PSYCH ROOTS IN VERBAL CONTEXTS IN ROMANIAN

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Rădăcinile psihologice în contextele verbale în limba română
(Rezumat)

Pornind de la rezultatele studiilor efectuate asupra predicatelor psihologice din limba engleză, articolul analizează distribuția rădăcinilor psihologice în contextele verbale din limba română.

Verbs denoting psychological states have been traditionally grouped into SubjExp verbs and ObjExp verbs. Of these the most unusual group is that of the ObjExp verbs which can occur either as agentive or as non-agentive verbs. While SubjExp verbs behave like ordinary transitive verbs, ObjExp verbs have been argued to have a specific syntactic behaviour with an Experiencer argument generated as an internal argument and a Causer argument moving past the Experiencer to get to the Subject position (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988). Moreover they do not allow a simultaneous occurrence of the Causer and the Target/ Subject Matter argument as noted in Pesetsky (1995).

These peculiarities have been given a new, unifying interpretation within the framework of Distributed Morphology as in Marantz (1997). Arad (1998, 1999) and McGinnis (2000) provide answers to these unsolved puzzles concerning psych causatives (movement of a lower argument past a higher one to the subject position, the T/SM restriction, etc.) and extend their analysis to all types of psych predicates.

Starting from their analysis of psych verbs in English we will examine the distribution of psych roots in the verbal contexts in Romanian, accounting for the advantages of the theory.

1. The syntax of psych causative verbs

ObjExp verbs alternate between a stative reading in (a) and an agentive reading in (b):
(1)

a. John/ the joke amused Mary.
b. John deliberately amused Mary to make her forget the incident.

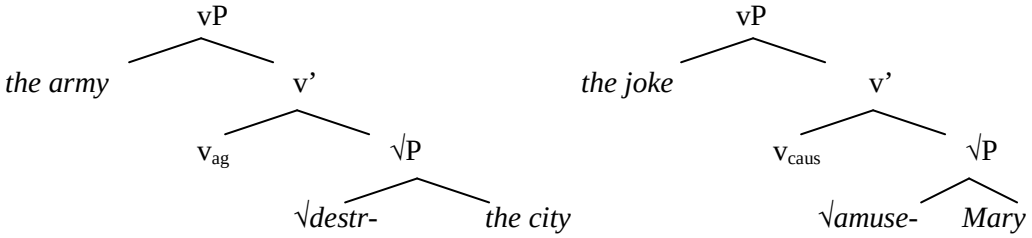
The verb *amuse* in (a) has a stative causer *John/ the joke*. In (b) the intentional agent *John* who aims to bring about a change of state in the Experiencer *Mary* is signaled by the agent-oriented adverb and by the purpose clause.

Arad (1998, 1999) notes that ObjExp verbs have a unique property which resides in their ability to appear both as stative causatives (a) and as active causatives in (b), hence the generalization that causation can be understood either as active or as stative. Active causation involves an action of an agent or a causer, which brings about a change of state, while stative causation involves perception of a stimulus, which triggers a mental state in the experiencer.

When psych verbs occur as active causatives, their behaviour is similar to that of transitives. Just as a root like √*destr-* is inserted into a verbal context to form the agentive causative verb *destroy*, so is a psych root like √*amuse-* inserted into a similar verbal context to form the psych verb *amuse*. Since there is no causative interpretation recoverable from the semantics of the psych root √*amuse-*, a causer must be added to this root syntactically, by means of a light verb. Thus the psych causative predicates are believed to have a bipartite structure just like agentive transitive verbs, containing a light causative verb and a lexical base, which is a category-neutral root. There is however a difference in the type of light causative verb[1] that merges lexically with a transitive or a psych lexical root to form a phrasal unit. Agentive transitive roots combine with an eventive light causative verb, while psych-roots combine with a stative light causative verb:

(2)

The army destroyed the city. The joke amused Mary.



The Subject of a psych causative verb is always generated as the highest argument while the Experiencer is an argument of the psych root. Thus, Arad's analysis does away with the traditional unaccusative interpretation of psych causative verbs: the subject of psych predicates is no longer interpreted as an internal argument originating structurally below the Object and moved into subject position (Belletti & Rizzi 1988,

[11] The light verb comes in different flavours and has different properties: v_{ag} (eventive, agentive v: transitives and unergatives), v_{caus}(stative causative v: Psych caus verbs), v_{unacc} (unaccusative v: unaccusatives) and v_{perc} (stative perceptive v: SubjExp verbs).

Pesetsky 1995). Both subjects, *the army* and *the joke*, are external arguments in the specifier position of a light causative verb.

The two flavours of the light causative verb (v_{ag} and v_{caus}) account for the difference between:

(3)

a. John	deliberately	amused/ angered/ frightened	Mary.
b. John/ the joke		amused/ angered/ frightened	Mary.

The distinction between (a) and (b) shows that psych roots such as √*amuse-*, √*anger-* or √*fright-* are compatible with two types of v: a standard/ active little v and a stative little v. This is opposed to other roots which require only an active v (e.g. √*destr*).

Arad counters the earlier proposal that ObjExp verbs should be assigned a special syntactic configuration simply on account of the existence of the Experiencer argument. After all, the Experiencer argument is not essential for the configuration in which ObjExp verbs occur because it can be easily replaced by arguments with other thematic roles.

Following her line of reasoning, we bring further evidence from Romanian to show that such verbs share the structure of locative, dative and causative configurations.

In many languages, Romanian included, ObjExp predicates may have two realizations: either as verbs or as nouns (or adjectives) which combine with an 'ordinary' verb. The first are referred to as 'incorporated' forms and the latter as 'non-incorporated' forms (Bouchard, 1995):

Incorporated forms of ObjExp verbs are frequently prefixed by the causative *în-*:

- *întrista, înveseli, înfricoşa, înspăimânta, îngrozi, îngrijora,*
- *a bucura, a speria, a mânia, a urî, a supăra, a ferici, etc.*

Non-incorporated forms denote the emotion either by means of a noun or of an adjective. Nouns co-occur with an Experiencer in the dative: *a-i face (cuiva) plăcere, a-i stârni (cuiva) groaza, mânia, ura, disprețul, a-i trezi (cuiva) admirația/ simpatia/ antipatia,* etc. Adjectives associate with an Experiencer either in the accusative: *a face pe cineva să fie vesel, trist, fericit, supărat, încântat, mulțumit, etc.* or in the dative: *a fi drag/ simpatic (cuiva)*

Romanian (just like French) has pairs of predicates in incorporated and non-incorporated forms, with related or identical meanings:

(4)

a îngrozi	-	a stârni groaza cuiva
a întrista	-	a face pe cineva să fie trist
a înveseli	-	a face pe cineva să fie vesel

a înfricoșa - *a face pe cineva să fie fricos
a face pe cineva să-i fie frică

The configurations in which non-incorporated forms occur reveal similarities with transitive structures of three types: locative, dative and causative.
Non-incorporated forms may be **locative**-like, i.e. they contain a verb indicating motion and an argument with a locative interpretation:
(5)

a băga pe cineva în închisoare
PATIENT LOCATION
a băga pe cineva în sperieți/ în groază/ în fiori
EXPERIENCER state of mind

The verb *a băga* is used with the meaning 'to put (in)to a place' or 'to put into a state of mind'. Either the noun denoting the emotion has a locative tinge of meaning as in (5) or the Experiencer can be understood as **Locative:**
(6)

Băiatul a băgat/ vârât cartea în bancă.
LOCATION
Băiatul a băgat/ vârât groaza/ spaima/ frica/ teama în oameni.
Filmul a stârnit teama în spectatori.
EXPERIENCER

Non-incorporated forms may have a **dative**-like configuration:
(7)

Ana i-a dat Mariei o carte.
GOAL THEME
Decizia i-a dat Mariei dureri de cap/ bătăi de cap.
EXPERIENCER
Mariajul i-a adus Mariei bani.
BENEFICIARY
Mariajul i-a adus Mariei fericirea/nefericirea/(numai)necazuri/neplăceri/
EXPERIENCER griji/ supărări.

The ditransitive verb *a da* 'give' selects a Theme as its direct object and a Goal as an indirect object. However, when the Theme is realised by a noun denoting some state of mind, the IO can be interpreted as an Experiencer rather than as a Goal (a) or Beneficiary (b). The interpretation of the IO depends on the interpretation of the verb and on its other arguments (Bouchard, 1995)

Non-incorporated forms may appear in a **causative** configuration, with the verbs: *a pricinui, a produce, a provoca, a face*, and with the Experiencer argument in the Dative:

(8)

Incidentul	i-a pricinuit	Mariei PATIENT	întârzierea.
Incidentul	i-a pricinuit	Mariei	îngrijorarea.
Comportarea lui	i-a produs	Mariei EXPERIENCER	scârba.
Vestea	i-a provocat	Mariei PATIENT	leşinul.
Vestea	i-a provocat	Mariei EXPERIENCER	o depresie.
Vestea	i-a facut	Mariei	o bucurie/ necazuri/ plăcere/ scârba.

In all these structures the Experiencer participant is the Object (direct or indirect) and it alternates with other theta-roles: Patient, Goal, Beneficiary.

The same type of alternation appears with transitive verbs reinterpreted as psych verbs: *a deranja, a tulbura, a mişca, distruge, a termina, a stârni, a zdruncina, a agita, a lovi, a răni, etc.:*

(9)

Băiatul/ reziduul a tulburat apa.
Băiatul/ scrisoarea a tulburat-o pe Maria.

Mecanismul/ Vântul/ Ion a mişcat undița.
Scrisoarea/ * Ion a mişcat-o pe Maria

Proprietarul/bomba a distrus casa.
*Proprietarul/ Pierderea averii l-a distrus/ l-a terminat pe Ion.

Vântul a stârnit un nor de praf.
*Ion/ Cuvintele lui au stârnit-o pe Maria.

The accusative object can be interpreted as a **Theme** or as an Experiencer. The pronominal clitic in the accusative is obligatory with the psych verb, as is the occurrence of the preposition *pe* on account of the fact that the DO is [+human, +individual] (cf. Cornilescu, 2000).

Actually, any verb can be interpreted as a psych verb, if certain conditions are fulfilled (Bouchard, 1995). Firstly, the verb must have one argument [+animate] which

should be interpreted as Experiencer and secondly, the external argument should be incapable of physically affecting the object. With non-incorporated forms there is also the requirement that one of the internal arguments should be an emotion or a mental state as in (7) and (8).

The arguments of a psych verb cannot be equated with meta-semantic entities such as 'container' or 'stuff' but in the following non-incorporated constructions the Experiencer can be conceived as 'container' while the noun denoting the mental state is the 'stuff' that fills the container:

(10)

Scrisoarea a umplut-o	pe Maria	de furie/ tristețe/ supărare.	
	Container	Stuff	
Știrea a băgat	spaima/ groaza		în oameni.
	Stuff		Container
Frica/ groaza/ spaima	mă	cuprinde/ apucă/ ia.	
Stuff	Container		

Romanian has special idiomatic constructions in which the Experiencer in the dative may have the interpretation of Possessor in relationship with the Subject NP of the sentence. In such structures the Subject denotes a part of the human body and the PO denotes the Cause (the state of mind or the emotion) that affects the dative-possessive Experiencer of the sentence:

(11)

Inima/ mustața/ ochii	îi râd(e)	lui Ion		de bucurie.
[+part of the body]		EXPERIENCER		Cause
Sângele	îi	fierbe	lui Ion	(în vene) de furie.
Picioarele	i	s-au taiat	lui Ion	de spaimă.
Inima	i-a	înghețat	lui Ion	de frică.
			EXPERIENCER	Cause

The Experiencer occurs with a clear Locative meaning in the following idiomatic construction:

(12)

Fierbe	sângele	în Ion.
	[+part of body]	EXP/ LOCATION

All these examples from Romanian bring further support in favour of Arad's suggestion that the Experiencers may alternate with Theme, Goals and Locations. Any syntactc position can be interpreted as an Experiencer: the direct object in (5), the indirect object in (7) and (8) and a locative PP in (6) and (12). This indicates that it is

unlikely that there are specific syntactic rules for psych verbs only because they have an Experiencer in their thematic grid.

2. The syntax of Subject Experiencer predicates

Cross-linguistically, SubjExp predicates occur either in transitive or reflexive verbal configurations or as adjectival psych predicates.

SubjExp verbs are traditionally believed to pattern with transitive verbs although both semantically and syntactically there are certain differences. Semantically they differ with respect to both causativity and eventivity, syntactically they have a nominative and passivise, just like normal transitives in most languages:

(13)

Mary loves John.
John is loved by Mary.

However, there are a few languages[2], Romanian included, in which SubjExp verbs have 'quirky' dative subject and resist passivisation:

(14)

Mariei îi este frică/ teamă/ groază/ silă/ lehamite.
Mariei îi place filmul.
*Filmul este plăcut de Maria.

This group of verbs including: *a-i plăcea, a-i displăcea, a-i prii*, correspond to the Italian *piacere* verbs which have been traditionally analysed as ObjExp verbs:

(15)

Dieta vegetariana îi (dis)place/ prieşte Mariei.
EXPERIENCER

However, Marantz (classnotes, 1999)[3] suggests that these verbs may have a SubjExp derivation with a quirky dative Experiencer subject, in which v would be responsible for quirky case on the Experiencer.

Besides the subgroups of SubjExp verbs already mentioned, there are non-incorporated forms containing a noun: *a avea oroare, o frica, o supărare, etc.* or an adjective: *a fi speriat, înspăimîntat, înduioşat, îngrozit,* etc. In contrast with non-incorporated forms of ObjExp predicates which associate with the verbs *a stîrni, a băga, a produce, a cauza*, etc, non-incorporated forms of SubjExp predicates combine with *a fi* and *a avea*:

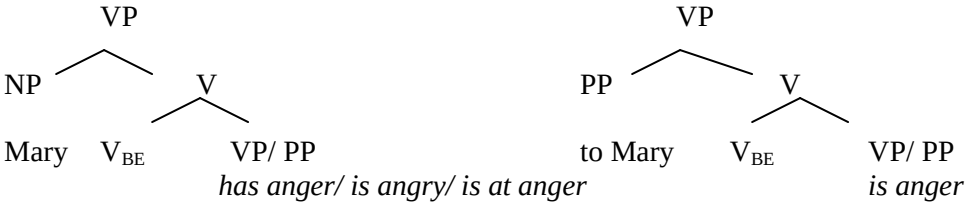
[2] McGinnis discusses evidence from Georgian and Albanian.
[3] As quoted in McGinnis M. (2000:15)

a-i fi teamă	-	a-i stârni teama
a-i fi groază	-	a-i stârni groaza
a avea admirație	-	a-i trezi admirația

All these verbal and adjectival configurations can be given a unified analysis as in Arad (1999) who extends the proposal for the interpretation of ObjExp verbs to the Subj Exp verbs.

A psych root may also combine with a verbal head which is stative and non-causative. This head may be the same as 'BE' predicate (V_{BE}). This head is always stative and its complement denotes a property (be at a place, mental state, have a property)

(16)

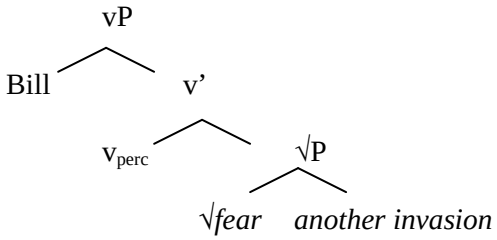


Arad's proposal accounts for all types of non-incorporated forms of SubjExp predicates and for constructions with quirky dative case.

McGinnis (2000) further refines Arad's analysis for SubjExp predicates. A psych root merges with a non-causative stative light verb labelled as v_{perc} to form a SubjExp verb:

(17)

Bill fears another invasion.



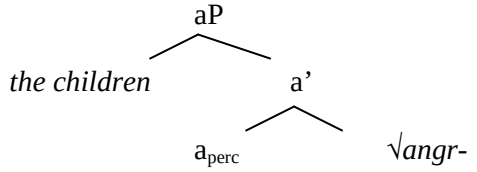
In accounting for the adjectival psych predicates, McGinnis modifies Arad's proposal and relies on Baker [4](1997) who argues that the adjectival predicate can have an

[4] As quoted in McGinnis (2000:2)

external argument, and suggests that this external argument is the specifier of an adjectival event head. She assumes a counterpart of v_{perc}, a_{perc}, which is a stative perceptive adjectival event head in SubjExp adjectival predicates:

(18)

The children were angry.

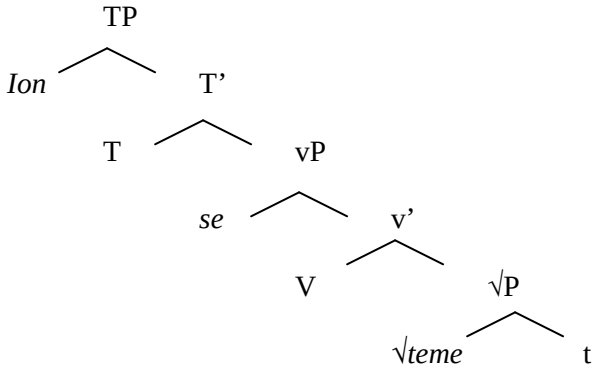


Thus the assumption of the existence of two heads, a verbal and an adjectival one, of a similar flavour, v_{perc} and a_{perc}, uniformly accounts for all types of SubjExp predicates.

Reflexive psych verbs are accounted for by means of yet another distinction on v, the active vs. non-active v. McGinnis (1999) treats v as a 'voice' head, responsible for the morphology and semantics of active and non-active voice. Active voice includes transitive and unergative configurations, while non-active voice refers to unaccusatives, passives, middles and reflexives. Roughly speaking, active v is used in transitive and unergatives, while non-active v is used with passive, unaccusatives, middles and reflexive clitic derivations.

The reflexive clitic is actually the external argument but it fails to become syntactic subject, at least in part because it lacks Case[5]. Thus reflexive clitic derivations would have a representation similar to passive constructions:

(19)



[5] Another possibility is that reflexive/non-active morphology reflects the absence of a specifier of vP (Lidz J., 1996).

The non-active morphological items are assumed to be underspecified in contrast with the active transitive vocabulary items which can be inserted in the v node only when an external argument with its own phi-features is merged in spec-vP.
Such underspecified non-active items are inserted in the v of a reflexive clitic derivation, which has both causative semantics and an external argument, but the argument lacks phi-features of its own.

Reflexive verbs in Romanian are either inherently reflexive (*a se teme*) or lexically reflexive, i.e. they have causative pairs: *a se speria, a se înduioşa, a se îngrozi, a se bucura, a se întrista, etc.* Occasionally reflexive clitics occur in constructions with a dative Experiencer and no logical subject:

(20) Mi s-a urât/ acrit de ceva.

Thus in theory, psych roots are able to combine with three different types of little v: agentive, stative causative and stative non-causative. However, in reality there are differences between roots: not all roots accept all interpretations equally easily.
For instance the Romanian root √*teme-* forms the reflexive *a se teme* and the non-incorporated forms: *a avea o temere, a-i fi teamă* which means that it can combine with a stative non-causative or causative little v, but it can never combine with an agentive causative little v to form the incorporated **a teme pe cineva.*

In contrast the root √*surpr-* can occur as an incorporated or non-incorporated psych causative verb *a surprinde pe cineva* or *a pregăti cuiva o surpriză* which means that it is able to combine with an agentive causative little v. It rarely occurs as a reflexive *a se surprinde* (usually while doing or thinking about something):
(21)
M-am surprins zâmbind la gândul că…

But as a SubjExp predicate it can appear as a non-incorporated form containing an adjective or a noun: *a avea o surpriză*, which indicates that it may as well combine with a stative non-causative little v, but not as freely as the root √*teme* does. Both roots can combine with a stative perceptive adjectival event head to form: *a fi temător, a fi surprins.*

It seems that psych predicates in Romanian lend themselves to an interpretation in line with the generalisations formulated by Arad. We leave for future research the idiomatic configurations with a dative-possessive Experiencer and the impersonal reflexive psych idioms.

3. The syntax of psychological causatives with *make*

The Target/ Subject Matter restriction noted by Pesetsky (1995) is the generalization that a Psych Causative verb cannot have both a Causer and a Target (3 a) or both a Causer and Subject Matter argument (3 b). However the two can co-occur in a periphrastic causative construction (4 a, b)

(22)

a. *The article in the Times angered Mary at the government.
Causer Target

b. *The latest news frightened Bill of another invasion.
Causer Subject Matter

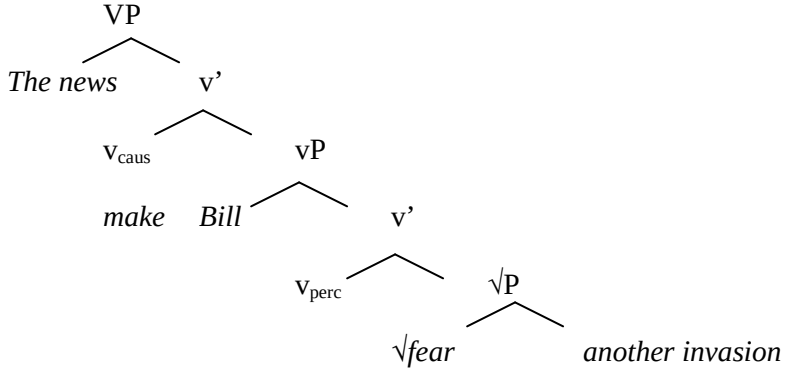
Relying on Arad's proposal, McGinnis (2000) shows that the T/SM restriction falls under a broader generalization about causativization. She proposes that this restriction arises from a morphological distinction between causatives that determine the syntactic category of a predicate (23 a), and causatives that are added to the predicate that already has a category (23 b):

(23)

a. *The article in the Times angered Mary at the government.
b. The article in the Times made Mary angry at the government.

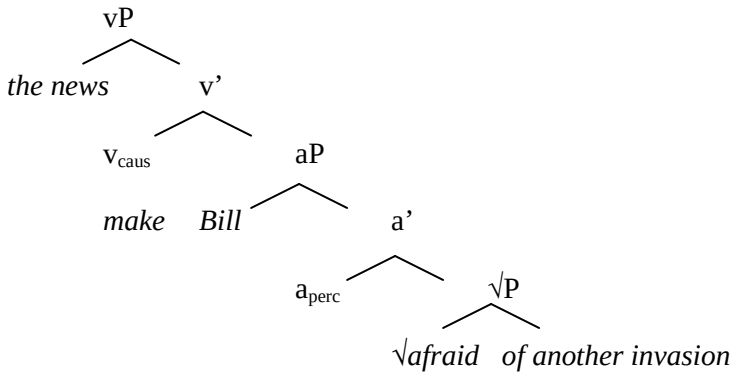
McGinnis analyses the structure of a psychological causative verb (23 b) as basically a psychological predicate to which a category-external causative is added.
In such structures the root merges with a non-causative stative *v*, yielding a SujbExp verb whose T/SM argument checks structural case on *v*. In English and Italian this Case is realized by accusative case morphology. The SubjExp structure then merges with a causative stative realised as *make*:

(24)



A causative structure, however, may also contain a SubjExp component as an adjectival predicate rather than a verbal one. Here she assumes that the root combines with an adjectival stative event head *a*, again yielding a SubjExp predicate. The adjectival event head does not check structural case, so if the predicate has a T/SM argument, this argument must be Case-marked by a preposition (*of, at*, etc):

(25)



McGinnis' account of the T/SM restriction does not appeal to movement of the Causer from a position below the Experiencer. She proposes that the example in (3 a) involves just a root-external causative v, while that in (3 b) involves a root-external v plus a category-external causative v.

It is interesting to note that in Romanian the SubjExp component of the causative structure may be realised in two different ways:

a. as a reflexive verb or an adjectival predicate or
b. as a 'quirky' dative Experiencer construction

Psych roots cannot occur in both verbal contexts. For instance, the psych root √*supara* can only appear as a reflexive or as an adjectival predicate:

(26)

Articolul a supărat-o pe Maria. Maria s-a supărat pe guvern.
Maria a fost supărată pe guvern.
*Articolul a supărat-o pe Maria pe guvern. (T/ SM restriction)
a. Articolul a făcut-o pe Maria să se supere pe guvern.
b. Articolul a făcut-o pe Maria să fie supărată pe guvern.

In contrast a psych root such as √*fric* can only be used in the context of a 'quirky' dative Experiencer construction:

(27)

Întâmplarea a înfricoşat-o pe Maria. * Maria se înfricoşează de câini.

* Maria a fost înfricoşată de câini.
Mariei îi este frică de câini.
*Întâmplarea a înfricoşat-o pe Maria de câini. (T/ SM restriction)
Întâmplarea a făcut-o pe Maria * să se înfricoşeze de câini.
* să fie înfricoşată de câini.
Întâmplarea a făcut-o pe Maria să îi fie frică de câini.

As expected there is no T/SM violation in the periphrastic causative construction, but there are, however, in Romanian, and possibly in other languages with morphological case, two alternatives for the realization of the SubjExp component of an analytical causative psych construction.

Conclusions. This paper has pointed out the positive results of the research done on psych predicates within the framework of Distributed Morphology. Unlike earlier interpretations, psych predicates are now uniformly accounted for as being formed out of lexical psych roots which combine with complex syntactic structures. In each type of psych configuration, the Experiencer is introduced by a light verb of an appropriate flavour: agentive, causative, stative non-causative or non-active.

The proposal has been checked against the data from Romanian. Psych predicates in Romanian comply with the theory, exceptions have been noted in the idiomatic area, in configurations with a possessive-dative Experiencer and in impersonal reflexive psych constructions.

The puzzles of the earlier interpretations (the special syntactic derivation assigned to causative psych verbs and the much debated upon T/SM restriction) are given a satisfactory solution.

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