exp _{Dat}	Stim _{Nom} (Neut. Pron.) + Exp _{Dat}	Stim _{Nom} + Exp _{Dat}	Stim _{Nom} (Neut. Pron.) + Exp _{Dat}	Not attested
		Stim _{CP} + Exp _{Dat}		Stim _{CP} + Exp _{Dat}		Stim _{CP} + Exp _{Dat}	
SE	Exp _{Nom} (+ Stim _{Obl})	Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Acc} (Neut. Pron.)	Exp _{Nom} (+ Stim _{Obl})	Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Abl}	Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Acc}	Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Abl}	Transitive
				Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Acc}		Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{Acc}	
						Exp _{Nom} + Stim _{PP}	

As can be seen, the number of the possible structures for *doleo* progressively increases in time. In the Late Period all the previous patterns are attested, but a further range of options is also available.

The main point I will concentrate on is the nature of the transitive pattern. Indeed, in order to investigate the way in which transitivity develops in time, it is necessary to wonder whether there is a difference between the transitive type of the Classical Age (i.e. the first case of transitivization with a lexical Stimulus) and the later type. This can be done by applying some useful tests, which are helpful to better define the status of the syntactic object of this verb.

In the next section I will discuss the passivization and the relativization of *doleo*. These tests are supposed to be an appropriate tool to investigate transitivity and I have

briefly recalled them when the Experiencer of the *piget*-type has been discussed (ch. 2. §4.1.). I have stated that the constraint on A-movement is typical for non-canonical objects and that the constraint on relativization is connected with the “derived” nature of the objects which bear an Inherent Accusative because of a (de)transitivization process. I will propose that the transitive pattern of the SE verbs I am dealing with in this chapter is akin to that of the *piget*-class. As I have recalled in the previous chapter, the SE pattern of the *piget*-type cannot be properly investigated because it is attested only very late and rarely. *Doleo* is instead abundantly attested in the transitive SE pattern. In the next paragraph the assumption that transitivization involves the assignment of an Inherent Accusative will be further illustrated thanks to the data of *doleo* and a wider range of cross-linguistic data will be also presented.

2.5. *On passivization and relativization*

2.5.1. *Passivization*

One of the most intriguing properties of the transitive *doleo* is a probable constraint on passivization. This has been first noticed by Oniga (2007), although this hypothesis has not been corroborated in the text by a relevant amount of data. I will provide some evidence for this in the following pages.

Until the V c. A.D., *doleo* is never attested in the passive. Some rare examples of a passive structure arise in the Late Period and sporadically in late Classical poetry. The following instance from Statius (I c. A.D.) is the first case of a passive employment of the verb:

- (18) *eximius licet ille animi meritusque doleri*
illustrious_{Nom} even-if that_{Nom} soul_{Gen} deserving_{Nom}-and to-be-mourned
 “Even if he is illustrious and deserves to be mourned”

(Stat. sil. 2, 6, 97)

Anyway, this example traces back to a slight different meaning of *doleo*, i.e. the late value “to mourn”, which is characterized by a full transitive structure (see *Table 2*). On the contrary, in the original meaning “to suffer because of something” the verb is never attested in a inflected passive form before the Late Period.

Interestingly, as happens with the verbs of the *piget*-class, non-finite forms represent the first cases of a “passive” use of *doleo*. The verb can be employed in the gerundive, mostly in the neuter, when the impersonal form is used, or as an adjective with the meaning “painful”:

- (19) a. *istuc et doleo et dolendum puto* (Cic. Brut. 23)
 this_{Acc} and feel-pain_{1stSing} and suffer_{GerundivumAccNeut} think_{1stSing}
 “I deplore it and I recognized that is is a thing to be deplored”
- b. *tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum*
 however be-happy_{GerundivumAccNeut} more than mourn_{GerundivumAccNeut}
puto casum tuom (Sall. Iug. 14, 22)
 think_{1stSing} situation_{Acc} your_{Acc}
 “Anyway, I think that one should be joyful because of your case
 rather than be sad because of it”

In these examples, the form *dolendus* has an adjectival value, which does not coexist with a inflected non-finite passive form. Notice that the comparison with the verbs of the *piget*-class is straightforward: as I have already pointed out, the gerundive must agree with the syntactic object of the verb; hence, since *doleo* is at least superficially aligned with the transitive pattern, the Stimulus can be considered as the appropriate item with which the gerundive has to agree. This is an interesting trace of the incoming transitivity process: namely, while Accusative assignment does not necessarily imply a fully transitive pattern, the first case of passivization is attested when an adjectival form is used. Moreover, the gerundive is employed in the impersonal configuration with the meaning “it is necessary to suffer”, with no obligatory internal object: this structure can be considered as a first step towards full passivization.

The probable ban on the passive is noteworthy if compared with the frequent and regular attestation of the passive form with other transitive SE verbs, such as *amo* and *timeo*. Interestingly, from the earlier stages of the language onwards, these verbs show a stable syntactic structure, and easily allow for A-movement:

- (20) a. *ab his solis amatur* (Cic. Verr. 2,4)
 from these_{Abl} alone_{AblPlur} is-loved
 “He is loved only by these people”

b. tamquam domini timentur (Cic. Parad. 5, 40)

like bosses_{Nom} are-feared_{3rdPlur}

“They are feared as they are bosses”

Moreover, starting from the V c. A.D., *doleo* is attested in the passive under the whole range of meanings it has acquired:

(21) a. interitus senum minus doletur (Serv., Comm., 1, 35)

death_{Nom} old-people_{Gen} less is-suffered

“One suffers less for the death of old people”

b. demonstravit quod ibi sit necessaria successio,

showed_{3rdSing} that there is_{Subj} necessary_{NomFemSing} succession_{NomFemSing}

ubi doletur decessio (Aug. Psalm. 39, 65, 1)

where is-mourned death_{NomFemSing}

“This showed that a succession is needed where the death is mourned”

c. si innocens fuerit, timeri (...) non potest, sed

if innocent_{NomSing} was_{Subj} to-be-feared Neg can_{3rdSing} but

doleri (Ps. Aug. Quaest. Test. I 114, 23)

to-be-mourned

“If he were innocent, one cannot fear him, but rather mourn him”

As can be seen, in these sentences the meaning of *doleo* is ambiguous between “to suffer because of something” and “to mourn”. Thus, in Late Latin the more recent reading “to mourn” allows for the passive with no passage through a non-transitive structure (as can be already seen in Statius, in 18). The older reading is not attested in the passive, and this means that its syntactic status is different from that of the more recent meaning, namely that the objects of the two types are not syntactically equivalent.

The constraint on passivization is generally referred to as depending on the peculiar status of the syntactic object. Provided that we can correctly describe the nature of the non-passivizable object of *doleo*, it is necessary to define the syntactic mechanism which is responsible for this. Given that Latin is a language in which a constraint on passivization does exist, we expect that other verbs will show the same behaviour as *doleo*. In the \bar{e} -class *doleo* is actually non-isolated if its relationship with

the passive form is considered. Indeed, all the verbs of *Table 1* show comparable characteristics. I will describe them in the second part of this chapter (§5.). In the next paragraph, I will take into account one more peculiar syntactic behaviour of *doleo*, so as to enrich the picture I have drawn so far.

2.5.2. *Relativization*

A second remarkable characteristic of the transitive *doleo* is that it is not attested in relative clauses on the object before the Late Period. One more time, this is a peculiar property of this predicate (and, more generally, of the verbs I am dealing with in this chapter), since other SE verbs (like *amo* and *timeo*) are regularly attested in relative clauses on the object.

As for *doleo*, the relativization of the object is extremely rare in Classical Latin and is limited to specific syntactic contexts:

- (22) a. *Quin tu omissa ista nocturna*
 why-not you_{Nom} let-go_{PartAblFemSing} this_{AblFemSing} nocturnal_{AblFemSing}
fabula ad id quod doles (...) reverteris?
 dream_{AblFemSing} to that_{AccNeut} which_{AccNeut} suffer_{2ndSing} go-back_{2ndSing}
 “Why, once you have abandoned this night-dream, don’t you go back to your sufferings?” (Liv. 40, 15, 1)
- b. *Non enim omnia quae dolemus eadem*
 Neg in-fact all-things_{Acc} which_{AccNeutPlur} suffer_{1stPlur} the-same_{AccNeutPlur}
queri iure possumus (Cic. Pro Flacc. 57)
 to-lament reasonably can_{1stPlur}
 “In fact we cannot justly complain about all the things for which we suffer”
- c. *Et gaude quod aduc dolebas,*
 and enjoy_{Imperat2ndSing} which_{AccNeutSing} just-now suffered_{2ndSing}
Fabricium non posse corrumpi (Sen. epist. 120, 6)
 Fabricius_{Acc} Neg to-can to-be-bribed
 “And rejoice because of the thing you have been suffering from, that Fabricius cannot be bribed”

(22a) and (22b) are light-headed relative clauses in which the antecedent of the *wh*- is a neuter pronoun. Both sentences could be easily expressed as F(ree) R(relative) C(lauses) without any consequent ambiguity: this shows that the antecedent *id* has a low referential degree. (22c) actually is a FRC, in which the *wh*- anticipates a CP to its right and has therefore a proleptic value: also in this case it has a low referential degree. The proleptic use of the neuter pronoun is already attested in ancient texts, in Plautus and in other coeval works; indeed, the insertion of a proleptic pronoun is one of the acknowledged processes which lead to the passage from original intransitive structures to a transitive pattern (Hoffman-Szantyr, 1972). Recall that, as clearly emerges from the analysis of the data, the neuter pronoun is the first to be employed as a syntactic object of the transitive *doleo*. On this line, it is possible to suppose that it is the first to be relativized as well. Thus, its use in Seneca is not surprising, nor is the fact that it is inserted in a relative clause with a very low referential value.

A case of relativization of the object can also be the following:

- (23) quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo
 whom_{AccSing} because rightly him_{Dat} enemy_{Nom} was_{1stSing} suffer_{1stSing}
 esse a te omnibus uitiiis iam superatum (Cic. Phil. 2, 17)
 to-be from you_{Abl} all_{AblPlur} vices_{Abl} already beaten_{AccMascSing}
 “Since I was rightly his enemy, I suffer because of the fact that he was
 already beaten by you with respect to all vices”

Anyway, in this case a different mechanism for Case assignment must be supposed, since the *wh*- *quem* is the syntactic subject of an embedded clause expressed by means of the “Accusative + Infinitive”. Even if one supposes that *quem* is assigned the Accusative by the matrix verb *dolēre*⁶⁰, the mechanism at work is different in nature and no direct comparison with the transitive structure of *doleo* is allowed.

Interestingly, while the relativization of the object is quite totally absent in the Classical Period, it is instead attested when the Stimulus is represented by a PP or is assigned the Ablative:

⁶⁰ See Cecchetto and Oniga (2002) for a discussion about this mechanism.

- (24) a. *felicem, de quo laesa puella dolet!*
 happy_{AccMasc} about who_{AblMascSing} wounded_{NomFem} maiden_{Nom} suffers
 “Oh happy who the wounded maiden suffers about!”
 (Ov. ars am. 2, 447)
- b. *Hunc quoque, quo quondam nimium rivale*
 this_{AccSing} also whom_{AblMascSing} once too-much competitor_{Abl}
dolebas (Ov. Rem. 791)
 were-afflicted_{2ndSing}
 “Even him, for whom you once suffered too much, when he was your competitor”
- c. *Si discussum non est, qua dolet, cucurbitulas sine*
 If taken-away_{NomNeut} Neg is which_{Abl} feels-pain suckers_{Acc} without
ferro defigere (Cels. 4, 21)
 iron_{Abl} to-apply
 “If it is not cured, apply suckers to the aching point without any iron tool”
- d. *Hac qua recusas, qua doles, ferrum*
 this_{Abl} which_{Abl} refuse_{2ndSing} which_{Abl} feel-pain_{2ndSing} iron_{AccSing}
exigam (Sen. Med. 1006)
 will-pierce_{1stSing}
 “I will pierce you, right in the point you do not want to, exactly where you feel pain”

In (24a) the relativized item is a PP headed by *de*, while in (24b) the relativized Stimulus bears the Ablative: in (24c) the verb has a physic reading, thus it is based on the transitive structure I described above (see 8b); in (24d) the *wh-* has an adverbial value and the relativization is normally obtained.

Coherently with the data about the passive, in Late Latin (starting from the V c.), the relativization of the object is more frequently attested, mostly in contexts in which the verb has the meaning “to mourn”:

- (25) a. Ideo lugentibus inimica lux est, quia
 thus crying_{DatMascPlur} enemy_{NomFemSing} light_{NomFemSing} is because
 caruerunt ea hi quos dolent (Serv. comm. ad 2, 92)
 missed_{3rdPlur} her_{Abl} these_{Nom} whom_{AccPlur} mourn_{3rdPlur}
 “For this reason the light is an enemy for those who cry, because the
 people who they cry for lack just this”
- b. Proprium dolentibus praefestinare ad
 typical_{NomNeu} feeling-pain_{DatPlur} to-hurry to
 indicanda quae dolent
 indicate_{GerundivumAccNeutPlur} which_{AccNeutPlur} suffer_{3rdPlur}
 “It is typical for those who suffer to hurry up and indicate the reason
 why they suffer” (Claud. Don. Andr. 346, 9)
- c. Et quoniam filii res quam dolet, iusiurandum
 and because son_{Gent} thing_{NomFem} which_{AccFemSing} suffers oath_{AccSing}
 ponit (Eugraph. 579)
 takes
 “And since it is because of the son that he suffers, he takes an oath”
- d. ita ut pede uno, quem dolet (...)
 so that foot_{AblMasc} one_{AblMasc} which_{AccMascSing} feels-pain
 “So that the sole foot which aches...” (Marc. Emp. 25, 30)

In (25a) the *wh-* *quos* refers to an animate entity and the verb has the later value “to mourn”. In (25b) and (25c) the verb has the original meaning “suffer because of something”. In (25d) the verb has a physic reading and the passivization is possible, since, with this specific value, *doleo* is attested in a transitive pattern.

2.5.3. *Summing up*

The data I have presented so far show that both the relativization and passivization of *doleo* are constrained before the Late Period. Thus, the syntactic status of the verb progressively changes, since both A and \bar{A} -movement are more frequently attested in the Late Period.

The following table summarizes the syntactic behaviour of *doleo* with respect to passivization and relativization:

Table 3

	First Period (only neuter pronoun object)		Second Period		Third Period		
Meanings	physic	psych	physic	psych	physic	psych	“to mourn”
Passivization	Not attested	Not Attested	Not Attested	gerundive	Attested	Attested	Attested
Relativization	Not Attested	Not Attested	Not Attested	Rarely, with lowly referential <i>wh-</i>	Attested	Attested	Attested

Red: not attested

Yellow: attested in certain contexts

Green: attested

On the basis of Table 3, I will now briefly summarize the main peculiarities of this verb, so that I will finally focus on my own proposal of analysis.

From a general syntactic point of view, *doleo*:

- a. In Early Latin, has a basic biargumental structure, in which the Stimulus bears the Nominative in both PS and PH. Notice that, under PS the Stimulus is represented by a neuter pronoun or by a whole CP in an impersonal-like structure.
- b. Is attested in a SE structure from the earlier stage of Latin, in which the Stimulus mostly bears the Ablative or is governed by a P.
- c. Is consistently attested in a transitive structure from the Classical Period onwards. Previous attestations of this pattern are rare, and in these cases the syntactic object is a neuter pronoun (which can be proleptic with respect to a whole CP).

As for the properties of the transitive structure of *doleo*, it can be noticed that:

- a. Passivization is extremely rare in the Classical Age.
- b. The relativization of the object is uncommon before the Late Period.
- c. Starting from the V c. A.D. both passivization and relativization become more frequent, along with the widening of the possible meanings of *doleo*.

- d. The late meaning “to mourn” is regularly transitive and does not undergo a transitivization process, as instead happens with the PS “to suffer because of something”.

3. The Inherent Accusative

In the previous chapter I have discussed the nature of the Accusative assigned to the Experiencer of OE psych verbs, by reporting some cross-linguistic examples which have been collected in the literature on the topic (ch. 2. §4.1.). About the Accusative borne by the Stimulus in the transitive SE structure not much could be said, given the limited number of attestations of a Stim_{Acc} in the verbs of the *piget*-class. Cases like that of *doleo* are noteworthy examples of verbs with an anomalous syntactic object, which is not treated like the regular object of full transitive predicates. Along the lines of the reasoning I developed in the previous chapter, I will state that the Stimulus of *doleo* receives a non-Structural Accusative and that this is the reason why the transitive variant of *doleo* is constrained with respect to passivization and relativization. I will describe this “Inherent Accusative” as a kind of “transitional Accusative”, i.e. a case which is assigned to a transitivized or a detransitivized complement.

Notice that I have already employed this notion for the OE verbs of the *preoccupare*-class, as I have supposed that a non-structural Accusative is also assigned to the Experiencer of impersonals. Anyway, as I am going to explain, there are some interesting differences to be noticed about this point. I will immediately clarify this aspect by discussing the reasons that lead to consider passivization and relativization as relevant tests to investigate the nature of the Accusative.

3.1. The relevance of the constraints on passivization and relativization

Passivization is generally considered as a relevant test to identify Inherent Cases, since they are supposed to be always preserved under A-movement. This is due to the fact that, while Structural Cases have no straightforward semantic content, Inherent Cases are more stably associated with a range of semantic values. In Latin, for instance, the Dative is the Case of the Beneficiary and it generally identifies the argument which accumulates the greatest amount of Proto-Recipient features (along the lines of Primus, 1999). Similarly, the Ablative has a range of meanings including the Instrument and the

Source value, which can also be selected in syntax by dedicated Ps (Serbat, 1996). Therefore, an Inherent Case is generally defined as the Case which is *inherently* associated with a certain thematic position (Chomsky, 1981; Chomsky, 1986; Woolford, 2006, a.o.), so that it is predictable on the basis of the semantic properties of the verb.

The most common test applied to identify an Inherent Case is that of preservation under A-movement: indeed, Inherent Cases are preserved under A-movement, while Structural Cases are not. This is shown by well-known German examples like the following:

- (26) a. Ich helfe dem Jungen
 I help_{1stSing} the_{Dat} young_{Dat}
 “I help the boy”
 b. Dem Jungen wird geholfen
 the_{Dat} young_{Dat} is helped
 “The boy is helped”

In (26b) the Inherent Dative is preserved under passivization, since the verb is in the impersonal passive form. On the contrary, in sentences like (27) the Structural Case is not preserved in the passive:

- (27) Das Buch wird von allen gelesen
 the_{Nom} book_{Nom} is by all_{DatPlur} read
 “The book is read by all”

Given the definition of Inherent Case I recalled above, (27) can be accounted for if we suppose that Structural Cases do not bear any inherent information: under a specific syntactic requirement, they can be “transformed” and inserted in a different position. This happens since the loss of a Structural Case does not lead to the loss of unrecoverable information. Structural Cases are actually considered as “core cases”, which can be identified thanks to their canonical position in a sentence. As a consequence, they tend to be widely generalized and, even if they are prototypically associated with certain theta-roles (namely, the Agent and the Patient of the transitive sentence in accusative languages), they are employed as pure syntactic Cases; thus, they

saturate the selectional requirements of monoargumental and biargumental predicates in most cases. (Pinkster, 1985; Shibatani, 2009; see also *Introduction*). In accusative languages the Nominative is the Case of the sole argument of monoargumental predicates, regardless of the theta role it is assigned. Consider these examples from Italian:

- (28) a. Il bambino corre
 the boy_{Nom} runs
 b. Il bambino è biondo
 the boy_{Nom} is blonde
 c. Il bambino inciampa
 the boy_{Nom} stumbles

In (28) the sole argument of the three sentences is assigned the Nominative, even if it has different thematic features: according to the thematic hypothesis I illustrated in the previous chapter, it can be considered as a Theme in (b), an Agent in (a) and a Patient in (c). Accusative Case shows the same behaviour, as happens with SE psych verbs:

- (29) a. Il ladro ha ucciso Gianni
 the thief has killed Gianni_{Acc}
 b. Gianni ama i capolavori
 Gianni loves the masterpieces_{Acc}
 “Gianni loves masterpieces”
 c. Gianni sente un urlo
 Gianni hears a scream_{Acc}

As can be seen, the objects of (29) are not semantically homogeneous; anyway, they receive the Accusative, which is the most common Case assigned to the second argument of biargumental predicates.

To sum up, Inherent Cases are supposed to be associated with certain theta roles; as a consequence, their possible loss in the course of the derivation would lead to the loss of unrecoverable features. Thus, if A-movement is applied, they have to be preserved. This is the reason why the constraint on passivization is generally considered as a relevant test to identify Inherent Accusatives. Most accusative languages do not

allow for the Accusative to be preserved under passivization, with the consequence that if the Accusative is an Inherent Case passivization is not possible, in that it would give rise to an ungrammatical result.

While passivization is applied as a possible test to reveal the Structural nature of a Case, \bar{A} -movement cannot be applied as an equivalent test, since the prediction that non-structural Cases cannot undergo *wh*- movement or LD would clearly fail. As a matter of fact, both kinds of movement do not blur the semantic information contained in Inherent Cases; thus, a contrast like the following arises:

- (30) a. Anna ha scritto a Gianni
 Anna_{Nom} has written to Gianni
 b. *Gianni è stato scritto da Anna
 Gianni_{Nom} is been written by Anna
 c. A Gianni ha scritto Anna
 to Gianni has written Anna_{Nom}
 d. A Gianni gli ha scritto Anna
 to Gianni to-him has written Anna_{Nom}
 e. Gianni, a cui Anna ha scritto, è contento
 Gianni to whom Anna_{Nom} has written is happy_{Masc}

As can be noticed, in case of \bar{A} -movement no constraint is at work on Inherent Cases. Compare, for instance, (30b) and (30e): while in the first sentence the PP cannot undergo passivization, in that only the Accusative can undergo passivization in Italian, in the second case the oblique *wh*- can be regularly moved to CP (and the same holds for 30c and 30d).

The question is why the constraints on relativization and dislocation⁶¹ are supposed to reveal the Inherent nature of the Accusative. In other words, while the constraint on passivization for Inherent Cases is expected, an \bar{A} -movement constraint is quite surprising. In order to solve this problem, a clearer view of what an “Inherent Accusative” is (at least in the syntactic context I am dealing with in this work) is required. I have already proposed that this specific type of Inherent Accusative is to be considered as a “transitional” Accusative. I will now discuss in detail this issue. I will

⁶¹As for LD, I recall it here since it is one of the relevant tests applied to Italian, and this has been taken into account in the previous chapter (§4.1.2.).

start by discussing the notion of “applied object”, which I will claim to be connected with the problem I cope with.

3.2. *Applied objects and transitivized complements*

In some recent research, the fact that some *applied objects*⁶² can hardly undergo *wh*- movement has been noticed. As an instance, even in theories in which the applied object is supposed to receive Structural Accusative Case, it has been observed that long *wh*-movement in interrogatives does not take place easily. Baker (1997) cites the following examples from English:

- (31) a. Which woman do you think I should ?give/*buy t perfume?
b. Which perfume do you think I should give t to/buy t for Mary?
(Baker, 1997: 15)

Baker also notices that in some languages, like in Chichewa, the movement of an applied object is not possible without the insertion of a lower resumptive pronoun. Compare the following sentences:

- (32) a. Uwu ndi-wo mtsuko u-mene ndi-ku-ganiza kuti Mavuto
this be-agr waterpot cl-which 1sS-pres-think that Mavuto
a-na-umb-ir-a mfumu
SP-past-mold-appl-fv chief
“This is the waterpot which I think that Mavuto molded the chief”
b. *Iyi ndi-yo mfumu i-mene ndi-ku-ganiza kuti Mavuto
this be-agr chief cl-which 1sS-pres-think that Mavuto
a-na-umb-ir-a mtsuko
SP-past-mold-appl-fv waterpot
“This is the chief which I think that Mavuto molded a waterpot”
(Baker, 1997: 23)

⁶² From now on, these objects will be defined “applied objects” or “shifted objects”. As will be clear from the discussion in this paragraph, these two definitions are both employed in the works on the topic, depending on the theory which is adopted.

As can be clearly seen, while in (32a) *wh*-movement of the non-applied object is possible, (32b) is ungrammatical, in that the applied argument cannot undergo \bar{A} -movement, unless it is resumed by a pronoun which disambiguates its syntactic nature.

3.2.1. *DOC in Neapolitan*

A similar phenomenon can be observed also in Romance varieties. I will briefly describe the case of Neapolitan, which displays a D(ouble) O(bject) C(onstruction) (Sornicola 1997; Ledgeway, 2000, 2009; Bertollo and Cavallo, 2013). The structure I will refer to is the following:

- (33) a. *Aggə scamazzatə a manə a chillu guaglione*
 have_{1stSing} stepped-on the hand_{Acc} to that_{Masc} boy
 “I have stepped on that boy’s hand”
- b. *L’ aggə scamazzatə a manə*
 him_{Acc} have_{1stSing} stepped-on the hand_{Acc}
 “I have stepped on his hand”

In this construction, the IO can be assigned Accusative Case under two conditions: (i) the DO is a DP, (ii) the IO is a clitic. Notice that the IO is clearly applied or shifted in the structure, a fact which is revealed by the loss of the P *a*, which is the Dative marker of Neapolitan in the unmarked sentence in (33a). The DO can easily undergo *wh*-movement, as it is shown in (34a). Anyway, if the IO undergoes *wh*-movement, a resumptive clitic is obligatory for the sentence to be acceptable (34b):

- (34) a. *a manə_i chə l_k’ aggə scamazzatə, s’ è abbuffatə*
 the hand_{Nom} that him_{Acc} have_{1stSing} stepped-on itself is swelled
 “The hand of his, on which I stepped, has swelled”
- b. *o guaglione_k chə *(l_k’) aggə scamazzatə a manə sta*
 the boy_{Nom} that him_{Acc} have_{1stSing} stepped-on the hand_{Nom} stays
chiagnennə
 crying
 “The boy whose hand I stepped on is crying”

Notice that in Neapolitan pronominal insertion is always obligatory when non-Structural Cases undergo *wh*-movement (see 35a-35b), since relative clauses are always formed by means of the C *ca*. On the other hand, pronominal insertion produces ungrammatical results when the Structural Accusative is relativized (35c). Moreover, in interrogative clauses the Dative is the only Case to be obligatorily resumed by a pronoun (35d):

- (35) a. A guaglione , ca *(cə) so asciute è bella assaje
the girl that her_{Dat} am gone-out is beautiful_{FemSing} very-much
“The girl with whom I went out is very beautiful”
- b. A guaglione , ca *(cə) aggia ratə o libbre è turnate
the girl that her_{Dat} have_{1stSing} given the book is come-back
ajerə
yesterday
“The girl to whom I gave the book came back yesterday”
- c. A guaglione , che (*l') aggia viste è bella assaje
the girl that her_{Acc} have_{1stSing} seen is beautiful very-much
“The girl I saw is very beautiful”
- d. A chi *(cə) e ratə /cumprate o libbre ?
to who him/her_{Dat} have_{2ndSing} given/bought the book
“Who have you given/bought this present for?”
- e. Pə chi (?ce) e cumprate stu riale ?
for who him/her_{Dat} have_{2ndSing} bought this present
“Who have you bought this present for?”

This suggests that the applied IO retains its inherent nature. In other words, even if it is assigned the Accusative, it does not have the core properties of a syntactic object. As shown in (35c), a Structural Accusative-marked item cannot be resumed by a pronoun, while a Dative-marked complement has to (35b). Thus, the Accusative-marked complement of (33b) is more similar to an Inherent Dative than to a Structural Accusative. What is remarkable is that the shifted/applied object must be resumed by a pronoun when it is moved out of its position in the VP. The examples above clearly show that this happens under \bar{A} -movement. One could wonder if this phenomenon can

also be observed in case of passivization. Unfortunately, this test cannot be applied to Neapolitan, which tends to avoid passive forms.

3.2.2. *The constraint on \bar{A} -movement*

The reason why *wh*-movement of applied/shifted objects does not take place easily has been differently explained by scholars. Baker (1997), on the basis of Kayne (1984) proposes that this happens because DPs cannot be extracted from null Ps. This follows from the assumption that applied objects move from the site in which they have been generated to a higher position in the VP-shell⁶³ (to SpecAspP), where they are assigned Case, while the P which basically licenses them is incorporated into the V head, giving rise to a conflation process. Under this view (which is a development of Larson, 1988 and is also adopted in Travis, 2010, a.o.), an applied object is a phrase which is moved from a lower to a higher projection in the VP. Thus, an applied object does not receive the Case it would if it were in its basic position (i.e. an Inherent Case), since the item which licenses it is somehow “absorbed” in the structure; this triggers movement to a higher projection, in which the complement of P receives a Case in order to be properly spelled out in the superficial syntax. Such a process typically takes place in cases in which a Recipient/Beneficiary is shifted (i.e. in DOC, as in 31).

More recently, the theory of Applicatives has developed a non-transformational approach to this kind of objects, by providing a special configuration which formalizes the relationship between the complements of DOC structures. The core proposal is that applied objects are merged in SpecAppIP, which can be both higher and lower than VP, depending on the semantic relation holding between the DPs (McGinnis, 2001; Pykkänen, 2002; Taraldsen, 2010). This tendency has been developed especially in the Minimalist framework and has given rise to several theoretical proposals (see Jeong, 2007 for an overview of the problem and for some recent accounts).

Regardless of the theory which is adopted, what clearly emerges from these hypotheses is that applied/shifted complements are inserted in a special position, which is different from that of the corresponding unmarked sentence: this has to be supposed both in case of movement to a higher projection and in case of merging in an AppIP.

A major question concerns the semantics of applied objects. In languages in which a single predicate is attested in different structures, a semantic difference has to

⁶³ In Baker (1997) this position is sandwiched between a higher VP and a lower VP. In more recent development of this idea, this projection is part of the extend layer of vP (Harley, 2013. a.o.).

be supposed, and this has been the line of many scholars so far; indeed, the whole theory of High and Low Applicatives is built on the presupposition that semantic differences have a major role in determining the syntax of applied objects. Also in the Larsonian model, semantics is deemed to play a crucial role in triggering the movement of a DP to a higher position in the VP. This is the reason why this landing projection is generally labelled AspP, even if by “Aspect” a wide range of semantic values is generally signified.

Coming back to the constraint on relativization, my claim is that applied objects cannot be easily extracted from VP probably because of interface factors. This comes from the fact that applied objects are semantically opacified. At the lowest syntactic level, they accumulate thematic features which are associated with an Inherent Case. As an instance, the Goal/Beneficiary (which is commonly applied in the DOC configuration) is usually associated in languages with the Dative (as far as this can be considered as an Inherent Case). When an argument bearing this role is applied, it is assigned the Accusative, and the consequence is that its features are not more expressed by an appropriate Inherent Case. Hence, the semantic relation which links the complement to the V head gets blurred. It can be somehow maintained only if the constituent is adjacent to the V itself, whose semantics guarantees that the thematic role of the applied object can be naturally inferred.

This is the reason why an \bar{A} -movement constraint is at work in Latin (and possibly cross-linguistically) when a non-Structural Accusative is assigned. It is not due to the Inherent nature of the Accusative, rather to the fact that it is assigned to an Inherent-like theta role, with an amount of features that require a more marked Case to be properly expressed. Recall that this can be stated also for the Experiencer of Italian verbs of the *preoccupare*-class, which has to be headed by P when left-dislocated (see ch. 2. §4.1.2.). This behaviour is comparable to that of applied objects of Chichewa: they actually need a resumption to be correctly computed in case of movement.

3.3. The transitional nature of the Inherent Accusative

As far as *doleo* is concerned, the “Inherent Accusative” is better understood as a *transitional* Case-marker, i.e. a Case which is morphologically identical to the Structural Accusative but is to be considered syntactically different. In this case, exactly as happens with the applied IO in DOC, an argument is semantically opacified in that it

receives a non-Structural Accusative, with the consequence that its features are not properly expressed. Thus, the verb is transitivized, since a non-object complement (i.e. a complement which is generated with a rich amount of features) is promoted to the object-status. This can be supposed on the basis of the data I presented in the previous section. Consider that in the Classical Age the Stimulus of *doleo* can be also expressed in the Ablative, a fact which clearly signals its low Cause value, since the Ablative is here used as a kind of Source/Instrument-marker. Moreover, in the Late Period, the Stimulus is expressed in several different ways and can be introduced by different Ps. This signals that it is actually rich in features. Recall that – as I pointed out in the previous chapter – arguments can be supposed to be inserted in the structure bearing the maximum amount of features that can be displayed in the syntax via Case Assignment (Starke, 2005; ch. 2. §6.2.). On this line, we have to suppose that the Stimulus in an oblique complement which is “shifted” in the structure, i.e. which undergoes a transitivization process.

The consequence of this is twofold: on the one hand, such a transitivized complement cannot undergo passivization (since it bears a non-Structural Accusative Case), on the other it cannot be moved out of VP, since it is tightly connected with the verbal head selecting it; it can be correctly interpreted as long as it remains *in situ*.

On the basis of what I have observed so far, if a shifted item is moved out of VP a kind of disambiguation is required: in such cases, the moved item must either be resumed lower in the sentence or be preceded by a P, as happens with LD in the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class.

As for *doleo* and the other verbs I am dealing with in this chapter, it should be noticed that there is no evidence that the transitive pattern has a specific semantic connotation if compared to the intransitive one. In this specific case, transitivization can be rather considered as a mere process of alignment with the core transitive pattern, and a semantic/actional shift is to be possibly related to template augmentation, thus being not immediately connected with the assignment of the Accusative. I will discuss this problem later on in this chapter, when other SE verbs will be described, as it is strictly related to the formal analysis I will propose for them (§6.2.). As I will clarify, I will not claim that the verbs I am dealing with undergo an aspectual shift when they are (de)transitivized. Hence, in my analysis the notion of “shifted/applied complement” simply captures the idea that a DP receives a Case which is morphologically similar to the Structural Accusative in a (de)transitivization process. Thus, this kind of syntactic

shift is due to the tendency to the alignment with the core transitive pattern and does not necessarily involve a corresponding semantic shift.

A case which can be useful to further clarify this process is that of some biargumental verbs of the \bar{e} -class which show a regular tendency towards transitivity. I will briefly recall the case of *careo*, which offers a very plain example⁶⁴, in this respect.

*Careo*⁶⁵ assigns the Ablative to its internal argument, but can alternatively be attested with an Accusative-marked argument. This verb has an interesting range of meanings: “to be without/to be free from something” and also “to miss”; thus, it can be a psych predicate, which therefore selects for an animate Experiencer. *Careo* is rarely attested in a transitive structure and when it is, its complement is expressed by a neuter pronoun (36b). Notice that there is no clear evidence of a transitive psych pattern. Consider the following sentences:

- (36) a. *Provinciis atque oris Italiae (...) carebamus* (Manil. 55)
 provinces_{Abl} and lands_{Abl} Italy_{Gen} missed_{1stPlur}
 “We missed the provinces and the lands of Italy”
- b. *Id quod amo careo* (Plaut. Curc. 223)
 it_{AccNeut} which_{AccNeut} love_{1stSing} am-deprived
 “I am deprived of what I love”

No further development of this tendency is attested in the Classical Age. The verb is instead used in a transitive structure with a full referential DP in the Late Period. This fact is not surprising, in that in Late Latin a widespread trend towards transitivity can be clearly recognized in many classes of verbs. Anyway, in (36) the clear alternation between the Ablative and the Accusative signals that a transitivity process is at work. As expected, the transitive *careo* is not attested in the passive nor is it attested in relative clauses on the object. Interestingly, Priscianus (gramm. II 393, 11) recalls that the verb was attested in a form *careor* in the most ancient period, thus providing a good reason to consider it as an internal-subject predicate. This leads to

⁶⁴ Beside this verb the cases of *invideo*, *abstineo* and *indulgeo* can also be recalled. Notice that – with the exception of *careo* – all these verbs are formed by means of a pre-verb, a fact which may be related to transitivity. However, this issue deserves a more specific investigation (see also Cavallo 2013b).

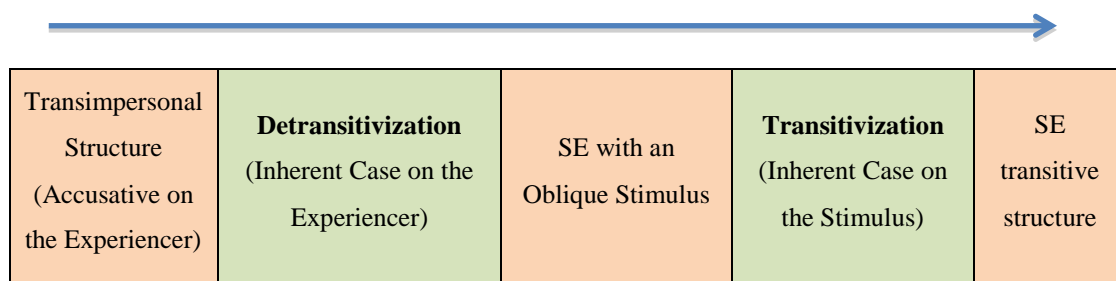
⁶⁵ The etymology of *careo* is highly problematic. Its PIE root has not been reconstructed so far. It is comparable with Pit *kas-ē “to lack”, but a denominative origin is not totally excluded (de Vaan, 2008).

suppose that the psych *careo* is aligned with the model of *doleo* and of impersonals. What is crucial is that it overtly shows a biargumental structure in which the Stimulus receives an Inherent Case. This circumstance provides a more transparent example of how the transitivity process actually works in such cases: the syntactic shift towards transitivity leads to the assignment of an Inherent Accusative to an Oblique-like complement.

3.4. Transitivity and detransitivity

In the previous chapter, I stated that also the Experiencer of impersonals receives a non-Structural Accusative. Interestingly, the behaviour of impersonals and that of *doleo* is not fully comparable: indeed, while, in the latter case, a DP with an Oblique-like status is promoted to the object status, in the former a Patient-like DP (the Experiencer of transimpersonals) is progressively de-transitized. As for the Experiencer, even if the impersonal configuration is maintained, its P-A and P-R features actually tend to be progressively strengthened.

If we compare the data of *doleo* with those of impersonals, the following schema can be easily sketched:



This schema can be undoubtedly applied to impersonals. As can be seen, they are originally transimpersonals which undergo a detransitivity process. As I have argued in ch. 2. §3.4., what is remarkable is that they undergo a kind of cyclical development, in that they are progressively re-transitized and are finally attested in a fully transitive structure, in which the Experiencer bears the Nominative and the Stimulus is assigned the Accusative. Two transitional phases can be noticed, and they have been marked in green: in both phases an argument is assigned the Inherent Accusative, which is therefore classified as a “transitional Case”.

Coming back to *doleo*, we have to wonder whether this schema adequately describes its syntactic development. I will leave this question open, as I will provide an appropriate answer to it in the next paragraph, when I will deal with the syntactic analysis of this verb.

I will now focus on a remarkable point, i.e. on the difference between the Inherent Accusative assigned to the Experiencer of impersonals and that assigned to the Stimulus in the SE configuration (included that of the verbs of the *piget*-class in the Late Period). A first noticeable fact is that, while the transitivized Stimulus can neither be passivized nor relativized, the de-transitivized Experiencer is only constrained with respect to relativization (see ch. 2. §4.1.2. for a discussion about this).

I claim that this characteristic is heavily dependent on the reason which determines the assignment of the Inherent Accusative. As I have just noticed, the Stimulus is shifted to the object status, thus being assigned an Inherent Accusative instead of a proper Inherent Case; on the contrary, the Experiencer is assigned the Inherent Accusative because of a de-transitivization process. As a consequence, in the latter context the assignment of an Inherent Accusative does not blur the semantic content of the argument which receives it. Recall that the Experiencer is not basically assigned an Inherent Case, nor is it headed by P; thus, the assignment of an Inherent Accusative does not lead to semantic opacity; it rather constitutes a means to progressively enrich the semantic encoding of the Experiencer, whose P - Recipient and P-Agent features are bound to be strongly accentuated in time. Hence, the assignment of an Inherent Accusative prevents the Experiencer from being passivized, since it is not in the position in which regularly passivizable objects are inserted in the structure. Anyway, even if the Experiencer bears an Inherent Accusative, it can be correctly computed, since it can still be easily recognized as the object of the verb. In other words, the Experiencer does not need to be maintained in a position adjacent to the V head, because de-transitivization does not impoverish the syntactic output of its semantic content.

3.4.1. *The case of doceo*

A case that can be useful to clarify this peculiar behaviour of the Inherent Accusative is that of the verb *doceo* (“to teach”). This verb is attested in Latin in a

ditransitive configuration, in which both internal arguments (the animate entity and the Matter) are assigned the Accusative. See the following example from Plautus:

- (37) *parentes liberos docent litteras* (Plaut. Most. 126)
 parents_{Nom} children_{Acc} teach_{3rdPlur} letters_{Acc}
 “Parents teach their children humanities”

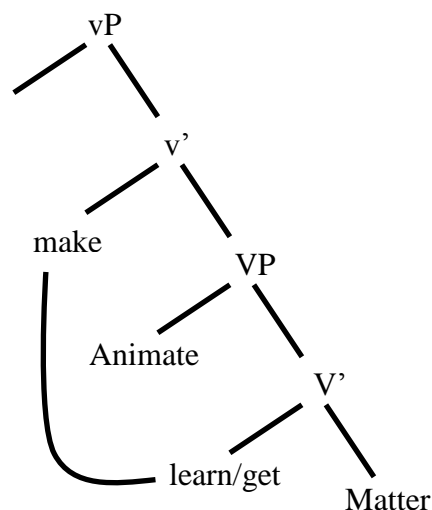
The Dat/Acc type – which is typical for Italian and is also attested in English and German – is never attested in Latin⁶⁶.

On the line of Oniga (2007), Bertocci and Cavallo (2013), I will state that *doceo* has an underlying causative configuration of the following type:

- (i) X makes Y learn/get Z

On this basis, it can be supposed that the verb is the output of a conflation process, thanks to which the lower verbal head is incorporated in the higher light head “make”. The internal arguments of the verb are inserted in the structure by means of a V head, thus being in an asymmetrical relation, and the lower VP is the complement of the higher vP⁶⁷. The derivation can be supposed to be the following:

- (38)



⁶⁶ Some rare examples of such a structure are attested starting from the V c. A.D.

⁶⁷ The model I propose in this section has been developed on the basis of Hale and Keyser (2002) and Folli and Harley (2007).

Since the verb assigns the Accusative to both its internal arguments, one major question concerns the syntactic role they play. Interestingly, in sentences in which both arguments are present, passivization gives rise to a striking asymmetry:

- (39) a. *qui docentur, inducuntur in id, quod*
 who_{NomPlur} are-taught_{3rdPlur} are-driven_{3rdPlur} in that_{Neut} which_{AccNeut}
docentur (Varro ling. 6, 62)
 are-taught_{3rdPlur}
 “Lit: Those who are taught are led to the thing they are taught”
- b. *haec et a nobis cognoverant et ab his*
 these-things_{Acc} and from us_{Abl} had-known_{3rdPlur} and from these_{AblMasc}
docebantur (Caes. Gall. 5, 42, 2)
 were-taught_{3rdPlur}
 “They had known these things from us and they were taught them by these people”

As these examples show, while the animate DP can be passivized, the Matter does not undergo passivization and retains the Case it receives in the active sentence. In (39a) the pronoun *quod* is clearly the syntactic object, since it does not agree with the verb *docentur* (whose subject is the FRC in the first position); in (39b) the pronoun *haec* bears the Accusative, because this is the case required by the verb *cognoverant*.

On the basis of data like (39), it can be supposed that, while the animate object receives the Structural Accusative, the Matter is assigned an Inherent Accusative. This is supported by the pattern in (38), which shows that the animate entity is the highest complement in the structure: moreover, under a semantic point of view, it is the entity truly affected by the predicate. Thus, since it accumulates more P-Patient features, it is the best candidate to be assigned the Structural Accusative.

Anyway, exactly as happens with the Experiencer of impersonals, the Matter, which cannot be passivized in the tri-argumental structure, can instead be relativized. This is for instance shown by the pronoun *quod* in (39a).

It should be noticed that the incorporation process of *doceo* leads to the “de-transitivization” of the lowest object. The Matter is basically inserted in CompV position, actually being the object of the lower predicate in (38). When the V head is conflated in the light *v* “make” the higher (animate) argument occupies the object

position of the resulting verb; thus, the lower argument is progressively de-transitivized: it first receives an Inherent Accusative and is then assigned a more transparent Inherent Case. Notice that, especially from the Classical Age, the Matter is expressed in the Ablative (40a) or by means of different Ps:

- (40) a. Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen
 Socrates_{Acc} lyres_{Abl} taught_{3rdSing} very-noble_{Nom} lyra-player_{Nom}
 “A very noble lyra-player taught Socrates how to play the lyra”
 (Cic. epist, 9 22, 3)
- b. Sed nata lex (...), ad quam non docti (Cic. Mil. 10)
 but born_{NomFem} law_{NomFem} to which_{AccFemSing} Neg taught_{NomPlur}
 “But a law was made, which we weren’t acquainted with”
- c. In omni sapientia docentes vosmet ipsos
 in every_{Abl} knowledge_{Abl} teaching_{NomPlur} you_{AccPlur} yourself_{AccPlur}
 “Teaching you every possible knowledge” (Itala Col. 3, 16)
- d. destinavi illum artificii docere (Petr. 46, 7)
 meant_{1stSing} that_{AccMascSing} trade_{Gen} to-teach
 “I meant to teach him a trade”

The examples in (40) show that the Matter actually bears a rich amount of thematic features, which can be properly signified by means of Inherent Cases with a clear semantic connotation. On the contrary, the animate undergoer is stably assigned the Accusative until the very Late Period.

The case of *doceo* can be easily compared to that of the verbs of the *piget*-class. Interestingly, in both cases the Inherent Accusative is assigned to a “de-transitivized” object. The DP which receives it cannot be passivized but can undergo \bar{A} -movement in relative clauses. This shows that, even if the transitional Inherent Accusative can be assigned both in case of transitivity and detransitivization, it gives rise to different syntactic constraints. This clearly depends on the interface between the semantics of the complement and its syntactic output.

3.5. Wh- “resumption” in High-Medieval Latin and the constraint on \bar{A} -movement

So as to conclude this section, I would like to discuss one more example of a constraint on relativization. My aim is to support the idea that *wh*- movement is actually inhibited when the semantic content of the moved item is not easily recoverable in the syntax. On the basis of some recent research (Cavallo and Bertollo, to appear) I will describe the case of *wh*- “resumption” in High-Medieval Latin⁶⁸.

In Late and High-Medieval Latin, phenomena of “wrong-agreement” of the relative pronoun are quite common. Cavallo and Bertollo (to appear) analyse texts from the *Corpus Diplomaticus Longobardus* edited by Luigi Schiaparelli (1927), some of the *Diplomi* of Berengario (Schiaparelli, 1903) and the *Chronicon Salernitanum*⁶⁹ in order to find out what the direction of this phenomenon is. What emerges is that the morphological form of the relative pronoun is basically always preserved in Oblique Cases, while Structural Cases undergo a noteworthy process of erosion in time. This trend has some interesting consequences on *wh*- movement. Indeed, in the *Chronicon Salernitanum* as well as in other late and High-Medieval texts, *wh*-pronouns are often “reinforced” by a pronominal or a nominal item. This generally bears the same Case as the *wh*-, but can also appear in a different syntactic form with a similar meaning:

- (41) a. *Ingentem reppererunt cervum_i, quem_i cum omni nisu
big_{AccMasc} found_{3rdPlur} deer_{AccMasc} which_{AccMasc} with all_{Abl} effort_{Abl}
sequere illum_i non desinebant (Ch. 43)
to-follow him_{AccMasc} Neg stopped_{3rdPlur}
“They found a big deer, which they did not stop to follow with a
great effort”*
- b. *Quem_i cum eum_i vidissent, protinus eum_i
whom_{AccMascSing} when him_{AccMasc} saw_{Subj3rdPlur} immediately him_{AccMasc}*

⁶⁸ The syntactic status of the “resumption” has been discussed by scholars so far. For an interesting overview of the problem see Asudeh (2012), who discusses the notion of “incremental resumption” and provides a good amount of comparative data (see also Shlonsky, 1992). For an approach based on *feature-stripping* see Poletto (2006 and 2008) and Cavallo & Bertollo (to appear). Here I will adopt the term “resumption” only to refer to the phenomenon of the co-occurrence in the same embedded clause of a *wh*- item and of a lower pronoun which bears the same case or plays the same function as the *wh*-. As for the mechanism which is at the basis of this, see footnote 18.

⁶⁹This work was written by an anonymous monk of the area of Salerno (Campania) at the end of the X c. (Westerbergh, 1956; Norberg, 1968; Oldoni, 1972)

vocaverunt atque ei omnia intimaverunt (Ch. 76)
 called_{3rdPlur} and him_{DatMasc} everything_{AccNeutPlur} told_{3rdPlur}
 “When they saw him, they called him immediately and they told him
 everything.”

c. Quibus_i⁷⁰ unus e Longobardis ad hec_i ita
 whom_{DatPlur} one among Lombards_{AbIPlur} to these-things_{AccNeutPlur} so
 respondit (Ch. 28)
 answered_{3rdSing}
 Lit: “To those things one of the Lombards to those things answered in
 this way”

As can be seen, the relative pronoun is resumed by the pronoun *illum* in (41a), by the pronoun *eum* in (41b) and by the pronoun *ad hec* in (41c). Notice that, while in the first two sentences the resumptive pronoun bears the same Case as the *wh-*, in the latter case there is a kind of *variatio*, i.e. the resumptive pronoun expresses the same complement as the *wh-* in a different syntactic form. Moreover, the phenomenon is widely attested in cases of *coniunctio relativa*, i.e. when the relative pronoun is employed as a linker with the preceding sentence and has a high coordinative value⁷¹.

The occurrence of the resumption can be easily traced back to the interference between High-Medieval and standard Latin: while the latter was considered as the regular model for chronicles and history writers, the first was the variety actually employed by speakers. The author of the *Chronicon Salernitanum* aims to reproduce the model of Classical Latin, but his own variety of Latin is strongly affected by the local vernacular. Hence, especially in complex sentences in which the canonical unmarked order is scrambled or embedded clauses are present, the syntax is tendentially “reinforced” to disambiguate non-easily computable sequences. Recall that relative clauses involve a complex mechanism, in which an item is moved out of its basic position to play a set of different syntactic functions: the *wh-* has indeed a subordinative value and also bears the Case assigned by the verb of the matrix clause, thus being a complement of it. Moreover, in cases like (41c), in which the *coniunctio relativa* is present, the *wh-* also has a coordinative value. As I recalled above, in this text the

⁷⁰ The context clearly shows that the relative cannot refer to an animate entity such as “to them”, as in the previous part of the text only one person is speaking.

⁷¹ The *coniunctio relativa* has been recently discussed under a Generative perspective by Truswell (2011).

Accusative is morphologically weak, in that it is one of the Cases which undergo a remarkable process of erosion in time. The consequence is that, since the Accusative-marked *wh-* cannot be easily read as the complement of the embedded verb, it is resumed lower in the structure. Thus, its functions are distributed in the syntax: whilst the higher *wh-* retains the subordinative/coordinative function, the lower resumptive item provides a link with the V head by which the complement is selected⁷².

Notice that this mechanism is also at work in regional Modern Italian and in Italian dialects. This comes from the fact that in these varieties no *wh-* is used to form relative clauses. The most regular pattern is instead the following:

- (42) C *che* + pronoun bearing the Case required by the embedded verb.

An example from Neapolitan is provided by (35a), here repeated as (43a). (43b) is an example from Paduan:

- (43) a. A guaglione, ca *(cə) so asciute è bella assaje
 b. El toso che ghe go dato el libro l' è partio ieri
 The boy_{Nom} that him_{Dat} have_{1stSing} given the book_{Acc} he is gone
 yesterday
 “The boy to whom I gave the book left yesterday”

Anyway, when the relative clause involves the movement of a Structural Case, the bare C is sufficient to maintain the semantic relationship between the verbal head and its argument (35c here is repeated as 44a):

- (44) a. A guaglione, che (*l') aggia visto è bella assaje
 “The girl with whom I went out is very beautiful”
 b. El toso che go visto l' è partio ieri
 The boy_{Nom} that have_{1stSing} seen he is gone yesterday

⁷²Notice that, as far as the syntactic mechanism which is responsible for this is concerned, different points of view are possible: if a *feature-stripping* mechanism is supposed to be at work, the low pronoun is not actually “resumptive”, in that it is not the output of later insertion, rather it bears a feature which is present in the *wh-* in the site in which it is generated (Poletto, 2006, 2008; Cavallo and Bertollo, to appear); if later insertion is argued for, then this is a proper case of “resumption” (Asudeh, 2012). Consider that, if the *feature-stripping* analysis is adopted, it has to be stated that the syntactic distribution of the features borne by the *wh-* takes place by means of a leftward movement.

“The boy I saw left yesterday”

A similar phenomenon takes place in the *Chronicon*, with the interesting difference that here *wh-* pronouns are mostly resumed when they bear Accusative Case. Consider that in standard Classical Latin a C which plays the role of the current Italian *che* is not available; nevertheless, because of the strong erosion of morphological cases, in Late Latin the Accusative-marked *wh-* needs to be reinforced in order to be correctly computed in the sentence; its position in the relative clause is indeed not sufficient to clarify its relationship with the verbal head. Thus, since morphology does not guarantee the correct interpretation of the complements, pronominal resumption is one of the most suitable tools to disambiguate syntactic relations. Examples like (41c) show that the *wh-* item can be resumed by applying a sort of *variatio* as a means to clarify the meaning of the phrase: here, as can be seen, the Dative (which is normally required in Classical Latin by the verb *respondeo*) is resumed by the PP *ad haec*, i.e. by a prepositional Dative, which is probably nearer to the form actually used by the writer in his own vernacular.

These examples show that in case of *wh-* movement, the possibility to maintain a clear overt link between the verbal head and the moved item is crucial in determining the acceptability of the sentence. The strategy applied in the *Chronicon* is therefore comparable with that of the Chichewa sentences in (32) and is also similar to that of Italian LD with the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class.

To sum up, in this paragraph I have discussed in depth the nature of the Inherent Accusative assigned by the psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class in case of (de)transitivization. I have argued that:

- (i) This Inherent Accusative is to be interpreted as a “transitional” Accusative, i.e. as a Case assigned to a complement which undergoes a transitivization or a detransitivization process.
- (ii) The Experiencer of impersonals is a de-transitivized complement, while both the Stimulus of the late transitive *piget*-class verbs and the Stimulus of the transitive *doleo* are transitivized complements.
- (iii) De-transitivized and transitivized complements which receive an Inherent Accusative cannot be passivized: this is due to the fact that the Inherent

Accusative is assigned in a site which is not canonical for passivizable objects.

- (iv) Transitivity objects cannot be easily relativized. This is due to the fact that they should be properly assigned an Inherent Case capable to signify their oblique semantic features. The Inherent Accusative blurs the semantic relation between the complement and the V head, thus giving rise to a constraint on movement out of VP.

4. The syntactic configuration of *doleo*

In this section I will describe my own syntactic analysis of *doleo*. My claim will be that under the PS(ych) meaning *doleo* has a configuration akin to that which I have proposed for impersonals. Nevertheless, since *doleo* has a wide range of possible structures, I will analyse its syntax starting from the original phisic reading (PH).

4.1. PH *doleo* and the External Possessor

As the data show, PH *doleo* basically has a Dative External Possessor (D-EP) structure. In many languages, D-EP regularly alternates with an I(nternal) P(ossessor) configuration, in which the Possessor is expressed as a possessive. Consider the following examples from Italian:

- (45) a. La gamba del paziente si è gonfiata (IP)
the leg_{Nom} of-the patient itself is swelled-up
“The leg of the patient has swelled up”
b. La sua gamba si è gonfiata (IP)
the his/her leg_{Nom} itself is swelled-up
c. Gli si è gonfiata la gamba (D-EP)
him_{Dat} itself is swelled-up the leg_{Nom}
“His leg has swelled up”

As can be seen, while in (45c) D-EP is present - since the clitic *gli* bears Dative Case -, in (45a) the Possessor is rendered by means of a PP headed by *di* and in (45b) by means of the possessive *sua*.

The fact that PH *doleo* generally employs D-EP is not surprising, when one considers the peculiar semantics of this configuration (Borer and Grodzinsky, 1986; Kliffer, 1999; Landau, 2001).

Kliffer (1999), who discusses data from French, notices that the use of D-EP is marked, if compared to IP. Namely, while IP has a more neuter value and tends to emphasize the role of the Possessum, the D-EP structure focuses on the Possessor as the entity affected by the predicate. This is confirmed by Italian, as is shown by the following sentences:

- (46) a. Il piede di Mario duole
 the foot_{Nom} of Mario aches
 b. A Mario duole il piede
 to Mario_{Dat} aches the foot_{Nom}
 “Mario’s foot aches”

In (46a) something is asserted about the “aching foot”, and there are only some contexts in which this sentence could be used, since it is unnatural to refer to “hurt” as something which affects the part of the body of an animate entity: the animate whose part aches feels pain himself, so that it is preferably topicalized by means of D-EP. Pre-posing the PP *di Mario* of (46a) would indeed lead to an ungrammatical result, unless the sentence is strongly pragmatized:

- (47) *Di Mario duole il piede

As Kliffer (1999) notices, a sentence like (46a) would be natural in a formal medical context, in which something can be asserted on the aching part of the body, regardless of the animate to whom it belongs:

- (48) La mano del paziente duole al contatto
 the hand_{Nom} of-the patient aches at-the contact
 “The hand of the patient aches when it is touched”

Notice that in Italian, in the most natural D-EP structure, the syntactic subject (the Possessum) follows the verbs.

Latin data are consistent with this view: PH *doleo* usually displays a D-EP structure, with the Experiencer occupying the first position or immediately following the syntactic subject.

These data show that the assignment of the Dative is strictly connected with the emphasis on the Possessor. The PP *di Mario* cannot be extracted from its basic position since it is strictly connected with the DP_{Possessum}, from which it clearly depends. On the contrary, (46b) shows that the Dative-marked Possessor can be easily moved out of its basic position, since it is not strictly subordinated to the Possessum. I claim that Kliffer is right in differently interpreting the relation between the Possessor and the Possessum in sentences like (46a) and (46b). Anyway, the difference in the semantics has to be related to a difference in the syntactic configuration. Namely, what is needed is a configuration in which the D-EP can be represented both as connected with the Possessum and as “external”.

Different syntactic proposals have been put forth to capture the relation holding between the Possessor and the Possessum in this kind of configurations. Kliffer (1999) proposes that, while the IP structure involves a single phrase, D-EP has “more syntactic baggage” and is therefore characterized by the presence of two distinct constituents.

A slight different analysis has been proposed by Landau (2001), who deals with cases of alienable possession, and claims that in such contexts, when D-EP is present the Possessor is extracted from the site in which it is generated. This follows from an in-depth analysis of the properties of this configuration.

Starting from Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) scholars have actually noticed some remarkable peculiarities of D-EP. Among these, I would like to underline the following, in that they have important consequences for my analysis. In D-EP:

- a. The Possessum cannot be the external argument of the verb
- b. The Possessor must always c-command the Possessum

The property in (a) can be observed in many languages. Here, I will propose some data from Italian and I will compare them to the data from Hebrew which I have collected from previous works on the topic.

Compare the following sentences:

- (49) a. Il cane mi ha rotto il vaso
the dog_{Nom} me_{Dat} has broken the vase
“The dog has broken my vase”
- b. Il cane mi è morto
the dog_{Nom} me_{Dat} is dead
“My dog is dead”
- c.*Il cane mi ha dormito
the dog_{Nom} me_{Dat} has slept
- d. Il mio cane ha dormito
the my dog_{Nom} has slept
“My dog has slept”
- (50) a. ha-maftexot naflu li (Borer and Grodzinsky, 1986: ex. 21a)
the-keys fell to-me
“My keys fell”
- b. *ha-kelev hitrocec le-Rina (Landau, 2001: ex 11a)
the-dog ran around to-Rina
“Rina’s dog run around”

As can be seen in (49) and (50), D-EP is only present when the verb selects for an internal argument; therefore, while under this configuration transitive predicates like (49a) and unaccusatives like (49b) and (50b) are grammatical, unergative verbs give rise to ungrammatical sentences, in that they are obligatorily attested in the IP pattern.

Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) propose that the constraint in (50b) is to be related to a c-command requirement. According to them:

- (51) Possessor dative must c-command the possessed NP or its trace
(B&G:185)

The requirement in (51) is only met when the Possessor is linked higher than the Possessum, with the consequence that unergative verbs are excluded from D-EP.

Landau (2001) further discusses the property in (b), by providing some interesting data from Hebrew. I will not take them into account, since this is not crucial for my analysis. Anyway, I assume that the properties in (a) and (b) effectively hold for

D-EP, at least in contexts of alienable possession, and that they have to be taken into account in order to provide a correct syntactic configuration.

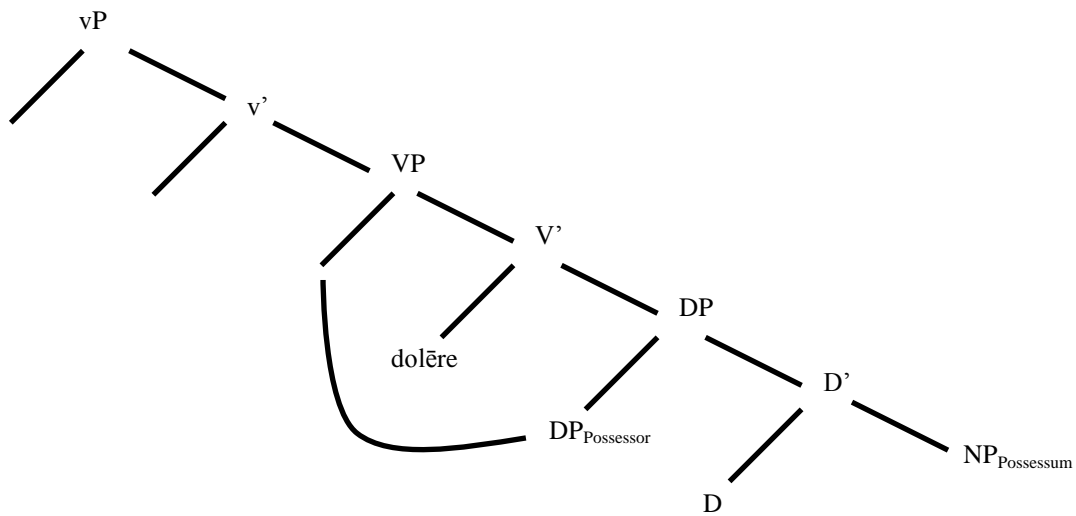
From the data above it follows that: (i) the Possessum is generated in a VP-internal position, i.e. in a position lower than vP or than SepcVP (depending on the model which is adopted); (ii) the Possessor is generated in a position c-commanding the Possessum.

Landau (2001) proposes that the Possessor is always generated in the Specifier of the DP heading the Possessum and that it is then moved to a higher position, namely to SpecVP. I claim that this hypothesis correctly captures the dual nature of the EP: on the one side, it is generated in SpecDP, i.e. in the site in which the possessive of IP is also generated; on the other side, it can actually be considered as an “external” complement, in that it is extracted from the site in which it is generated. This hypothesis is the best way to describe also the relation holding between the Possessor and the Possessum in case of inalienable possession, since it captures the dual syntactic nature of the animate entity.

PH *doleo* establishes an inalienable-possession relationship between the Possessor and the Possessum, in that the latter is a part of the body of the former. I would like to recall that it probably has the nature of a deep causative, so that the part of the body is to be considered as the internal complement of the verb, given the aforementioned relation “X makes Y be split” (see §2.1.). Thus, this verb it is likely to be an internal-subject predicate, with the consequence that the hypothesis of Landau can be considered as an appropriate way to represent it in a formal way: namely, if the part of the body is generated in CompVP, then the Possessor can be thought of as generated in SpecDP. i.e. in the site in which the Possessive is normally generated.

Following Landau, the configuration of PH *doleo* is therefore the following:

(52)



As can be clearly seen, in (52) the Possessor is generated in SpecDP and is then moved to SpecVP. This representation meets the requirement on c-command in (51), since, if the Possessor were generated in a position lower than the Possessum, it would not c-command it. (52) also entails that SpecVP is empty (as also Landau, 2001 supposes), giving rise to an unaccusative-like structure.

I think that this structure correctly captures the nature of the PH *doleo*, in that it provides a reasonable account for the fact that the Possessum has an undergoer nature (and is therefore generated in the object position), while the Possessor can be easily extracted so as to be placed in a prominent position in the sentence⁷³.

⁷³ Notice that, in Italian an interesting difference arises when inalienable possession is considered. As a matter of fact, sentences like the following are possible:

- (1) a. Mi ha sanguinato il naso per un po'
me_{Dat} has bled the nose_{Nom} for a while
- (2) b. Il naso di Mario ha sanguinato per un po'
the nose_{Nom} of Mario has bled the nose_{Nom} for a while
“My/Mario’s nose has bled for a while”

Here, according to the use of the auxiliary *avere*, the verb should be considered unergative. In this case, the argument of the verb should be inserted in the position which is canonical for the subject (SpecVP or SpecvP). Anyway, it is interesting to notice that the syntactic subject is in a post-verbal position and that this form is also attested with the auxiliary *essere*:

- (3) a. Mi è sanguinato il naso per un po'
b. ?? Il naso di Mario è sanguinato per un po'

To sum up, I will schematically recall the main points of this section:

- (i) PH *doleo* generally displays a D-EP configuration.
- (ii) In these kind of configuration, the Possessor can be thought of as generate in SpecDP, while the Possessum is generated in CompDP.
- (iii) Since *doleo* has a causative underlying structure, its subject is inserted in CompV position, while the Possessor is inserted in SpecDP.

4.2. PS *doleo*

Landau's proposal about D-EP is interestingly comparable to the analysis I outlined for impersonals in the previous chapter. Namely, in both cases the arguments are generated in a VP-internal position, from which they can be moved to higher projections. On this line, I will propose that PS *doleo* has the same underlying configuration as impersonals. If I am on the right track, it can be immediately observed that the main difference between PS and PH *doleo* is that, under the psych reading, a SC head is responsible for the linking of the arguments in the structure, while in (52) their relation is mediated by a D head. I claim that, from a syntactic point of view, the fact that the main diversity between the structures consists in the use of a different head for the linking of the arguments is a desirable result.

Anyway, for this analysis to be proposed, we first need to clarify what the relation between the physic value of *doleo* and its psych counterpart is. Recall that, differently from other languages, Early Latin employs the same configuration for both readings (see Table 2). As I will explain in greater detail, this enables to hypothesize that the psych meaning of *doleo* inherits its configuration from the physic one. This becomes all the more clear if we compare Latin data with those of Modern and Old Italian.

4.2.1. The case of Italian: *dolere/dolersi*

Modern Italian has an alternating form *dolere/dolersi*. The alternation shows some non-trivial constraints which are worth analysing as a proof of the complex underlying structure of the verb.

This suggests structures like (3a) probably have a complex structure with an internal subject. Anyway, the relationship between the Possessor and the Possessum is the same as the alienable-possession pattern. Thus, regardless of the position in which the subject is inserted in the structure, the Possessor can be thought of as merged in SpecDP as in (52).

In Italian, the form *dolere* - with no reflexive clitic - is currently used under the physic reading in a OE structure:

- (53) a. Mi duole un dente
 me_{Dat} aches a tooth_{Nom}
 “My tooth aches”
- b. I piedi mi dolgono per il troppo camminare
 the feet_{Nom} me_{Dat} ache_{3rdPlur} for the too-much to-walk
 “My feet ache because I have walked too much”

As these examples show, under this reading the hurting part of the body receives the Nominative, while the Possessor/Experiencer is assigned the Dative. In this respect, the configuration of the Italian *dolere* is completely aligned with its equivalent in Latin. Notice that the OE variant is not fully grammatical under the psych reading. This is shown by the following examples:

- (54) a. ?Le tue parole mi dolgono
 the your words_{Nom} me_{Dat} ache
- b. Le tue parole mi dolgono nell’ animo
 the your words_{Nom} me_{Dat} ache in-the soul
 “Your words make my soul ache”
- c. ?La situazione mi duole
 the situation_{Nom} me_{Dat} aches
- d. Mi duole che tu ti sia offeso
 me_{Dat} aches that you yourself are_{Subj2ndSing} offended
 “I am sorry that you got offended”

(54a) is not fully grammatical, since under this configuration a physic reading is compulsory and the animate entity is obligatorily the Possessor of the syntactic subject. Interestingly, (54b) is acceptable, since the presence of the PP *nell’animo* allows for a metaphorical reading of the hurting-process, which enables the comparison with the reading in (53). (54d) shows that the structure can also be used with a psych reference; anyway it cannot agree with a full DP and obligatorily selects for a CP; thus, this is a kind of impersonal configuration, in which an expletive occupies the subject position.

To sum up, the OE pattern clearly entails a physic reading; in this configuration, the prominence of the Possessor/Experiencer is guaranteed by movement to the first position. Thus, the most suitable configuration is that in (52).

Some remarkable peculiarities arise when the psych reading is considered. Under this value, Italian only employs the form *dolersi*, in which a reflexive clitic is inserted. Interestingly, exactly as the OE variant is not allowed under the psych reading, the SE configuration can only be read as having a psych meaning:

- (55) a. Mi dolgo delle/per le tue parole
 myself suffer_{1stSing} of-the/for the your words
 “I am sad because of your words”
- b. Mi dolgo della/per la morte del presidente
 myself suffer_{1stSing} of-the/for the death of-the president
 “I am sad for the death of the president”
- c. *Mi dolgo dei denti
 myself feel-pain_{1stSing} of-the teeth
- d. *Mi dolgo del braccio
 myself feel-pain_{1stSing} of-the arm

As can be seen in (55), the Experiencer of *dolersi* regularly receives the Nominative, while the Stimulus is inserted in a PP with a Cause flavour. (55c) and (55d) are ungrammatical, in that the form *dolersi* has a compulsory psych reading, thus excluding the Possessor/Possessum relation established by these examples.

The data above clearly show that the alternating forms *dolere/dolersi* are used in complementary distribution. Thus, since they display inverted patterns, it can be supposed that they are also characterized by different argumental configurations. Consider that under the physic reading the force-dynamic relation of the eventuality has a clear direction, which goes from the Stimulus to the Possessor/Experiencer (Croft, 2012). In the terms of Dowty (1991), we can state that the Experiencer accumulates less P-A features than the Stimulus, which is in turn the best candidate to be considered as the syntactic subject of the sentence. On the opposite, when the psych reading is considered, the reverse situation arises: in this case, the animate argument is an Experiencer, whose feelings are somehow determined by his own thoughts, while the Stimulus has a lower agentive power and is ontologically separated from the

Experiencer. The presence on the reflexive clitic *si* – which is obligatory under this configuration – signals the compositional nature of the Experiencer. I have already recalled this issue in the previous chapters, especially as far as the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class were concerned. At this point of the dissertation, I will give a more detailed explanation for my assumption.

4.2.2. *The role of the reflexive pronoun in Italian*

The reflexive pronoun is never used in Italian if the syntactic subject does not display a certain degree of patienthood. Consider the following sentences:

- (56) a. Mario *si* lava
 Mario_{Nom} himself washes
 “Mario washes himself”
- b. Anna e Luisa *si* addormentano sempre presto
 Anna and Luisa themselves go-to-sleep_{3rdPlur} always early
 “Anna and Luisa always go to sleep early”

In (56) no psych reading is possible, since the verb clearly selects for an Agent. In (56a), the clitic pronoun *si* is to be considered as a true reflexive object, as it refers to the subject *Mario*. Thus, even if the Agent “acts on itself”, the two roles are kept distinct in the syntax. On the contrary, in (56b) the clitic cannot be read as a true Patient, since the sentence does not have the meaning “Anna and Luisa make themselves sleep”, contrary to what happens in (56a), where the most natural reading is “Mario washes himself”. Anyway, the clitic in (56b) bears the Patient feature of the animate argument, which effectively undergoes a change of state.

If this analysis is correct, then we have strong arguments to consider the Italian *dolersi* as having a derived-subject structure. The presence of a Patient-oriented clitic is to be read as a signal of the object nature of the Experiencer. Under this view, we can suppose that the argument bearing this compositional thematic role is split into two different syntactic items: one of them bears its Agent features, whilst the other is responsible for the output of its Patient features. This can be supposed only if the Experiencer is deemed to be base-generated in a position lower than V (in CompV or in the Specifier of a lower phrase): indeed, if the argument were generated in SpecVP or in

SpecvP, a *feature-stripping* operation would be impossible, since elements can only be stripped if they start from a lower position and are moved upwards.

This mechanism can be supposed to characterize also the verbs of the *preoccupare*-class. Indeed, they provide one more argument which proves the unaccusative-like nature of this class. Consider that *dolere* cannot be used in compound tenses, since it is not attested in the past participle (57a). Verbs like *preoccuparsi* are instead grammatical if used in the so-called *passato prossimo* (57b):

- (57) a. *Mi sono doluto
 myself am felt-pain
 b. Mi sono preoccupato per la tua situazione
 myself am worried for the your situation
 “I worried about your conditions”

As can be seen, in case like (57b) the auxiliary *essere* is employed, as expected for unaccusative verbs.

The reason for this process to be productive in Italian is not far from that at work in Latin. In the previous chapter I have proposed to interpret the deponent *misereor* as a derived-subject predicate (see ch. 2. §3.5.). Thus, for at least a class of Latin deponents, a tight comparison between the use of the passive morphology and the insertion of the reflexive clitic in Italian is possible: they actually trace back to a similar underlying mechanism, in which an internal complement is promoted to the subject position.

This complex phenomenon is clearly due to the simultaneous presence of two distinct syntactic factors: on the one hand, the Experiencer has a highly compositional nature, which leads to the distribution of its features in the structure; on the other hand, the progressive alignment with the core transitive pattern is strongly productive in accusative languages and tends to be generalized.

Notice that the prominence of the accusative pattern does not entail a true transitive configuration. This is a crucial point for my analysis, in that it implies that no Structural Accusative can be assigned to the object of this kind of verbs. As the Italian *dolere* clearly shows, even if the Experiencer is assigned the Nominative, the assignment of the Accusative is blocked by the presence of the clitic, so that the Stimulus has to be inserted in a PP.

That the clitic occupies the object position is also supported by the data of Old Italian. I will briefly describe the verb *vergognare/vergognarsi*, which shows an intriguing behaviour in this respect.

In Modern Italian, this verb can only be used in a “reflexive” variant, as in (58):

- (58) Mi vergogno del tuo comportamento
 myself feel-ashamed_{1stSing} of-the your behaviour
 “I feel ashamed because of your behaviour”

The form *vergognare* is instead not attested. A different form *svergognare* is used in a transitive pattern in sentences like (59):

- (59) a. L’ ho svergognato davanti a tutti
 him have_{1stSing} put-to-shame in-front-of to all_{Plur}
 “I put him to shame in front of all people”
 b. Mi sono svergognato
 myself am put-to-shame
 “I put myself to shame”

Notice that *svergognare* cannot have a psych reading, even if a reflexive clitic is inserted. This is shown in (59b), which can only mean: “I put shame on me” and not “I feel ashamed”.

Old Italian employs the form *svergognare* with the same meaning as Modern Italian; anyway, the form *vergognare* has a wide range of meanings:

- (60) a. però t’ ucidrò io altramente che de la mia spada, perch’
 but you_{Acc} will-kill_{1stSing} I otherwise than of the my sword because
 io non la voglio vergognare (Palamedés Pisano pt. 2, 18)
 I Neg her_{Acc} want_{1stSing} to-put-to-shame
 “But I will not kill you with my sword, since I do not want to put
 shame on it”

- b. e catuno si comincerà a vergognare della sua
 and everyone_{Nom} himself will-begin_{3rdSing} to to-feel-ashamed of-the his
 donna (Rim. Am. Ovid., 387.16)
 woman
 “And everyone will start to feel ashamed because of his wife”
- c. bene averanno de ke vergognare (Jacopone Laud. 1, 87)
 well will-have_{3rdPlur} of that to-feel-ashamed
 “They will certainly have something to feel ashamed about”
- d. avvegna che io vergognasse molto
 even if I felt-ashamed_{Subj1stSing} much
 “Even if I felt very much ashamed” (Dante, Vita Nuova, 23, 15)

In (60b)-(60d) the verb has a reading comparable to the Modern Italian *vergnarsi*. Even if the clitic pronoun is clearly optional (as shown in 60d), the verb systematically selects for a PP headed by *de* and is not attested with an Accusative-marked DP. The transitive pattern is instead attested under the meaning in (60a): here no clitic insertion is possible and the verb regularly assigns the Accusative to its complement. The difference between (60) and (60b)-(60d) is therefore that in the former case the subject bears the Agent role (or, namely, it accumulates more P-A features); this leads to a simple transitive structure, with a clear-cut identification of the two prototypical roles. In (60b)-(60d) the Experiencer role is split into different syntactic items. This clearly emerges from (60b), in which the Patient-feature is borne by the clitic: this *feature-stripping* process blocks Accusative-assignment to the Stimulus, which is therefore inserted in a PP.

To sum up, the Italian *dolersi* (i.e. the counterpart of PS *doleo*) has an internal-subject structure, in which the Experiencer reaches SpecTP starting from a VP-internal site. For this reason, a Structural Accusative cannot be assigned to the Stimulus, which is always expressed as a PP. On the other side, the form *dolere* has the aforementioned structure in (52).

4.2.3. A formal analysis of *doleo*

Coming back to *doleo*, a first point of interest is that, differently from what happens with the corresponding verb in Italian, in Latin it is attested in the same

configuration both under the physic and under the psych reading. Interestingly, the OE psych pattern is first attested with a neuter pronoun bearing the Nominative and only later - in the Classical Age- it can also select a full referential DP in the subject position. Given that this verb has a primary physic meaning, the psych reading can be considered as derived from the physic one, and this is not surprising, provided that in Latin the majority of psych verbs is the result of a semantic shift from a primary physic reference. Anyway, if PS *doleo* can be traced back to a structure like that in (52), in which the animate entity is in a VP-internal position, the comparison with the Italian *dolersi* is possible: under this view, both verbs would have a derived-subject structure, and both would not assign a Structural Accusative for this reason. This would provide an interesting reason for the fact that PS *doleo* assigns an Inherent Accusative to its Stimulus.

Naturally, the strict relation between the two meanings of *doleo* has to be accounted for in formal terms. Hence, the structure in (52) must be reconsidered in order to find out to what extent it can be applied also to PS *doleo*. As I have already noticed, (52) is not so far from the SC structure I proposed in the previous chapter for impersonals (ch. 2. §6.2.) . The main difference is that in (52) the Experiencer and the Stimulus are not in a Possessor/Possessum relation, as a consequence of the fact that they are not linked in the structure by means of a D head.

Recall that PS *doleo* is the first to promote the animate DP to the subject position in a bi-argumental SE configuration, a fact which follows from the peculiar nature of the Experiencer. I proposed that the Experiencer is assigned the Nominative by passing thorough SpecvP, in that, in this process, its Agent feature is emphasized; indeed, the Experiencer can be perceived as the controller or the initiator of the mental process denoted by the verb; on the contrary, the EP can be in no way considered as the Causer of its physical hurt, hence it is not assigned the Nominative, unless it is the sole undergoer of the verb, i.e. its internal object. Consider the contrast between (5b) and (6a), here repeated as (61a) and (61b):

- (61) a. cum homini pedes dolere coepissent (Varro rust. 1, 2, 27)
 “As soon as the man’s feet began to ache”
 b. totus doleo atque oppido perii (Plaut. Aul. 410)
 “I’m aching all over and am utterly done for (transl. H.T. Riley)

Provided that *doleo* has an underlying structure of the type in (52), in (61b) the syntactic subject is the internal argument of the verb; the D-EP *homini* has moved out of SpecDP and has then been placed in the first position. In (61a) no EP relation is present, in that the animate argument actually is the entity affected by the verb; therefore it has moved from CompVP to SpecTP (via $v_{\text{change}}P$), on the basis of a mechanism comparable to that at work for unaccusative verbs. Sentences like (7) – here repeated as (62) – are coherent with this view:

- (62) *doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis, doleo ab aegritudine* (Plaut. Cist. 60)
 “I am pained in spirits, I feel pain in my eyes, I am in pain from faintness” (transl. H.T. Riley)

In (62) the PP *ab oculis* clearly indicates the Source of the ache affecting the animate subject. One more time, no possessive relation is established and the syntactic subject has to be considered as the internal object of the verb, while the part of the body is expressed as a low oblique complement with a circumstantial status.

Old Italian can be useful to further clarify this point, in that, differently from Modern Italian, it employs the form *dolersi* also under the physic reading. Consider the following sentence:

- (63) *e si sentian degli aspri colpi iniqui per*
 and themselves perceived_{3rdPlur} of-the violent_{Plur} blows cruel_{Plur} for
tutta la persona anco dolersi (Ariosto, Furioso, I, 22, 3-5)
 whole the person also to-feel-pain-oneself
 “And they felt that violent cruel blows caused pain to their whole bodies”

Here, as can be seen, the verb *dolersi* is used with the meaning “to ache” and takes PRO as its subject, which is controlled by the verb of the matrix clause *si sentian*. The presence of the clitic in (63) signals that it has an internal-subject, which is in fact the undergoer of the process of “feeling pain”, exactly as happens in (62).

Interestingly, PH *doleo* is attested in a transitivized structure from the II c. A.D. onwards. Consider (8b), here repeated as (64):

(64) graviter oculos dolui (Fronto p. 182, 18)

“I felt terrible pain in my eyes”

This pattern is clearly inherited from the psych configuration, which is widespread from the Classical Age onwards. It is actually attested later and it is not characterized by an EP configuration, even if the arguments obviously are in a Possessor/Possessum relation. I deem that (64) is a kind of transitivized version of sentences like (62). Consider that the SE pattern of PH *doleo* is typically that of (62), in which the Experiencer/Possessor reaches the subject position because it is the internal object of the verb and is then promoted to the most prominent position so as to satisfy the Nominative Requirement. In this respect, as I have just recalled, this kind of Experiencer cannot be considered as the Causer of the event denoted by the verb; at least it cannot be fully compared to the Experiencer of PS *doleo*, in which the feeling can be perceived as somehow determined by the sentient entity itself. The promotion of the Experiencer of PS *doleo* to the subject position is therefore due to agreement factors and also aims to underline the sentient nature of the subject. Under this view, this kind of Experiencer can be considered as the Causer of the event, in that its [+animacy] feature actually determines the existence of the physical feeling. The part of the body has an adjunct status, and is considered as the Source from which the pain is generated. The Accusative assigned to the object of (64) can be labelled as “Accusative of Relation”, in that it has an adverbial nature. Anyway, from my point of view, it is sufficient to state that it is assigned to a transitivized object.

Under the psych reading, the Experiencer is promoted to the subject position in the same way in which this happens with impersonal verbs. Thus, the Stimulus can be expressed in the Ablative or as a PP; furthermore, it can receive the Inherent Accusative. As I have clarified, in the Late Period a true transitive structure is employed and the Stimulus finally receives a Structural Accusative, since the predicate is fully aligned with the core transitive pattern.

Thus, my proposal is that, PS *doleo* actually has an underlying configuration similar to that of impersonals⁷⁴. Namely, it is characterized by the presence of a SC complement in which the Experiencer and the Stimulus occupy SpecSC and CompSC respectively. As I have recalled in the previous chapter, this kind of configuration

⁷⁴ The derivation of the SE transitive and intransitive *doleo* is akin to that in ch. 2. §6..

correctly captures the relation which is established between the arguments. As for *placeo*, the V head provides a lexical content for a relation which is similar to that described by Kayne (1993) for predicates of possession:

- (65) a. X is to Y – Y has X
 b. X *placet* to Y – Y *placet* X
 c. X *dolet* to Y – Y *dolet* X

Notice that this kind of representation is also compatible with a localist view of the psych relation established between the Experiencer and the Stimulus, as for instance proposed by Landau (2010). Moreover, the SC hypothesis has the advantage of allowing for a freer syntactic encoding of the relation holding between the arguments.

On this basis, it can be supposed that the personal Dative OE pattern is derived by moving the Stimulus to SpecTP (via v_{CauseP}), while the personal SE pattern is derived by moving the Experiencer to the subject position in the same way this takes place for the verbs of the *piget*-class. The consequence is that this configuration is to be considered both the more ancient and the deepest for all the stative psych verbs of this class. As for *doleo*, it is not necessary to think of an ancient stage in which this verb was used in an impersonal-like pattern. What is crucial is that its basic meaning (i.e. the physic reference) can be supposed to be essentially subject-internal. Thus, when *doleo* is employed as a stative psych verb, its structure is assimilated to that of impersonals, and can therefore undergo a range of possible derivations. Since *doleo* is not a basic impersonal biargumental predicate, it is not attested in an impersonal configuration, it is derived by applying a personalization process, which is typical for the more recent Latin. Anyway, it is interesting to notice that even if *doleo* is not an impersonal verb of the *piget*-class, it can be aligned with this configuration in contexts in which this is triggered by analogy. Consider the following sentence:

- (66) Dolet pigetque me conatum hoc (Pacuv. trag. 44)
 suffers regrets me_{Acc} tried this_{SNeutSing}
 “I grieve and I am sorry for the fact that I tried this”

As can be seen, in (66) *doleo* displays the same pattern as *piget*, which regularly assigns the Accusative to the Experiencer. Anyway, (66) does not entail that *doleo* actually was

an impersonal predicate: it is instead a good argument to claim that it was considered as akin to that group of verbs, thus having a similar underlying configuration. As I have already underlined, PS *doleo* is probably a more recent type, which has been modelled on the PH type. Thus, its syntactic development follows an independent (and a more direct) path towards a full SE transitive configuration.

Interestingly, the syntax of *doleo* is comparable to that of the Italian *dolere/dolersi*. Consider that:

- (i) Both languages display a D-EP structure for the PH predicate, in which the Possessor is generated in the Specifier of the DP heading the Possessum.
- (ii) Under the PS configuration, both languages have an internal Experiencer, which is not subordinated to the Stimulus, and tends to be promoted to the subject position.
- (iii) Under the psych SE meaning, both languages cannot assign the Structural Accusative to the Stimulus, in that their subject is a derived-subject.

At this point of the discussion, what is needed is a clearer description of the transitive pattern of *doleo*, since, while the nature of the Inherent Accusative assigned by this verb has been discussed in depth in §3., something has to be said about the formal representation of the way in which it is assigned in the structure. I will further discuss this point at the end of the chapter, when the other predicates I have listed in *Table 1* will have been extensively illustrated.

5. The other SE verbs of the \bar{e} -class

In this section I will describe the other SE verbs I have listed in *Table 1*. As will be clear from the following paragraphs, they share with *doleo* some interesting syntactic characteristics. Namely, under the psych meaning, they are attested in a transitive structure starting from the I c. B.C.. Moreover, as far as passivization and relativization are concerned, they can be easily compared to *doleo*.

Even though these verbs constitute a homogenous class, they deserve to be treated one by one, so as to supply a more complete and precise overview.

5.1. Horreo

Horreo traces back to PIE *g^hrs-eh₁ “to be stiff, surprised” (de Vaan, 2008). In its most ancient use, it is a monoargumental verb with a primary physic reference “to be stiff/raised”. In Early Latin, it is already employed in a metaphorical sense in various contexts. Consider the following sentences:

- (67) a. Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret
 scattered_{AbIPlur} spears_{AbI} long_{AbIPlur} field_{Nom} shines and bristles
 “The field shines and bristles with long spears which have been scattered” (Enn.frg. var. 14)
- b. Mare cum horret fluctibus (Acc. trag. 413)
 sea_{Nom} when bristles waves_{AbI}
 “When the sea bristles with waves”

The psych reading “to be horrified” is clearly shifted from the physic one. It first emerges when the verb is referred to a human being, with the value “to have raised hair”. Thus, PS *horreo* is the output of a semantic shift of the following type:

- (68) to have raised hair → to be horrified

In the examples in (69) *horreo* is used both under the physical and the mental meaning. Notice that the meaning of (69b) is ambiguous between PS and PH:

- (69) a. Cum etiam in corpore pili (...) horrent (Varr. ling. 5, 6)
 when also in body_{AbI} hairs_{Nom} bristle_{3rdPlur}
 “When also body hair bristles”
- b. Iam horret corpus, cor salit (Plaut. Cist. 551)
 already shivers body_{Nom} heart_{Nom} jumps
 “The body already shivers, the heart jumps”
- c. totus tremo atque horreo (Ter. Eun. 84)
 all_{Nom} tremble_{1stSing} and shiver_{1stSing}
 “I shudder and shiver”

The comparison between (69b) and (69c) further clarifies in what sense the verb can be supposed to have undergone a semantic shift. Indeed, in (69b) the psych reading corresponds to a perceivable physic status; in the world-knowledge this is clearly associated with a certain feeling experienced by the subject.

Intuitively, PH *horreo* can be in no way considered biargumental, since, in that case, the Cause is to be thought of as a mere circumstantial complement. However, when *horreo* has a mental meaning it is more likely to select for a Stimulus, which has in fact an argumental status in psych predicates. This is all the more clear if we recall that psych verbs are a peculiar type of statives, whose primary characteristic is to be *caused eventualities*. Therefore, they establish a relation in which the arguments constitute two poles. This leads to the consequence that the event follows a specific direction: it goes from one pole to the other in a well-determined force-dynamic relation (see ch. 1. §5.).

Horreo is attested in a full bi-argumental structure from the I c. B.C.: indeed, starting from this period, provided that it has a mental reading, it is transitivized. In its transitive use, PS *horreo* can select for an animate or for an inanimate Stimulus, while the Experiencer is regularly assigned the Nominative:

- (70) a. supplicia metuere atque horrere (Cic. S. Rosc. 8)
 pains_{Acc} to-worry and to-fear
 “To fear and to worry about pains”
 b. Cassium (...) horrebant (Cic. S. Rosc. 85)
 Cassius_{Acc} (...) feared_{3rdPlur}
 “They were afraid of Cassius”

At the same time, the Stimulus can be expressed by an infinitive (71a) or by means of an indirect question (71b):

- (71) a. non horreo in hunc locum progredi (Cic. leg. Agr. 2, 101)
 Neg am-afraid in this_{Acc} place_{Acc} to-enter
 “I am not afraid of entering this place”
 b. quem ad modum accepturi (...) sitis (verba)
 which_{AccMascSing} at way_{Acc} accepting_{FutNomPlur} are_{Subj2ndPlur} words_{Acc}

horreo (Cic. Phil. 7, 8)

am-afraid

“I am afraid of the way in which you will accept my words”

Interestingly, the Stimulus is not attested in the Ablative before the late Classical Age. This use is instantiated in Seneca for the first time:

(72) Horret tantis advena monstris (Sen. Oed. 743)

is-afraid so-remarkable_{AblPlur} stranger_{Nom} prodigies_{AblPlur}

“The stranger is afraid of so remarkable prodigies”

The OE structure of *horreo* is attested only later, from Tacitus (late 1 c. A.D.) onwards, with the meaning “to horrify”. In this case, the Stimulus is the syntactic subject, while the Experiencer is assigned the Dative:

(73) a. Ingentibus telis horrentes (Tac. hist. 2, 88, 3)

big_{AblPlur} spears_{AblPlur} horrifying_{NomPlur}

“Horrifying with their big spears”

b. cui amor coniugalis novus (...) vehementer horrebat

whom_{Dat} love_{Nom} conjugal_{Nom} new_{Nom} strongly horrified_{3rdSing}

“Who was horrified by the perspective of a new married love”

(Claud. Don. Aen. 1, 720)

The use of the Dative in (73) is clearly modelled on the pattern of *placeo* and emphasizes the Maleficiary nature of the Experiencer.

As far as passivization is concerned, *horreo* is easily comparable with *doleo*, since it is not attested in passive clauses before the V c. A.D.. Moreover, coherently with what has been observed above for *doleo*, also *horreo* is first attested in a “passive” form in the gerundive. Consider the following sentences:

(74) a. Memorare cogis acta securae quoque

to-remember force_{2ndSing} actions_{Acc} strong_{Dat} also

horrenda menti

to-fear_{GerundivumAccNeutPlur} mind_{Dat} (Sen. Herc. 650)

“You get me to remember actions which are horrible even to a strong mind”

b. quia nihil habet mors quod sit
 since nothing_{Acc} has death_{Nom} which_{AccNeutSing} is_{Subj}
 horrendum, mortem non timet (Cic. Tusc. 2, 1, 2)
 fear_{GerundivumAccNeutSing} death_{Acc} Neg fears

“Since death has nothing to fear about, he is not afraid of death”

As can be clearly seen, in (74a) the form *horrendus* has an attributive value with no straightforward verbal reading. (74b) is instead more likely to be interpreted as a verbal form.

The transitive *horreo* is rarely attested in relative clauses on the object. A couple of examples traces back to the Classical Age. The following is an example from Livius:

(75) Voltum ipsius Hannibalis, quem (...) horret populus
 face_{Acc} himself_{Gen} Hannibal_{Gen} which_{AccMascSing} fears people_{Nom}
 Romanus (Liv. 23, 9)
 Roman_{Nom}
 “Hannibal’s face, which Roman people fear”

In (75) the verb is fully aligned with the transitive pattern of verbs like *amo* and *timeo*. Nevertheless, as far as I know, this is the sole example tracing back to the I c. B.C., and other instances are attested in later texts.

Interestingly, both passivization (76) and relativization (77) are more frequently attested in the Late Period, starting from the IV-V c. A.D.:

(76) a. sed probus horretur (Drac. Romul. 5, 58)
 but honest_{Nom} is-feared
 “But a honest man is feared”
 b. audacia forsitan pauperis horretur (Drac. Romul.5, 142)
 bravery_{Nom} maybe poor_{Gen} is-feared
 “Maybe poor people’s bravery is feared”
 (77) a. quicquid (...) nascitur ignotum (...), quod stupet

whatever_{Nom} is-born unknown_{Nom} which_{Acc} is-astonished
 eous, quod pallidus horret hiberus
 Eastern_{NomMasc} which_{Acc} pale_{Nom} is-afraid Spaniard_{Nom}
 (Vict. alet. 2, 445)

“Whatever (beast) is born unknown, at which the Eastern is astonished
 and of which the Spaniard is afraid”

b. horrere curantem, quod horret ipse, qui
 to-fear curing_{AccMascSing} which_{AccNeut} fears himself_{Nom} who_{NomSing}
 patitur (Hier. epist. 40, 54, 1)
 suffers

“He who cures fears the same thing that scares the person who suffers”

The data I have presented so far show that *horreo* and *doleo* share many syntactic characteristics. In this respect, a first interesting point is that *horreo* has a primary physic meaning as well, with the consequence that the psych reading is the output of a semantic shift. Moreover, *horreo* undergoes a syntactic development undoubtedly comparable to that of *doleo*. Recall that:

- (i) It is attested in a transitive pattern starting from the Classical Age onwards
- (ii) It is very rarely attested in relative clauses on the object before the Late Period
- (iii) It is not attested in the Passive before the Late Period

The fact that *doleo* and *horreo* share the same constraints with respect to their Accusative-marked argument suggests that their syntactic configuration must be identical or at least ruled by a similar mechanism. This is true for their transitive use, which can be considered “derived” in both cases, even if the starting points are quite different in nature. The transitive use of *horreo* is actually contemporary to that of *doleo*; anyway, while the latter is basically attested in an OE biargumental structure, the former is never attested in such a pattern.

In the following schema I outline the main differences that arise when the syntactic development of the two verbs is considered:

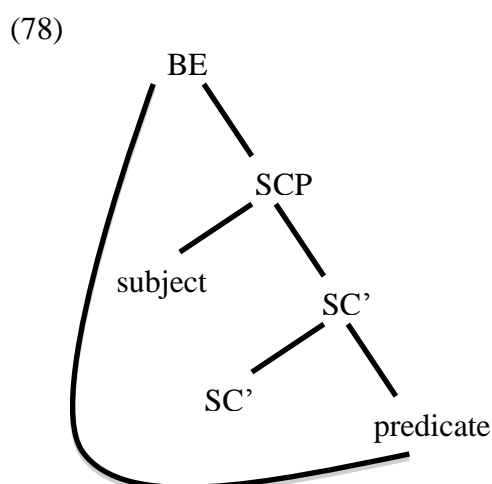
- (a) *doleo*: biargumental OE → biargumental SE (with syntactic inversion) → biargumental transitional transitive SE → biargumental transitive SE
- (b) *horreo*: monoargumental SE with a physic reading → monoargumental SE with a psych reading → biargumental transitional transitive SE → biargumental transitive SE

What emerges is that both verbs undergo a transitivity process. Anyway, while *horreo* is basically a property predicate, *doleo* probably has a causative nature, even if it is comparable to a property predicate for the reasons I have recalled above (§2.). This means that *horreo* undergoes a kind of template augmentation, in that it is attested in a biargumental structure only when it acquires a psych meaning. As for *doleo*, its causative nature guarantees the presence of a biargumental structure, which, in Early Latin, is also employed to denote a psych value. Nevertheless, as I have explained in the previous section, the transitive pattern is first attested under the mental reading (§4.2.3.).

Even if *doleo* and *horreo* are differently parametrized, it is worth noticing that, starting from the I c. B.C, they develop the same transitional transitive pattern. Moreover, for both of them a full syntactic transitivity only takes place in the Late Period.

So as to better clarify this point, it should be first noticed that both *horreo* and *doleo* are evidently stative psych verbs. As happens with *doleo*, *horreo* is also attested in a pattern in which the Stimulus is assigned an Inherent Case, namely an Ablative with a Cause value (see 72). Furthermore, this verb – as the others I am going to describe in this chapter – has a basic property meaning with a non-agentive subject. As I have recalled in ch. 1. §8.3., in active languages the sole argument of such verbs can be assigned both the Agent-like and the Patient-like Case, depending on the factor which is parametrically preponderant in every single language. This follows from the fact that the sole argument of property predicates is not clearly identified with respect to an eventuality, in that the verb has a mere descriptive nature. On this line, scholars have underlined the “passive” nature of stative \bar{e} -verbs, in that they all select for a Theme-like argument, whose semantic nature is at least ambiguous (see ch. 1. §4. for a more detailed discussion about this point).

I deem that this ambiguity can be translated into syntactic terms by supposing that these verbs actually select for a sole internal argument. Indeed, since they are comparable to copular predicates, they can be thought of as selecting for a predicative SC, whose lower constituent (the predicate) is incorporated in the verbal head. In other words, the property predicates of this class can be represented as follows:



The conflation of the predicate in the verbal head gives rise to the actual verbal form. Interestingly, under the configuration in (78), the sole argument of the verb is an *internal* argument

If this analysis is correct, it follows that, under their basic descriptive meaning, these verbs actually have a sole internal argument. Thus, since the psych reading arises when a sort of template augmentation takes place, the structure of PS *horreo* can be easily compared to that of *doleo*. The augmentation process can be formalized by supposing that the verb selects for a SC in which the Experiencer and the Stimulus are inserted in the way I proposed for *doleo* and for the verbs of the *piget*-class.

On this basis, the derivation of PS *horreo* is fully comparable to that of *doleo*, provided that their underlying structure is identical. This can be hypothesised also with respect to the Accusative-marked Stimulus, which is to be considered as a transitivized complement, thus being assigned an Inherent Accusative in a transitional syntactic stage. This analysis is interestingly confirmed by the data of the other predicates which belong to this class.

5.2. Maereo

Maereo probably traces back to PIE *mais- meaning “sad”, while no satisfactory PIE root has been reconstructed for it so far. It is probably to be compared to *miser*, but this has not been clearly demonstrated in the works on the topic (de Vaan, 2008). Anyway, *maereo* can be easily considered as a denominative stative verb. In its most common use, it selects for a sole Theme-argument and is therefore an intransitive copular predicate.

On this basis, I will assume that *maereo* has an underlying structure similar to that in (78).

This verb is scarcely attested in Early Latin, and when it is, it displays a monoargumental structure, as evidenced by the following examples:

- (79) a. maerentes, flentes, lacrimantes, commiserantes
being-sad_{NomPlur} crying_{NomPlur} weeping_{NomPlur} lamenting_{NomPlur}
“Being sad, crying, weeping, lamenting” (Enn. ann. 103)
- b. eiulans conqueritur maerens (Plaut. Aul. 727)
lamenting_{NomSing} complains being-sad_{NomSing}
“He sadly laments and complains”

A configuration in which a non-argumental Beneficiary is selected is attested from the Classical Age onwards:

- (80) quis (...) prohiberat quemquam aut sibi maerere aut
who_{Nom} had-prohibited_{3rdSing} someone_{Acc} or himself_{Dat} to-be-sad or
ceteris supplicare? (Cic. Sest. 32)
others_{Dat} to-pray
“Who had prohibited that someone was sad about himself or prayed for other people?”

In the Classical Age, the Stimulus can be assigned the Ablative; especially in the Late Period, it is also expressed as a PP headed by *de*, *ob*, *super ad*:

- (81) a. *nequis* (...) *hostium* *morte* *maeret* (Cic. Sest. 39)
 Neg-so-that-anyone (...) enemies_{Gen} death_{Abl} is-sad
 “So that nobody is sad because of the death of the enemies”
- b. *ingemunt* *at* *maerent* *ob* *iniquitates* (Italia Ezech. 9, 4)
 lament_{3rdPlur} and are-sad_{3rdPlur} because-of injustices_{Acc}
 “They complain and they are sad because of the injustices”

As happens with the other verbs of this group, *maereo* is also attested in a transitive pattern of the type in (82a). Notice that, while in this group transitivization is generally attested in Early Latin with a neuter pronoun bearing the Accusative, *maereo* is only attested with a full-DP complement. It can also select for the “Accusative + Infinitive” (82b):

- (82) a. *edicere* *audebas* *ne* *maerent* *homines* *meam*,
 to-establish dared_{2ndSing} that-Neg are-sad_{Subj3rdPlur} people_{Nom} my_{Acc}
suam, *rei publicae* *calamitatem* (Cic. Sest. 32)
 their_{Acc} state_{Gen} tragedy_{Acc}
 “You dared also to issue an edict that men are not to mourn for a disaster affecting me, and themselves, and the republic”
- b. *Perisse* *Germanicum* *nulli* *iactantius* *maerent*
 to-be-dead Germanicus_{Acc} nobody_{NomPlur} more-insolently are-sad_{3rdPlur}
quam *qui* *maxime* *laetantur* (Tac. ann. 2, 7, 3)
 than who_{NomPlur} very-much are-happy
 “Nobody is more insolently sad because of Germanicus’ death than those who maximally rejoice for it”

In the whole corpus, both passivization and relativization of the object are not attested.

5.3. *Palleo*

Palleo can be traced back to PIt **palwo-* “pale” and is a very clear case of a basic property predicate which has undergone a semantic shift towards a psych reading. It is therefore comparable with verbs such as *rubeo* and *liveo*. Anyway, while the latter are not attested in a transitive psych pattern, *palleo* can also select for an Accusative-

marked Stimulus. As I have already underlined, this type of semantic shift strongly affects the kind of thematic roles which are selected by the verb: while in its primary meaning the verb selects for a mere Theme, i.e. for an entity which does not take part in an eventuality (since the verb is a “true state”), under the psych reading the animate argument clearly becomes an Experiencer, and a Stimulus can be selected as a Causer of the eventuality (see ch. 1. §2).

In Early Latin, *palleo* is employed as an intransitive property predicate with a physic reference:

- (83) a. ergo edepol palles (Plaut. Merc. 373)
 so damn are-pale_{2ndSing}
 “You are terribly pale”
- b. necesse est, quoniam pallet, aegrotasse (Rhet. Her. 2, 25, 39)
 obvious is, since is-pale to-have-been-ill
 “Since he is pale, he must have been ill”

The verb can also signify the psych condition connected with the physic state:

- (84) a. times ecastor, (...) nam palles male (Plaut. Cas. 982)
 fear_{2ndSing} damn in-fact are- pale_{2ndSing} badly
 “You are scared, indeed you are terribly pale”
- b. cum (...) sodales (...) falso pallerent crimine
 since companions_{Nom} false_{Abl} feared_{Subj3rdPlur} crime_{Abl}
 “Since the companions were scared because of the fake crime”
 (Stat. Theb. 8, 137)

Under this meaning, it can also select for an Accusative-marked Stimulus:

- (85) a. Europe (...) pontum mediasque fraudes palluit audax
 Europe_{Nom} sea_{Acc} middle_{AccPlur}-and perils_{AccPlur} feared_{3rdSing} brave_{Nom}
 “The brave Europe was scared of the see and of the perils contained in it” (Hor. carm. 3, 27, 28)
- b. non ille (...) Massylae palluit iras (Sil. 1, 101)
 Neg that_{Nom} Massyla_{Gen} feared_{3rdSing} angers_{Acc}

“He was not scared of Massyla’s angers”

c. vires Oenotria pallens (Sidon. carm. 5, 429)

forces_{Acc} Oenotria_{Nom} fearing_{Nom}

“Fearing Oenotria his power”

Since the verb is rarely used in a transitive pattern, it follows that neither passivization nor relativization are attested. Even in the Late Period, while the transitive use is attested in poetry, the passive is never attested.

5.4. Ardeo

According to de Vaan (2008), *ardeo* traces back to the adjective *arīdus*, which properly refers to an “area cleared by burning”. Even if this hypothesis cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated, the verb can be easily compared to *palleo*, since it either undergoes a shift from a physic to a psych value and is attested in a transitive structure with an Accusative-marked Stimulus. The verb basically means “to be on fire”, with no possible inchoative reading; thus, already in Early Latin, it indicates the “state of burning”, also in a metaphorical sense:

(86) a. cum ardentibus teadis (Enn. trag. 28)

with being-on-fire_{AblPlur} torches_{AblPlur}

“With burning torches”

b. aer ardet (Varro ling. 5, 61)

air_{Nom} is-on-fire

“The hair is burning hot”

c. sudans, oculis ardentibus (Rhet. Her. 4, 55, 67)

sweating_{NomSing} eyes_{Abl} burning_{Abl}

“Sweating, with burning eyes”

It can also have the related psych meaning “to be excited, angry, eager, turbulent”, and in this case it sometimes selects for an Ablative-marked DP with a Stimulus/Cause value (87c). More rarely the same complement can be expressed as a PP headed by the P *in* (87e), which assigns the Accusative to its complement:

- (87) a. cum arderet acerrime coniuratio (Cic. Sull. 53)
 since was-on-fire_{3rdSing} very-violently conspiracy_{Nom}
 “Since the conspiracy was violently burning”
- b. ardere Galliam (Caes. Gall. 5, 29, 4)
 to-be-on-fire Gaul_{Acc}
 “That Gaul burned”
- c. Non vidit ardentem invidia senatum (Cic. de orat. 3, 8)
 Neg saw_{3rdSing} being-on-fire_{Acc} envy_{Abl} senate_{AccSing}
 “He did not see the senate strongly envying”
- d. spoliolum ardebat amore (Verg. Aen, 11, 782)
 remains_{Gen} was-on-fire_{3rdSing} love_{Abl}
 “He was on fire because of the love for the remains”
- e. in bellum ardentis animos (...) efficit (Manil. 4, 220-221)
 in war_{Acc} being-on-fire_{AccPlur} souls_{Acc} makes
 “It makes the souls brave in war”

The transitive pattern is only attested under the reading “to have a burning love for someone”, a fact which clearly relates this use to the regular transitive pattern of *amo*:

- (88) a. Corydon ardebat Alexin (Verg ecl. 2, 1)
 Corydon_{Nom} was-on-fire_{3rdSing} Alexis_{Acc}
 “Corydon had a burning love for Alexis”
- b. comptos arsit adulteri crines (Hor. carm, 4, 9, 16)
 charming_{AccPlur} was-on-fire adulterer_{Gen} hair_{AccPlur}
 “She had a burning love for the adulterer’s charming hair”
- c. pueros (...) arserunt (Gell. 6, 8, 3)
 children_{Acc} were-on-fire_{3rdPlur}
 “They had a burning love for the children”

Both in the Classical and in the Late Period relativization and passivization are not attested in the whole corpus.

5.5. *Stupeo*

Stupeo derives from PIE *stup-eh₁ and primarily means “to be hit” (de Vaan, 2008). It is attested with the value “to be amazed/to be numb”, which can be read as the resulting state connected with the primary physic reference. The psych reading clearly arises when the state of the affected subject is interpreted as mental.

From Early Latin onwards, this verb is attested in a monoargumental pattern both under a physic and a psych meaning:

- (89) a. cum hic etiam tum semisomnus stuperet (Cic. Ver. 5, 95)
 as this_{Nom} also then sleepy_{NomSing} was-in-a-daze_{Subj3rdSing}
 “As he was sleepy and in a daze”
- b. stupente ita seditione (Liv. 28, 25, 3)
 keeping-still_{Abl} so sedition_{AblSing}
 “Since the sedition was provisionally blocked”
- c. animus (...) cura confectus stupet (Ter. An. 304)
 soul_{Nom} worry_{Abl} consumed_{NomSing} is-in-a-daze
 “The soul which is exhausted by the worry is in a daze”
- d. pavida puella stupente (Liv. 3, 44, 7)
 fearful_{NomSing} girl_{Abl} being-astonished_{Abl}
 “As the fearful girl was astonished”

Starting from the Classical Period, the psych reading also attested in a transitive structure, in which the Stimulus is assigned the Accusative:

- (90) a. pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae
 part_{Nom} is-astonished virgin_{Gen} present_{Acc} fatal_{Acc} Minerva_{Gen}
 “Others, all wonder, scan the gift of doom by virgin Pallas given”
 (Verg. Aen, 2, 31-32) (Transl. T.C. Williams)
- b. dum omnia stupeo (Petr. 29, 1)
 while everything_{AccNeutPlur} am-astonished
 “While I was astonished at everything”
- c. nemo magis rhombum stupit (Plin. pan. 31, 6)
 nobody_{Nom} more rumble_{AccSing} is-astonished

“Nobody was more astonished at the rumble”

d. te libici stupere sinus (Claud. Pros. 2, 45)

you_{Acc} Libyan_{NomPlur} were-astonished_{3rdPlur} gulfs_{Nom}

“Libyan gulfs were astonished at you”

As happens with the other verbs of this group, *stupeo* is not attested in the passive.

As for relativization, it is attested in the late I c. A.D. in some rare examples. The following is an instance from Statius:

(91) At tu, quem (...) stupet Itala virtus (Stat. Achill. 1, 14)

but you_{Nom} whom_{Acc} is-astonished Italic_{Nom} virtue_{Nom}

“But you, at whom the Italic virtue is astonished”

In the very Late Period and in High-Medieval Latin the possibility of relativization increases (see 77a for an example of this). Anyway, this can be considered as a common behaviour of all the verbs which are included in this group.

5.6. Calleo

Calleo is a denominative verb which derives from the noun *callum* (“callus/callosity”) and has a primary property value, in that it signifies the physical state of an entity (“to be callous”) (92a). On this basis, a much more frequent mental meaning “to be expert, to know” has arisen (92b):

(92) a. Plagis costae callent (Plaut. Poen. 305)

blows_{Abl} sides_{Nom} are-callous_{3rdPlur}

“Sides are callous because of the blows”

b. Docte calleo (Plaut. Persa 380)

wisely am-expert_{1stSing}

“I am definitely an expert”

Under this abstract reading, the verb is attested also in a transitive pattern. Indeed, in the Classical Age (for instance in Cicero) this is the only possible structure. Under this

configuration, the verb selects for an Accusative-marked complement, whose thematic role is quite problematic to define. The second argument of the verbs of “knowledge” cannot be straightforwardly defined as a Stimulus, since in this case the semantic relation between the arguments is not comparable to that established by verbs like *doleo* and *horreo*. Anyway, the second argument of *calleo* is quite similar to the lower internal argument of *doceo*, thus being a kind of Matter (Schweikert, 2005). Interestingly, the verb is attested with an Ablative-marked Stimulus in examples like the following:

- (93) a. atque usu callemus magis (Acc. praetext. 8)
 and habit_{Abl} are-expert_{1stPlur} more
 “We are more expert of this use”
 b. his ego callens artibus (Petr. 134)
 these_{Abl} I being-expert_{Nom} arts_{Abl}
 “Being an expert of these arts”

Moreover the Matter can be also expressed as a PP:

- (94) In re rustica multum callentibus (Colum. 3, 17, 3)
 in agriculture_{Abl} much being-expert_{DatPlur}
 “To those who were really expert of agriculture”

These examples show that the internal complement actually has an “Oblique” status, which is therefore “absorbed” when it is assigned the Accusative. This is attested from the Classical Age onwards and the transitive use gradually increases in the Late Period. Notice that, while in the Classical Age the object is generally an inanimate entity (i.e. a true Matter), in the Late Period it can also be an animate entity:

- (95) a. Ego illius sensum pulchre calleo (Ter. Ad. 533)
 I that_{Gen} nature_{Acc} properly know-well_{1stSing}
 “I know his nature very well”
 b. Si neque Paenorum iura calles (Cic. Balb. 32)
 if Neg-and Carthaginian_{GenPlur} laws_{AccNeut} know-well_{2ndSing}
 “If you do not even know the laws of the Carthaginians”

- c. Quis (...) disciplinae suae leges tam scito (...) callet
 who subject_{Gen} his_{Gen} laws_{Acc} so properly (...) knows-well
 “Who knows the laws of his field so well” (Gell. 20, 1, 20)
- d. Quos probe callet (Apul. Socr. 2 p. 120)
 whom_{AccPlur} properly knows-well
 “Whom he knows well”
- e. Sciat ipse (...) quod alterum callere
 knows_{Subj} himself_{Nom} which_{AccNeut} other_{AccMasc} to-know-well
 constituit (Arnob. nat. 3, 22)
 established_{3rdSing}
 “He who has established that someone has to know something very well, he must know it”
- f. Praesagia multa, quae callebat (Amm. 21, 1, 6)
 premonitions_{Neut} many_{Neut} which_{AccNeutPlur} knew-well_{3rdSing}
 “The many premonitions which he knew well”

As for passivization and relativization, they are never attested, and in this respect the verb is totally comparable to the others I have listed in this group.

5.7. *Paveo and Gaudeo*

Beside the property predicates I have described in this section, also *paveo* and *gaudeo* deserve a deeper investigation.

These verbs are to be separately described, since they cannot be clearly identified as property predicates. This is due to the fact that their root has not been satisfactorily reconstructed so far. Anyway, if we consider syntax, they are easily comparable with the other verbs of *Table 1*. Consider that they are attested in a full transitive pattern with an object-Stimulus only from the Classical Age onwards. They also show the constraints on passivization and relativization which are typical for this class of predicates.

Against this background, I will state that *paveo* and *gaudeo* have an underlying structure identical to that of *horreo*, i.e. that they are undoubtedly part of the SE psych verbs which undergo a gradual process of transitivization.

Paveo probably traces back to PIIt *paw-ē- “to be frightened” and PIE *pou-eh₁- “to fear” (de Vaan, 2008). Ernout and Meillet (1959) propose that *pavere* is to be read as the counterpart of *pavire* “to hit”, with a proper meaning “to be hit”. Thus, also in this case, a causative value (albeit with no causative morpheme) can be inferred to be at the basis of the mental reading. The verb is built starting from a verbal root, and cannot be therefore directly linked with true property predicates. It rather belongs to the class of caused eventualities. A form *pavēscere* with an inchoative reading is attested starting from the Classical Period onwards; hence, the form *paveo* is clearly a stative psych predicate.

Paveo is attested in a monoargumental structure in Early Latin. The following example is from Plautus:

- (96) ego te amantem, ne pave, non deseram (Plaut. Amph. 1110)
 I you_{Acc} lover_{Acc} Neg fear_{Imp2ndSing} Neg will-abandon_{1stSing}
 “I will not leave you, who love me, do not fear”

Under this configuration, a Dative complement with a non-argumental Beneficiary value can be selected, as exemplified in Terentius:

- (97) cum mihi paveo, tum Antipho me excruciat animi: eius me
 when me_{Dat} fear_{1stSing} then Antipho me_{Acc} torments soul_{Gen} him_{Gen} me_{Acc}
 miseret ei nunc timeo (Ter. Phorm. 187)
 feels-pity him_{Dat} now fear_{1stSing}
 “While I am worried about myself, also Antipho gives me torment: I commiserate him and now I fear about myself”

This intransitive configuration is quite exclusive for Early Latin and undergoes a progressive template augmentation in time. Starting from the Classical Age, the Stimulus can be expressed as a PP headed by *ad* and later by means of a variety of different locative Ps such as *ab*, *in* and *ante*:

- (98) a. paventesque ad necopinatum tumultum (Liv. 25, 38, 17)
 fearing_{NomPlur}-and to unexpected_{Acc} upraising_{Acc}
 “Fearing the unexpected upraising”

b. ipso, in quo gentes pavebant, adversantium
 himself_{AblSing}, in whom_{AblSing} people_{Nom} feared_{3rdPlur} enemies_{Gen}
 potestatum sonus trepidat (Hil. pslam. 64, 10 p. 242, 3)
 authorities_{Gen} sounds_{Acc} fears
 “He whom people feared is scared of the sounds of the enemy
 authorities”

The Stimulus can be assigned the Ablative as well, but only from the Classical Age onwards:

(99) cor pavet admonitu temeratae sanguine noctis
 heart_{Nom} fears warning_{AblSing} violated_{Gen} blood_{AblSing} night_{Gen}
 “My heart trembles, remembering the blood of that shameful night”
 (Ov. Her. 14, 17)

The transitive pattern follows a path comparable to that of *doleo*. In Plautus and in Early Latin, the verb is attested with a proleptic Accusative-marked neuter pronoun and can also select for a whole CP headed by *ne*, as expected for the so-called *verba timendi*:

(100) a. paves, parasites quia non rediit Caria (Plaut. Curc. 225)
 fear_{2ndSing} parasite_{Nom} because Neg went-back Caria_{Voc}
 “Caria, you are scared because the parasite has not come back yet”
 b. id paves, ne ducas tu illam
 this_{AccNeut} fear_{2ndSing} to-Neg marry_{Subj2ndSing} you_{Nom} that_{AccFemSing}
 “Your afraid of this, that you cannot marry her” (Ter. Andr. 349)

A transitive structure with a full referential DP is first attested in the Classical Age. It becomes common in Late Latin:

(101) a. horrisono freto noctem paventes
 horrible-sounding_{AblMascSing} wave_{AblMascSing} night_{Acc} fearing_{NomMascPlur}
 “Fearing the night with its wave that sounds dreadfully”
 (Cic. Tusc. 2, 23, vers.)

b. *hominum mente (...) mortem aliquam siderum pavente*
*men*_{Gen} *mind*_{AblFemSing} *death*_{AccFem} *some*_{AccFem} *stars*_{Gen} *fearing*_{AblFem}
 “People’s mind which fears some kind of death from the stars”
 (Plin. 2, 54)

c. *te fulmen adorat, (...) te glacies nimbique*
*you*_{Acc} *lightning*_{NomNeut} *adores* *you*_{Acc} *ices*_{Nom} *clouds*_{Nom} -and
pavent
*fear*_{3rdPlur}
 “The lightning adores you and the ices and the clouds fear you”
 (Drac. Laud. 2, 214)

As expected, this passage leaves traces in the syntax, as shown by the fact that *paveo* is not attested in the passive, exactly as happens with *doleo*. Some instances of passive are represented by the use of a gerundive with a clear adjectival value (like in Plinius: 102a), and by the impersonal passive in the very late period (V c.) (102b):

(102) a. *nec pedibus tantum pavendas esse serpentes*
*Neg feet*_{Dat} *only* *to-fear*_{GerundivumAccFemPlur} *to-be* *snakes*_{AccFem}
 “And that snakes are not to be feared only because they could hurt feet” (Plin. 8, 85)

b. *fit conturbatio cordi, pavetur* (Aug. in psalm. 37, 15 l, 6)
*arises upheaval*_{NomFem} *heart*_{Dat} *is-feared*
 “The heart gets shocked, people are scared”

As for relativization, the data I collected are unfailing, as they confirm what has been already noticed for *doleo* and *horreo*. Relativization of the object is not attested before the I c. A.D, while, starting from Seneca, the neuter pronoun can be relativized (103a). The relativization of the full DP is instead late (103b) and becomes more frequent in High-Medieval Latin:

- (103) a. *addi si quid ad poenas potest, quod*
to-be-added if something_{Nom} to torments_{Acc} can which_{AccNeuSing}
ipse custos carceris diri horreat, quod maestus
itself_{Nom} keeper_{Nom} prison_{Gen} terrible_{Gen} fears_{Subj} which_{AccNeuSing} sad_{Nom}
Acheron paveat (Sen. Thyest. 16-17)
Acheron_{Nom} fears_{Subj}
‘‘If something, that even the keeper of the terrible prison fears and the
sad Acheron is scared of, can be added to the torments’’
- b. *quod quisque pavet, quod suspicit orbis.*
which_{AccNeuSing} everyone_{Nom} fears which_{AccNeuSing} mistrusts world_{Nom}
‘‘Which everybody fears and the word mistrusts’’
(Ennod. *carm.* 1, 9, 88)
- c. *hoc nomen est quod supernae potestates*
this_{NomNeut} name_{NomNeut} is which_{AccNeuSing} superior_{NomPlur} authorities_{Nom}
pavent (Chrys. *coll. serm* 71, 42)
fear_{3rdPlur}
‘‘This is the name which the superior authorities fear’’

Gaudeo is a highly problematic formation. It is supposed to derive from a disyllabic base * *āwVd*^(h), which probably had a denominative nature. It has also been proposed that the verb derives from an adjective **gavīdus*, on the model of *ārdēre* < *arīdus* (see §5.4.). In this light, the verb can be traced back to an original stative meaning, with the value ‘‘to be rejoicing/joyful’’ (de Vaan, 2008).

As far as syntax is concerned, *gaudeo* is very similar to *paveo*. It can be used as a monoargumental verb in Early Latin (104a) and can also select for a neuter pronoun in the Accusative (104b), thus developing a first transitive structure in this period. As shown in (104c), the neuter pronoun can also have a proleptic value:

- (104) a. *Bene factum: gaudeo* (Ter. *Phorm.* 883)
well done_{AccNeut} rejoice_{1stSing}
‘‘Well done: I am joyful’’
- b. *Aliud est quod gaudamus* (Ter. *Eun.* 1041)
other_{NomNeut} is which_{AccNeut} rejoice_{Subj1stPlur}
‘‘It is something else, about which we have to rejoice’’

- c. Id gaudeo (...) his aliquid esse
 this_{AccNeut} rejoice_{1stSing} these_{Dat} something_{AccNeut} to-be
 eventurum mali (Ter. Eun. 998)
 going-to- happen_{AccNeut} bad_{GenSing}
 “I am joyful because of this, that something bad is going to happen to
 them”

In the same period, this verb can select for a whole CP: this can be introduced by *cum* or *quia* (as in 105a and in 105b), or also be expressed as an “Accusative + Infinitive” structure (105c). This use is preserved until the Late Period:

- (105) a. Cum nos di iuvere gaudeo (Plaut. Cas. 418)
 as us_{Acc} gods_{Nom} helped_{3rdPlur} rejoice_{1stSing}
 “I am happy as the gods helped us”
- b. Quia vos tranquillos video, gaudeo (Plaut. Amph. 958)
 since you_{AccPlur} calm_{AccPlur} see_{1stSing} rejoice_{1stSing}
 “I rejoice because I see that you are calm”
- c. Rem vobis bene evenisse gaudeo
 thing_{AccFem} you_{DatPlur} well to-have-happened rejoice_{1stSing}
 “I am happy for the fact that you were successful” (Plaut. Poen. 1078)

While the monoargumental structure is regularly attested, the transitive use with a full referential DP is rare, even in Late Latin. Consider the following examples:

- (106) a. Furit tam gavisos homines suum dolorem
 is-angry so-much rejoicing_{PastAccPlur} men_{AccPlur} his_{AccSing} pain_{AccSing}
 “He is angry that people were so happy because of his pain”
 (Cael. Cic. Espist. 8, 14)
- b. Subolem gaudet Agenoriam (Drac. Romul. 8, 561)
 progeny_{AccSing} rejoices of-Agenor_{AccSing}
 “He rejoices because of the progeny of Agenor”

However, from Plautus and Terence onwards, the Stimulus is more frequently attested in the Ablative. In Late Latin, it can be headed by diverse Ps, with different semantic nuances:

- (107) a. Haec qui gaudent, gaudant perpetuo suo
 these-things_{Acc} who_{NomPlur} rejoice_{3rdPlur} rejoice_{Subj3rdPlur} forever their_{Abl}
 bono (Plaut. Most. 306)
 good_{Abl}
 “Those who are happy because of this, they should be happy forever
 because of their good”
- b. Unico gaudens mulier marito (Hor. carm. 3, 14, 5)
 only_{Abl} rejoicing_{NomSing} wife_{Nom} husband_{Abl}
 “A wife who is happy because she has only one husband”
- c. De interitu (...) gavisuros (Rufin, hist. 1, 8, 13)
 about death_{Abl} (...) rejoicing_{FutAccPlur}
 “Who will be happy because of the death”

As for passivization and relativization, the same constraint as *doleo* and *horreo* can be supposed to be at work. The relativization of the neuter pronoun is sporadically attested in Plautus and Terence. Naturally – provided that no referential-DP movement is involved in such cases – these data are not crucial for my analysis.

5.8. *Summing up*

I will provide here a summary of the two main constraints which are at work in the syntax of the verbs I have described in this section.

The probable constraint on passivization can be further underlined by comparing the occurrences of inflected forms like *amatur* and *timetur* to the corresponding forms of the verbs under discussion⁷⁵. *Amo* and *timeo* are regular transitive verbs, which are normally passivized. *Timeo* belongs to the class of SE verbs, and is probably the only case of a regular transitive predicate. Anyway, I will not exclude that it has developed from an internal-subject configuration with a SC complement. By hypothesis, it can be

⁷⁵ This test has been applied by means of the *Brepolis Search Database*, which includes texts from all the attested Latin. Notice that the attestations of the Late Period also include those of glosses and commentaries, which can be doubles of the originals.

considered as originally characterized by the same underlying structure as the verbs I have described in this chapter. Anyway, no trace of this can be observed in the Latin at our disposal.

The comparison is provided in the following table:

Table 4

	amatur	timetur	maeretur	doletur	horretur	pavetur	gaudetur	Other ē- verbs
Pre- Classical and Classical Age	25	38	1 (impersonal)	0	0	0	0	0
Late Period	288	181	0	17	17	1 (impersonal)	31 (impersonal)	0

As can be easily seen, in the Late Period some verbs undergo passivization, even if they are never attested in the passive before. Thus, the lacking of the passive form in the Pre-Late Period clearly reveals that passivization was at least uncommon. Notice that, on the basis of what emerges from the comparison above, something should be said about the relationship between the passive and the impersonal passive. I deem that this is an interesting point and that it deserves to be carefully investigated; anyway, since it is not directly related to the point I want to make in this work, I leave it for future research.

As for *wh*-movement, it is not so simple to collect direct evidence for every single verb I have described, as there are many possible combinations of a *wh*- item + a inflected verbal form. Anyway, the few cases of *wh*- movement attested for the verbs under discussion have been all presented in the dedicated sections. As has been shown, they are very rare and also semantically constrained. *Timeo* and *amo* are instead consistently attested in relative clauses on the object also in the Pre-Late Period, a fact that confirms that SE verbs are actually subject to a kind of constraint on relativization and that they have progressively developed towards a fully transitive structure.

To sum up, the verbs which have been described in this section can be considered as a homogenous group on the basis of the following factors:

- a. They all have a transitive psych meaning which is chronologically secondary with respect to other possible intransitive patterns.

- b. They are attested in a transitive structure with a full referential DP mostly from the Classical Age onwards.
- c. They are not attested in the passive in inflected forms before the Late Period
- d. They are rarely attested in relative clauses on the object, and when they are, the relativized item is generally a neuter pronoun with a low referential value.

6. Transitivity in syntax

6.1. The internal subject of SE verbs

As I have already explained, my proposal is that all these verbs have a *derived transitive pattern*, i.e. that they do not have a transitive underlying structure; they rather undergo transitivity at an abstract level, as a result of concomitant semantic and typological factors. Also *doleo* is included in this class, even if it shows the peculiarities which I have described above (§4.2.3.).

The fact that in this group of verbs the psych reading is constantly associated with the transitive pattern is not surprising, since – as I have already noticed – psych verbs are semantically “complex”, in that they involve causation between two participants: thus, the association of a biargumental structure with the psych meaning is to some extent expected. Moreover, under my point of view, constraints of the type in (c) and (d) are not to be interpreted as a coincidence, as they represent a common factor which is shared by all the verbs of this class. If we trace them back to the reasons I have outlined for *doleo* and for the verbs of the *piget*-class, we will provide a clearer view of their systematic occurrence. Thus, we can state that these constraints are due to the fact that the Accusative-marked complement is a transitivized object, whose semantic content is opacified by the assignment of an Inherent Accusative.

Notice that, as emerges by the discussion so far, SE verbs belong to different sub-classes: while some of them are clear property predicates – like *palleo* and *calleo* – others are less straightforwardly identifiable as such. Anyway, what is crucial for my analysis is that they select for an internal argument, i.e. that they are basic derived-subject structures. As I have shown, this can be demonstrated for every single verb on the basis of different parameters. Let me briefly summarize them as follows:

(i) *Horreo* and *stupeo*: even if these verbs probably trace back to a verbal stem, they are clearly reinterpreted as stative copular predicates (and as property predicates), with the sole complement being affected by the event denoted by the verb. They select for non-active subjects.

(ii) *Palleo*, *ardeo*, *calleo*, *maereo*: these verbs are clearly property predicates, with an underlying copulative structure. Moreover, they trace back to nominal roots.

As I have anticipated in the previous chapter, stative \bar{e} -verbs are characterized by a defective paradigm, since they are not attested in the past participle. Thus, forms of the type **dolitus*, **horritus*, **pallitus*, are not attested in Latin. This follows from the fact that the past participle of non-deponent verbs always has a passive value: thus, the verb needs an internal object to which a Structural Accusative is assigned. Since these verbs are not basically transitive, they cannot be attested in the past participle, rather they are attested in a more common form in *-idus*, whose properties I have already discussed in ch. 1. §4.. The adjective in *-idus* is a subject-oriented formation, i.e. it constitutes the corresponding adjectival form of the property predicate to which it is related. The actual origin of this formation has been differently interpreted by scholars. Di Gennaro (2008) has recently proposed that *-idus* forms derive from the verbs in *-sco* with an inchoative value; this means that they indicate that an entity “got X” and therefore “is in the state X”. Di Gennaro points out that *-idus* adjectives are not inserted in verbal paradigms as past participles and that they are not related to participial *-to* formation, as Olsen (1992) instead proposes. Bertocci (2011; 2013) proposes that these forms are not included in the verbal paradigm and that they are formed by means of the *-itus* morpheme, according to the following type of derivation: root + $y(e)H2-tos$.

Anyway, I deem that this specific formation further proves that the subject of the verbs I am discussing in this section is an internal subject. Namely, since they are copulative-like predicates, they actually select for an internal subject, and can therefore be attested in an adjectival form in *-idus*. Moreover, the total absence of the form in *-itus* (i.e. the absence of the past participle) signals that these verbs are intransitive predicates with no internal Accusative-marked object. This is coherent with the view I have adopted in this work: since they are not transitives, they are *transitivized* in a certain stage of their diachronic development and do not basically assign a Structural Accusative, as they are unaccusative-like predicates. Interestingly, the verb *gaudeo* is

attested in a form *gavisus*, which is employed with an active value. Consider (106a), here repeated as (108):

(108) *Furit tam gavisos homines suum dolorem* (Cael. Cic. *Espist.* 8, 14)

“He is angry that people were so happy because of his pain”

This verb is traditionally classified as “semi-deponent”, in that it displays a hybrid paradigm, in which all the forms built by means of the supine in *-tum* have an active value, exactly as happens with deponent verbs. The fact that the form in *-to* is used with an active reading recalls the discussion about the possible derivation of verbs like *miseret* and *placeo*, which show the same peculiarity with respect to their past-participle. In ch. 2. §5.2., I have proposed that they are derived-subject predicates, which are syntactically comparable to the unaccusatives of Italian. If this is so, then *gaudeo* clearly belongs to this group, and further supports the formal analysis I have proposed for all the verbs described so far, thus confirming the presence of an internal subject.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that, from a typological point of view, property predicates like these are variously treated in active languages. As I have already recalled in ch. 1. §8.3., Mithun (1991) a.o. recalls that “non-active” subjects are more likely to be assigned a Patient-like Case in such languages, mostly when the predicate does not entail dynamism and the subject does not directly control the event (see also Holisky, 1987; Primus, 1999). Thus, especially when no performance is involved, the predicate can lack a Nominative-marked argument. If we consider that Latin traces back to a non-totally accusative system, in which the Nominative requirement is not as strong as in accusative languages, we have a further argument to claim that the syntactic subject of the SE psych predicates actually is an internal argument.

The case of *calleo* is interesting in that it proves that the mechanism I have analysed in this work is productive in Latin. Even if *calleo* cannot be considered as a psych verb of the same type of *horreo*, it has anyway an underlying structure in which the subject is inserted as an internal argument and the Matter is a lower complement with an inherent-like status. In this specific case, it is not necessary to think of the complements as linked by means of a SC, in that the relationship between the two is not so “fluid” as in other cases. Rather the structure of this verb resembles that of the lower

VP of predicates like *doceo* (see §3.4.1.), with the difference that in the case of *calleo* both arguments are to be considered as internal with respect to the verbal head.

Finally, *paveo* and *gaudeo* are also grouped among the transitivized psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class. As I have explained, this firstly comes from the analysis of the data, in that – even if both these verbs are not directly traceable to nominal roots – they show a behaviour which is consistent with that of the other verbs of this class.

6.2. *The assignment of the Inherent Accusative: a formal approach*

I will not repeat here the kind of derivation that I supposed to be appropriate for this group of predicates, since it is identical to that proposed for that of the personal SE pattern of the *piget*-class. I will rather make some further remarks about Case Assignment.

In the previous chapter I have adopted a cartographic approach to Case assignment, on the basis of models like Cinque (2006) and Starke (2005) (further developed in Caha, 2009). According to this model, syntactic Cases are assigned in dedicated projections which are hosted higher than vP, following a well-established hierarchy (see ch. 2. §6.2.). On this basis, one could wonder where Inherent Cases are assigned in the structure. In this respect, I will assume that Inherent Cases are assigned in the same portion of the structure in which also Structural Cases are assigned. Anyway, as Cinque (2006) supposes and Caha (2009) also proposes, they are hierarchically subordinated to the latter. The issues I am dealing with do not strictly require that a fixed hierarchy of Inherent Cases is established, although a clear syntactic order for them must anyway be supposed. As for the transitional Inherent Accusative, there are two possible options to consider:

- (i) It is assigned in the same projection in which the Structural Accusative is assigned.
- (ii) It is assigned in a dedicated projection, which is hierarchically subordinated to that in which the Structural Accusative is assigned.

Under the assumption in (i), the Inherent Accusative is only assigned to items which move from a non-object position, i.e. from a position which is non-canonical for the direct object. Under (ii), there is a dedicated projection for the assignment of an

Inherent Accusative. Cases like that of *doceo* lead to prefer the option in (ii). Indeed, in cases in which both the Structural and the Inherent Accusative are assigned by the same verbal head, two distinct dedicated projections must be supposed. Thus, the projection which is responsible for the assignment of the Structural Accusative is non-active when the verb does not select for an external argument, i.e. when the Accusative cannot be assigned as a dependent Case (see ch. 2. §3.3.). On the contrary, the projection which assigns the Inherent Accusative can be active also in structures in which no external argument is selected. Along this line, when a single verbal head assigns two Accusatives, both projections are active and both of them trigger the movement of a DP to their Specifier.

As for the reciprocal order of the projections, I will not exclude a bottom up derivation, on the model of Kayne (2002) and Cinque (2006), which is a useful tool to correctly formalize the several word-order possibilities attested in Latin. Anyway, as I have shown in the previous chapter, I adopt here a model which is nearer to that proposed by Starke (2005). The Inherent Accusative of the type I have described in this chapter is therefore inserted in a position between the Structural Accusative and the Dative:

(109) [Case_{Acc1} [Case_{Acc2} [Case_{Dat} ... [vP ...

This model captures the transitional nature of the Inherent Accusative, thus providing an account for its employment in both cases of transitivity and de-transitivity: the DP which is assigned the Inherent Accusative is actually midway between the Structural Accusative and the lower series of Inherent Cases.

A last point to consider is the semantic nature of the transitivity process I have discussed so far. As I recalled about *doleo*, there is no evidence that the transitive structure of these verbs involves a semantic shift. As far as we know, no difference exists between the transitive *doleo* and its intransitive structure with an Ablative-marked Stimulus; the same holds for the verbs I have described in this last section. This kind of transitivity is better interpreted as a case of alignment with the core transitive pattern, especially in Late Latin, when transitivity becomes a typical trend of the language and involves a high number of verbs. A real semantic shift concerns instead the passage from the monoargumental physical reference to the psychological meaning. This is coherent with what I have observed when I have discussed the actional status of

psych verbs (ch. 1. §5.-7.). As I have pointed out, the passage from the monoargumental property predicate to the biargumental psych predicate leads to a template augmentation, in that the psych predicate involves two participants which are linked to each other by means of a certain relation. Thus, while a property predicate is actually a stative verb, a psych verb can be considered as a dynamic stative verb, i.e. a kind of eventuality. This can be correctly represented in the syntax by providing a dedicated projection for *Actionality*. This proposal has been recently developed in the works of Travis (2010) and Harley (2013), but is not crucial for my analysis, since – as I have already stated – no actional shift can be supposed to be at work when the verbs I have described are transitivized.

7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have discussed the syntax of the SE psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class.

The data I have presented show that they constitute a quite homogeneous group, whose most important characteristics are the following:

- They generally display both a physic and a psych meaning. The latter is generally subordinated to the former and is obtained by means of a clear semantic shift.
- They are attested in a transitive pattern starting from the Classical Age. This particular configuration is strictly related to the mental reading. As shown by *doleo*, the transitive physic variant of these verbs is inherited by the corresponding psych structure.
- Their transitive variant shows some peculiarities with respect to the object-Stimulus. These peculiarities consist of two main constraints: the object is not attested as the subject of the passive form nor is it attested in relative clauses.
- In Late Latin the aforementioned constraints are weakened.

My proposal is that these verbs have the same underlying structure as the verbs of the *piget*-class. Therefore, they select for a SC-complement in which the Experiencer and the Stimulus are inserted in the Spec and Comp position respectively. This is suggested by the fact that they can be considered as internal-subject predicates on the basis of different characteristics, first of all the fact that they are generally property

predicates with non-active subjects and that they are, in this respect, SC structures in which the low predicate is incorporated in the light copular head.

Thus, these verbs enable to further investigate the transitivization process which I have outlined as far as the impersonals of the *piget*-class are concerned. Provided that these two classes of verbs undergo a similar diachronic development, the transitivization of SE verbs is attested in an earlier stage of the language, so that its output can be plainly observed in the subsequent period. The main claim is that all the verbs I have described in this work tend to progressively acquire a transitive configuration, which is fully obtained only in the Late Period. Anyway, data show that the first step of transitivization is obtained by assigning to the internal object a transitional Inherent Accusative, which is then substituted by the actual Structural Accusative when the transitivization process is completed.

I have presented some data which can be useful to clarify the reasons why complements bearing an Inherent Accusative cannot be easily relativized. The main proposal is that their are shifted object, i.e. Oblique-like complements to which a non-transparent Inherent Accusative is assigned in the structure, thus leading to the compulsory adjacency of the complement itself with the verbal head selecting for it.

In the final part of the chapter I have discussed a formal proposal for this mechanism and I have supposed that there exists a series of projection which are responsible for Case assignment. In this picture, the Inherent and the Structural Accusative are assigned in two distinct projections, which are inserted in the structure on the basis of a precise hierarchy.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of Latin psych \bar{e} -verbs can undoubtedly contribute to the general investigation of this class of predicates cross-linguistically. Namely, it can contribute to understand how stative psych verbs are codified in the Universal Grammar.

As I have recalled in the course of this work, as far as psych verbs are concerned, stative predicates represent one of the most discussed categories, and their syntactic peculiarities have led to different proposals of formalization. Stative psych verbs are attested in different patterns cross-linguistically and scholars have dealt especially with the OE configuration, as a consequence of its evident syntactic instability. Anyway, Latin data demonstrate that also SE psych verbs deserve to be carefully investigated, since, at a closer look, they show non-trivial syntactic peculiarities. Thus, the link between OE and SE stative psych verbs is tighter than it could appear at a first glance. Indeed, on the basis of Latin, it can be proposed that they share an identical underlying configuration and that they are derived from it thanks to well-identifiable syntactic mechanisms.

The main results of this work can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Stative psych \bar{e} -verbs are a homogeneous syntactic group, which undergoes a coherent syntactic development in time.
- (ii) The personal configurations of psych \bar{e} -verbs are derived from an underlying structure in which no external argument is contained.
- (iii) These verbs are progressively aligned with the core transitive pattern: in a first stage, they are personalized and detransitivized, and - in a successive stage – they are (re)transitivized.
- (iv) (De)transitivization is a complex phenomenon, which leaves traces in the syntax of these verbs. Namely, in both cases of transitivization and detransitivization an Inherent Accusative is assigned to one of the internal arguments of the verb.
- (v) The inherent Accusative assigned in these syntactic contexts is a “transitional” Accusative, which is morphologically identical to the Structural Accusative, but does not share its syntactic properties.
- (vi) Stative psych \bar{e} -verbs have an internal subject and, in this respect, they can be fruitfully compared to the unaccusative verbs of other

languages. This accounts for the assignment of the Inherent Accusative in the contexts I have recalled in (iv).

Let me explain in detail how the results in (i)-(vi) have been attained.

Stative psych \bar{e} -verbs represent a homogenous group of predicates belonging to the second conjugation, with common semantic and syntactic characteristics.

The second conjugation includes different types of predicates, namely causatives, radical \bar{e} -verbs and stative verbs. As for stative predicates, I have adopted the following classification (ch. 1. §5.):

- (i) *“True states” and “property predicates”*. They are not eventualities and can be considered as basically intransitives. They select for a Theme-argument which is described as being in a certain state or as having certain characteristics.
- (ii) *Eventualities*. They select for one or more participants, therefore they can be monoargumental or biargumental predicates. Differently from what happens with property predicates, the arguments of these verbs accumulate P-A and P-P features. These verbs can also involve causation: in this case a complex thematic relation is established between the arguments, so that a “direction” of the eventuality can be somehow recognized.

I have argued that stative psych predicates are to be considered as eventualities, in that they involve participants and are characterized by a causative relation.

The psych verbs of the \bar{e} -class can be categorized in different groups: they are attested in a SE pattern, in a personal OE pattern with an Accusative or a Dative-marked Experiencer, and also in an impersonal configuration with no Nominative-marked argument. Interestingly, psych \bar{e} -verbs mostly derive from corresponding verbs with a physic reference, which are depictive or property predicates. The semantic shift from a physic reference to a psych reading clearly affects Actionality: psych stative verbs are “dynamic states”, while the property predicates from which they derive are true states selecting for a non-active Theme. This has been noticed in more traditional studies, according to which the property predicates of the \bar{e} -class all select for a “passive” subject.

The shift from a physic reference to a psych reading leads to the following consequences:

- The template of the verb is augmented: while stative property predicates are monoargumental, psych predicates are biargumental.
- Biargumental psych predicates tend to be transitivized. This means that they are progressively aligned with the core transitive pattern.

The Experiencer and a Stimulus are complex thematic roles, as they accumulate a set of features which trace back to both the P-A and the P-P (ch. 1. §6.). The main consequence of this is that they are syntactically instable. I have analysed in detail the semantic of the Experiencer and the Stimulus, in order to account for the different attested patterns. The main assumption is that, as far as Cases-to-arguments linking is concerned, the features contained in the thematic configuration of arguments are crucial in determining the syntax of a sentence. The Stimulus clearly has Causer features (a typical P-A entailment), while the Experiencer has a more complex status: it contains some P-P features, in that it undergoes an (even if transitory) change of state; moreover, the Experiencer is an animate entity and can be considered to some extent as the Causer of the psych state. Thus, it tends to be topicalized and is promoted to the subject position.

This point is crucial when the notion of “subject” is considered. Indeed, a “subject” can be viewed as a “syntactic subject”, and in this case it is the item which agrees with the verbal head. On the other side, a “subject” can be identified on the basis of its semantic prominence in the sentence. Syntax can codify semantic relations by means of Case assignment, thus instantiating a certain dynamic relation between the arguments of a verb. Anyway, two major factors must be also considered: on the one side, *topicality* leads to the prominence of the animate entity, which is generally placed in the first position in the sentence, even if it does not bears the Nominative; on the other, the tendency to the *alignment with the core transitive pattern* has a strong influence on Case assignment: thus, the semantic relation codified by means of the Dative Default (i.e. the tendency to assign the Dative to the Experiencer) and by means of other marked structures (like the transimpersonal configuration of the *piget*-class) is progressively blurred in favour of a full syntactic alignment (ch. 1. §6.5.) .

Since both the Experiencer and the Stimulus contain P-A features, the Nominative can be assigned to both of them. Anyway, they can be also expressed in a Case other than the Nominative, and this allows for the possibility that different patterns are attested.

The psych \bar{e} -verbs I have analysed are attested in the following patterns:

- (1) a. Exp_{Acc} and Stim_{Gen}
- b. Exp_{Nom} and $\text{Stim}_{\text{InherentCase}}$
- c. Exp_{Nom} and Stim_{Acc}
- d. Exp_{Dat} and Stim_{Nom}
- e. Stim_{Nom} and Exp_{Acc}

The pattern in (e) is very rare and is instead widespread with non- \bar{e} verbs, which are easily comparable to regular transitive predicates.

The range of possibilities listed in (1) has a clear diachronic distribution. Namely, the pattern in (a) is the most ancient one, while the personal pattern in (c) spread from the Classical Period onwards and becomes common in the Late Period. Interestingly, when the prototypical pattern Nom/Acc is applied, the Nominative is generally assigned to the Experiencer, while the Stimulus receives the Accusative. My proposal is that the pattern in (a) reflects the underlying configuration of the predicates of this group. It is typical for five verbs and is maintained up to the Late Period, even if, starting from the Classical Age onwards, the so-called impersonals are also attested in structures of the type in (b), (c) and (e).

I claim that the impersonal pattern traces back to a non-accusative rule of an ancient stage of Latin and that it is preserved in time as a marked configuration (ch. 2. § 3.4.). This happens because it properly renders the peculiar semantics of stative psych verbs (and it can also be found in other languages, like in Icelandic and in Russian): it represents an eventuality in which a non-volitional and spontaneous relation is established, so that the Nominative (which is the Case typical for the Agent) is not assigned to any of the arguments. I have proposed that this configuration is basically a transimpersonal structure, which undergoes a progressive de-transitivization process in time. Thus, the Experiencer is re-analysed as a quirky subject and is progressively moved to the subject position. A further step consists of a process of “re-

transitivization”, (i.e. a full alignment with the core transitive pattern), in which the Stimulus is finally assigned the Accusative.

Along these lines, I have analysed also the SE verbs of the \bar{e} -class. These verbs are typically attested under both a physic and a psych meaning, the latter being inherited from the former by means of the semantic shift I have recalled above. Starting from the Classical Age, under the psych reading, they are mostly attested in a biargumental transitive pattern, in which the Stimulus bears the Accusative. Anyway, when the status of the Stimulus is considered, the transitive pattern shows some interesting characteristics. The main constraints I have underlined are the following (ch. 3. §2.5. and 5.):

- (i) The Object-Stimulus is not attested in passive sentences before the Late Period (i.e. it does not undergo A-movement).
- (ii) The Object-Stimulus is not attested in relative clauses before the Late Period (i.e. it does not undergo \bar{A} -movement).

I have argued that these peculiarities are due to the fact that the Object-Stimulus is a “transitivized” complement, i.e. a complement which should be properly assigned an Inherent Case capable to signify its Causer features. Hence, this process of transitivization blurs the semantic content of the Stimulus, which occupies a residual object position.

The comparison between the different patterns I have described so far gives the following result:

- (2) *piget*-class è impersonal pattern è SE è transitive SE pattern
doleo-class è monoargumental structure è non-canonical SE transitive structure è transitive SE pattern
placeo è Dative Experiencer personal pattern è transitive SE pattern

As can be seen, a common tendency can be clearly identified. The verbs of the *piget*-class are originally transitive impersonal structures, whose Experiencer is progressively detransitivized; in a successive stage, they undergo a re-transitivization process. *Placeo* can be included in this group, since, also in this case, the Experiencer is progressively re-analysed as a quirky subject and is finally inserted in the subject

position. The verbs of the *doleo*-class are attested in a transitive structure already in the Classical Age. Anyway, they undergo a *gradual* process of transitivization, since, in a first stage, their Object Stimulus has not the properties typical for canonical objects.

I have proposed that all the verbs I have analysed acquire a full transitive configuration only in the Late Period. As (2) shows, two transitional stages can be individuated: a first one in which the Experiencer is detransitivized (this happens with the impersonals) and a second one in which the Stimulus is transitivized. I have proposed that these transitional patterns are characterized by the assignment of an Inherent Accusative: (i) the Experiencer of the impersonals is assigned an Inherent Accusative, in that it is progressively re-analysed as a subject, thus losing its Patient properties; (ii) the Stimulus is assigned an Inherent Accusative, which is replaced by the actual Structural Accusative once the transitivization process is completed.

Thus, the Inherent Accusative is a Case assigned to a complement involved either in a transitivization or de-transitivization process (ch. 3. §3.). Namely, it has the same morphological form of the Structural Accusative, but does not share its syntactic properties. The most typical characteristic of this Accusative is a clear constraint on passivization. Furthermore, transitivized complements bearing an Inherent Accusative cannot easily undergo relativization. I have proposed that they are to be compared with shifted object, i.e. Oblique-like complements to which a non-transparent Inherent Accusative is assigned in the structure. This leads to a consequence which can be observed cross-linguistically: the “shifted” complement must be adjacent to the V, as a way to ensure that the relation holding between them is maintained (ch. 3. §3.2.).

On this basis, I have outlined my own proposal of formalization (ch. 2. §6).

Both the Stimulus and the Experiencer of these verbs are VP-internal. In order to correctly formalize their “fluid” syntactic relation, I have proposed that they are linked in the syntax by means of a SC head: this allows for free extraction of the constituents out of VP, so that both can reach the subject position thanks to their peculiar thematic features. All the attested patterns can be considered as derived from this basic configuration.

In the version of the VP layer I have adopted, the lexical and the functional sub-layers are kept separate. This accounts for different possible derivations. More precisely, the Experiencer and the Stimulus are generated in the SC (in the Spec and Comp position respectively) bearing a great amount of thematic features. I deem that, as a general rule, complements are inserted in the syntax bearing the maximum amount of

features required by the syntactic Case they can be assigned. Thus, both the Experiencer and the Stimulus contain a feature which can determine Nominative assignment: this happens when the argument is moved to the highest projection of the vP sub-layer, which I have labelled $\text{Spec}_{\text{vCauseP}}$. Alternatively, the arguments can be inserted as lower complements: in this case they are assigned an Inherent Case, or can be promoted to the object position, thus receiving the Accusative (ch. 2 . §6.3.-6.4.)

SE verbs have the same underlying configuration. I have shown that they are internal-subject predicates, as shown by the fact that they generally derive from property predicates with non-active subjects. Moreover, they are basically SC structures in which the predicate is conflated in the light copular head (ch. 3. §6).

As for Case assignment, I have argued that dedicated projections, which are higher than vP, are responsible for this. Thus, the Inherent and the Structural Accusative are assigned in two distinct, hierarchically ordered projections (ch. 3. §6.2.).

As I have recalled in the course of the dissertation, this proposal of formalization can be also extended to other languages. The *preoccupare*-class of Italian shows, for instance, a syntactic alternation which is easily comparable to that of Latin. Moreover, verbs like *preoccupare* and *annoiare* display reflexive morphology, thus providing a good reason to suppose that their SE configuration is actually a derived-subject structure. As for Latin, this is shown by the fact that psych \bar{e} -verbs can also display deponent morphology when they are attested in the SE pattern. This is coherent with the assumption that their SE is an internal complement and that these verbs are comparable to unaccusatives, even if this class of predicates has not been clearly identified in Latin. Anyway, that stative psych \bar{e} -verbs represent an unaccusative-like class of predicates is supported by the analysis I have outlined in this work and also by typological comparison, especially when languages with an active or an ergative system are considered.

The deponent morphology of Latin and the use of the reflexive clitic in Italian are the output of a *feature-stripping* mechanism, thanks to which an argument inserted low in the structure can be “distributed” in the syntax. This means that different items are meant to bear its features. In Italian, the reflexive *si* bears the Patient feature of the Experiencer, while the full DP is moved to the subject position in order to receive the Nominative. In Latin, this process can be sometimes signalled by the employment of the

-or morpheme, mostly in an ancient stage of the language, when this process is still perceived as transparent and the impersonal form is still viable (ch. 3. §4.2. and 6.).

Thus, the assignment of an Inherent Accusative to the Stimulus is due to the fact that, coherently with Burzio's generalization, unaccusatives cannot assign Structural Accusative Case. On the contrary, the Structural Accusative is assigned when the configuration is fully aligned with the core transitive pattern, i.e. when the verb is syntactically reanalysed as a transitive SE verb.

Among the points which have been touched in this work, some interesting issues deserve to be further investigated. Namely, the research could be continued in the following directions:

- (a) *Case assignment.* It has been shown that in Latin an Inherent Accusative can be assigned. It should be clarified how this case is actually used in Latin, in that many other contexts in which non-canonical Accusatives are employed exist (for instance the "Accusative of relation", the Accusative assigned in copular sentences, and so on). This suggests that the Case_{Acc} layer is to be split in more than two functional projections, in that it plays different roles in the syntax.
- (b) *Unaccusativity.* Stative psych verbs in -ē- are unaccusative-like predicates. It should be clarified what the unaccusatives of Latin actually are, since they clearly belong to different morphological classes. Moreover, deponent verbs are not necessarily unaccusatives, and this poses an interesting problem concerning the interface between morphology and syntax.
- (c) *Psych verbs.* Stative ē-verbs represent a homogeneous group of psych predicates. Anyway, in Latin other classes of psych verbs exist, and they show different syntactic behaviours. Namely, some non-ē verbs are also constrained with respect to transitivity and undergo a noticeable syntactic development in time.
- (d) *Reasons triggering assignment to the -ē- class.* The ē-morpheme has a clear stative value: thus, it is not surprising that many stative psych verbs are included in the second conjugation. However, an interesting question regards the syntactic status of the ē-morpheme, in that it

could actually have a “syntactic” character, thus playing the role of a functional head in the vP layer.

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